

**LIBRARY
THE
UNIVERSITY MUSEUM**



**UNIVERSITY
OF
PENNSYLVANIA**

PRE-ISLAMIC SETTLEMENT

IN JAZIRAH

حقوق الطبع والنشر محفوظة للمؤسسة العامة للآثار والتراث

بغداد - ١٩٨٦

رقم الايداع في المكتبة الوطنية ببغداد ١٦٨ لسنة ١٩٨٦

Copyright Reserved For The State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage

Baghdad-1986

Printed at

Dar Al-Kuttub Organization for Printing and Publishing

University of Mosul



**PRE-ISLAMIC SETTLEMENT
IN JAZIRAH**

BY:

**JABIR KHALIL IBRAHIM Ph.D
IIC**

**Republic of Iraq
Ministry of Culture & Information
State Organization of Antiquities & Heritage**

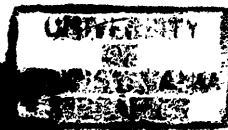
MUSEUM

DS

69.6

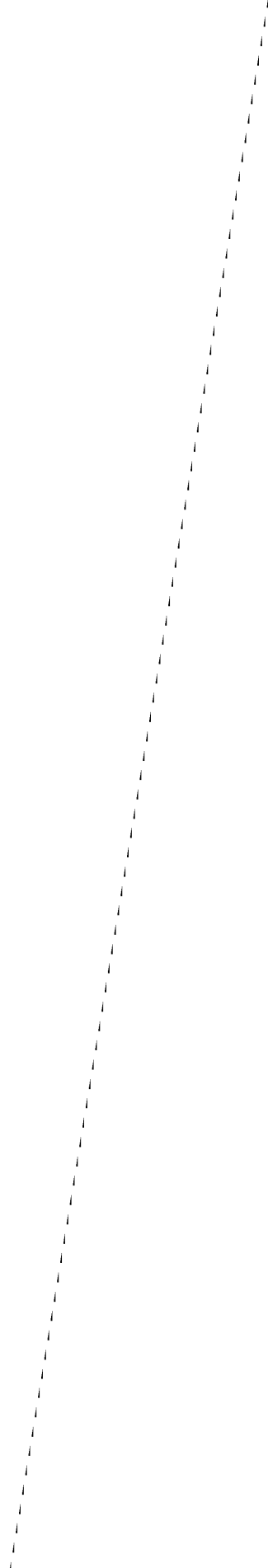
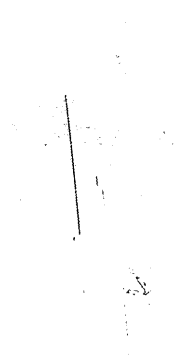
127

1986



TO THE SPIRIT OF MY PARENTS

TO MY WIFE WHOSE PATIENCE MADE THIS WORK POSSIBLE



CONTENTS

FOREWORD	Dr. Mu'ayyad Sa'id Demirji	12
ABSTRACT .....	.....	13
PREFACE .....	.....	14
LIST OF PLATES .....	.....	15
CHAPTER 1: GENERAL ASPECTS OF THE JAZIRAH .....	.....	23
The geology of the Jazirah .....	.....	25
The geography of the Jazirah .....	.....	25
(a) The hills .....	.....	25
(b) Valleys .....	.....	26
(c) Soil .....	.....	27
(d) Climate .....	.....	28
(e) Water resources .....	.....	28
(f) The population of the Jazirah .....	.....	29
The Jazirah in the earlier Islamic period .....	.....	30
(a) Administrative history .....	.....	30
(b) The tribes .....	.....	34
(c) The economy .....	.....	34
CHAPTER 2: SITE SURVEY OF THE JAZIRAH .....	.....	37
Chronological table .....	.....	39
Introduction .....	.....	39
Site Survey .....	.....	41
(a) Central Jazirah .....	.....	43
HATRA (Area 1, pl. 8; nos. 1-64, pl. 9) .....	.....	43
(b) East Jazirah .....	.....	52
QAIYARA-ASSUR (Area 2, pl. 8; nos. 65-93, pl. 10) .....	.....	52
(c) Upper Jazirah .....	.....	58
(i) MOSUL (Area 3, pl. 8; nos. 94-103, pl. 11) .....	.....	58
(ii) TELL 'AFAR (Area 4, pl. 8; nos. 104-228, pl. 12) .....	.....	60
(iii) SINJAR (Area 5, pl. 8; nos. 229-240, pl. 13) .....	.....	76
(d) West Jazirah .....	.....	78
(i) HADITHA (Area 6, pl. 8; nos. 241-253, pl. 14) .....	.....	78
(ii) ANA (Area 7, pl. 8; nos. 254-258, pl. 15) .....	.....	80
(e) Lower Jazirah .....	.....	81
TEKRIT (Area 8, pl. 8; nos. 259-268, pl. 16) .....	.....	81
Conclusion .....	.....	84
CHAPTER 3: IMPORTANT INDIVIDUAL SITES OF THE JAZIRAH, I:		
HATRA .....	.....	89
Location .....	.....	91
Early settlement at Hatra .....	.....	92
(a) The archaeological evidence .....	.....	92
(b) The soundings .....	.....	92
Political history .....	.....	95

(a) Sources	95
(b) The Archaic period	96
(c) The period of the “maria” (“lords”)	99
(d) The period of the kings	103
(e) The end of Hatra	106
Administrative and social structure	107
(a) Administration	107
(b) Social structure	115
Architecture	117
(a) Plan	117
(b) The walls	118
(c) The main sanctuary (Bait Alaha)	123
(d) The dwelling area	127
(e) The small shrines	129
(f) Tombs	132
Reasons for the choice of site	133
(a) Vegetation	133
(b) Religion	133
(c) The military factor	136
(d) Trade routes and commerce	137
(e) Conclusion	138
Conclusion	140
CHAPTER 4: IMPORTANT INDIVIDUAL SITES OF THE JAZIRAH, II:	
KHIRBET JADDALAH	141
Location	143
The site	143
The excavation	143
(a) The outer enclosure	144
(b) The inner building	146
Architecture	150
History	153
CHAPTER 5: GRAFFITI AND PAINTINGS FROM HATRA AND KHIRBET JADDALAH	155
Introduction	157
Catalogue	157
(a) Graffiti	157
(i) Riding, hunting and associated scenes	159
(ii) Religious scenes (?)	159
(iii) Male and female figures in various poses	160
(b) Paintings	161
Discussion	161
(a) Graffiti	162
(i) Distribution and quality	162
(ii) Iconography	163
(b) Paintings	164
(i) Distribution and quality	164
(ii) Iconography	165

CHAPTER 6: POTTERY FROM HATRA AND KHIRBET JADDALAH	167
Introduction	169
Catalogue of pottery	169
(a) Early material from soundings at Hatra (I-11)	169
(b) Unglazed decorated wares from later periods at Hatra (c.A.D. 100-241)	169
(i) Amphora type (12-14)	171
(ii) Jug type (15-18)	171
(iii) Jar type (19-21)	172
(iv) Rhyton type (22)	172
(c) Undecorated wares from later periods at Hatra (c.A.D. 100-241)	173
(i) Amphora type (23-28)	173
(ii) Jug type (29-43)	174
(iii) Jar type (44)	176
(iv) Bowls (45-48)	176
(d) Lamps from later periods at Hatra (c.A.D. 100-241) (49-52)	177
(e) Pottery from Khirbet Jaddalah (c.A.D. 141-241)	177
(i) Amphora type (53-57)	177
(ii) Jug type (58)	178
(iii) Jar type (59-66)	179
(iv) Bowls (67-70)	179
(f) Parthian-period pottery from the Jazirah (71-85)	180
Discussion	181
(a) The wares from Hatra and Khirbet Jaddalah in the light of comparative material from elsewhere in Mesopotamia	181
(i) Early pottery from Hatra	181
(ii) Later potter from Hatra (c.A.D 100-241)	182
(iii) Pottery from Khirbet Jaddalah (c.A.D. 141-241)	185
(d) Conclusion	186
 CHARTER 7: CONCLUSION	 181
APPENDIX 1: ARAMAIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM HATRA AND THE JAZIRAH	193
Introduction	195
Inscription	195
(a) Unpublished inscriptions	195
(i) Hatra (no. 1) [I-XIX]	195
(ii) Khirbet Jaddalah (no. 68) [XX-XXIV]	204
(b) Published inscriptions to which reference was made in the text	206
(i) Hatra (no. 1) [I-341]	206
(ii) Wadi Hauran [WH1-8]	213
(iii) Sa 'adiya (no. 35)	213
(iv) Qbr Ibn Naif (no 209)	214
(v) 'Ibra Al-Saghiyra (no. 209)	214
 APPENDIX 2: EARLY ARAB SOURCES ON HATRA	 215
Introduction	217
Sources	217
(a) Poets	217

(b) Historians	218
ABBREVIATIONS	221
BIBLIOGRAPHY	223
INDEX	233
PLATES	247

FOREWORD

The present book is one of a series of books which the state Organization of Antiquities and Heritage intends to publish, relating to Arab life and culture in Pre-Islamic Iraq. In his book Dr. Jaber Khalil Ibrahim has dealt with a number of Cultural issues relating to Arab towns in desert locations such as Hatra and Jaddalah. The book is a thesis submitted to London University in November 1981 for the Ph. D. his study includes the results of his own excavation, particularly at the last site.

Arabic research dealing with the subject of palaces and forts in desert areas undoubtedly lacks wider details concerning the commercial centres of the caravans between the desert towns on the one hand and Iraq, al-sham, Palestine and the Arab Peninsula on the other.

Existing publications, including in some Arab countries about desert palaces and towns like Mada'in Palmyra and few are, indeed, completed by this admirable study of Dr. Jaber. I hope that this book will be a new link in Arab history both for the Pre-Islamic period and for Islamic times.

The state Organization of Antiquities and Heritage welcomes any critical opinions, which will be published in our periodical, Sumer, without delay.

Dr. MUAYAD SA'ID DEMIRJI

President of the State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage

ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with the archaeological sites of the Jazirah area of northern Iraq between the end of the Assyrian and the end of the Sasanian periods, with a particular concentration on the Parthian period and its important sites at Hatra and Jaddalah. The work opens with an introductory chapter on the geography of the area, its economic resources, and its administration in the early Islamic period. A section follows giving the results of a survey of sites in the Jazirah, most of which was carried out personally by the author; this demonstrates the chronological and geographical patterns of settlement and trade routes in the region, and confirms the observation made by others that on many sites, great and small, there seems to have been a gap in occupation between the end of the Assyrian and the Seleucid periods. Hatra is studied next; the author offers new evidence and for a wide variety of problems, and includes the results of his own archaeological soundings within the city and his readings of hitherto unpublished inscriptions, which illuminate Hatra's topography, earliest history, administration and architecture. Then a similar study is made of the problematical fortress or shrine site at Jaddalah, excavated under the direction of the writer. Chapters are devoted to discussions of hitherto unpublished graffiti, which throw light on Hatrene culture, and Parthian-period pottery, typical of north Iraq. A concluding chapter demonstrates, on the basis of the preceding discussion, the great significance of Hatra in the area. In a first Appendix the Hatrene inscriptions mentioned in the text are translated; these include 24 hitherto unpublished. In a second, early Arab sources on Hatra are collected. A bibliography follows. The text volume is accompanied by one of illustrations.

PREFACE

The imposing ruins of the ancient city of Hatra in north Iraq have continued to inspire curiosity ever since the city was destroyed and emptied of inhabitants by Shapur I, Sasanian King, in A.D. 241. In its heyday, the later Parthian and early Sasanian period, Hatra became the focal point for the whole surrounding region of the Jazirah, with which it had intimate connections. Within its walls great limestone shrines arose, filled with statuary; outside, in the territory around, large structures such as that at Khirbet Jaddalah were built, and innumerable small settlements prospered. Many inscriptions from in and around Hatra, written mostly in the then international language of Aramaic, reveal that the inhabitants were primarily Arabs; and so the rise of Hatra was largely an Arab achievement.

Hatra and the Jazirah have been the the object of considerable scholarly attention this century. The purpose of this study is to present new evidence concerning Hatra and the Jazirah area, much of it obtained personally by the author. This evidence is primarily archaeological, and epigraphy plays an important role. A site survey of the whole Jazirah region in the periods from the end of the Assyrian to the end of the Sasanian eras forms one large section. New material from Hatra itself is treated next, and then that from Khirbet Jaddalah, a large site on an important route north that clearly had close links with Hatra itself; previously unpublished graffiti, paintings, pottery and some inscriptions from the two sites are then given separate treatment. What emerges, it is hoped, is much revision of earlier interpretations of Hatra and the Jazirah, together with a range of new insights.

As regards the spelling of oriental words and names, I have tried to follow existing conventions.

This study would not have been possible without much generous assistance, which it is a great pleasure to acknowledge. The Government of Iraq, and the State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage, provided generous resources for study, travel and excavation. Both the previous Director-General of S.O.A.H., Dr. Isa Salman, and the present Director-General, Dr. Mu'ayed Said, gave every possible co-operation, especially over excavation. The author is also deeply indebted to the two supervisors of his work in the University of London, Professor E.E.D.M. Oates, who very kindly provided access to his unpublished site survey, and Dr. M.A.R. Colledge, as well as to the staff of the Institute of Archaeology. Professor J.B. Segal and Dr. S. Brock, with great kindness, helped with advice over epigraphical problems. Dr. Lamia Al-Gaylani and Julian Wootton gave much welcome assistance on matters of language. Heartfelt thanks go also to all the many people at Hatra who made much of the work possible, and indeed enjoyable, among whom were Mr. Muhammad Subhi Abaullah, Mr. Farhan Azzawi, Mr. Salih Ahmad and Mr. Azud Din Alsandug. Last, but not least, I should like to thank my wife for her constant encouragement.



LIST OF PLATES

1. Location map of the Jazirah area
2. Topographical and modern administrative map of the Jazirah
3. Topographical map of the east Jazirah , including Hatra
4. Soil map of the Jazirah (from Buringh, 1960)
5. Map showing rainfall in the Jazirah (form Guest , 1966)
6. Administrative map of the Jazirah in the early Islamic period
7. Map of Jazirah towns and villages in the early Islamic period
8. Map showing the divisions of the Jazirah site survey
9. Jazirah site survey, Aea 1 (nos.1-64)
10. Jazirah site survey, Area 2 (nos. 65-93)
11. Jazirh site survey, Area 3 (nos. 94-103)
12. Jazirh site survey, Area 4)nos. 104-228)
13. Jazirah site suvey, Area 5 (nos. 229-240)
14. Jazirah site survey, Area 6 (nos. 241-253)
15. Jazirah site survey, Area 7 (nos. 254-258)
16. Jazirah site survy, Area 8 (nos. 259-268)
17. Site plans (a) no.2 (b) no.2 (c) no.3 (d) no.4
18. Site plan: no.7
19. Site plans (a) no.9 (b) no. 12 (c) no. 13 (d) no.14
20. Site plans (a) no.31 (b) no.69
21. (a) Site no.69 (b) (b) Site plan, no. 69 (c).
22. (a) Site plan, no. 71 (b) Site no. 71
23. (a) Site plan, no. 74 (b) (b) Site no 74 (b)
24. (a) Site plan, no.78 (a) (b) Site no. 84
25. Topogaphical map, site no. 84
26. (a) Site no. 84. wall and entrance (b) Site no. 84, wall
27. (a) Site no. 89 (b) Tell Bander (c) Site no. 89, arrowslit.
28. (a) Site no. 89, fort (b) Site no. 89, ditch.
29. (a) Site no. 89, south section (b) Site no. 89, east section. with arrowslits.
30. Site plan, no. 90.
31. (a) Site no. 90, above Tigris (b) Site no. 90, east side
32. (a) Site no. 90, east side with gate (b) Site no. 90, gate in the east section.
33. (a) Site no. 90, east section, round towers (b) Site no. 90, gateways in the west section.
34. (a) Site no. 90, gateway in the centre (b) Site no. 90, west section.
35. Site plans (a) no. 93 (b) no. 94.
36. Site plan, no. 95.
37. (a) Site no. 100 (b) Site no. 209.
38. Site plan, no. 208.
39. Site plan, no. 211.

40. Site plan, no. 229.
41. (a) Site no. 252, carved signs (b) Site no. 254, excavation.
42. (a) Site no. 257 (a) and (b) (b) Site no. 257 (a).
43. Site plan, no. 257 (a).
44. Site no. 257 (a) (b) Site no. 257 (b).
45. Site plan, no. 259.
46. Site no. 259, plan of excavated part of city wall.
47. Site no. 259, plan of excavated part of city wall 3 faces.
48. (a) Site no. 259, city wall (b) Site no. 259, 3 faces of city wall.
49. Site plans (a) no. 260 (b) no. 261.
50. Site plan, no. 263.
51. Table of sites and their periods of occupation (nos. 1–134).
52. Table of sites and their periods of occupation (nos. 135–268).
53. Plan of major routes in the Jazirah in the Parthian period.
54. Map indicating the position of Hatra in the Middle East.
55. Topographical map of Hatra.
56. Aerial photograph of Hatra and the Wadi Tharthar.
57. Contour map of Hatra.
58. (a) The lake of Hatra (b) The depression at Hatra.
59. Plan of the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha) at Hatra.
60. Plan of Sounding I in the main sanctuary at Hatra.
61. (a) Sounding I at Hatra, view (b) Sounding I at Hatra, occupation levels (marked “L”).
62. (a) Sounding I at Hatra, Level II (b) Sounding I at Hatra, floors.
63. Section of floors in Sounding I, Hatra.
64. (a) Section B–B, Sounding I, Hatra (b) Floors 1–7, Section B–B, Sounding I, Hatra.
65. (a) Sounding II at Hatra, view (b) View of part of Sounding II at Hatra.
66. (a) Excavation of the house of M’NW, Hatra (b) Excavation of the house of M’NW, Hatra, showing occupation levels.
67. Genealogies of MRY’ (“maria” or “lords”) and MLK’ (“kings”) of Hatra.
68. Relief from Temple B (“of Allat”) in the main sanctuary at Hatra, with inscription [VII].
69. Genealogical tables of families of Hatra.
70. Genealogical tables of families of Hatra.
71. Genealogies of architects and sculptors at Hatra.
72. Aerial photograph of Hatra.
73. Site plan of Hatra.
74. Contour map of the site of Hatra.
75. Site plan of Seleucia on the Tigris (from G. Gullini, Mesopotamia, 2, 1967).
76. Site plan of Charax Spasinu (from Hansman, 1967).
77. Site plan of Dura–Europos (from G. Gullini, Mesopotamia, 2, 1967, fig. 298).
78. (a) Site plan of Antioch on the Orontes (b) Site plan of Alexandria (from G. Gullini, Mesopotamia, 2, 1967, figs. 288–9).
79. Site plan of Palmyra (from E. Frezouls (ed.), Palmyre. Bilan et perspectives, Strasbourg, 1976, 193, fig. 1).
80. (a) Building B to the east of the eastern gate, Hatra (b) View of the author’s excavation of the inside of the inner wall of Hatra.
81. Plan demonstrating the intervisibility of main wall towers and buildings B, Hatra.
82. Plan demonstrating the visibility of main wall towers and buildings B from central tower F, Hatra.
83. Plan demonstrating the intervisibility of main wall towers and buildings B, Hatra.

84. (a) Main wall of Hatra, with ditch in front (b) Bridge over the ditch in front of the main wall of Hatra, close to the northern gate.
85. (a) Main wall of Hatra with northern gate, ditch in front and bridge over the ditch (b) Inner face of the main wall, with the inner wall behind it, Hatra.
86. Plan of the northern gate (from Al-Salihi, 1980), Hatra.
87. (a) Inner side of the northern gate, with "Heracles" niche, Hatra (b) Arrowslits in the northern gate, Hatra, from outside.
88. Single arrowslit in the northern gate, seen from outside, Hatra.
89. (a) Inner side of the northern gate, Hatra, showing rise in ground level, plaster reddened by fire and "Heracles" niche
(b) Tower of the inner wall, northern gate, Hatra.
90. Plan of the eastern gate, Hatra (from excavation records of F. Azzawi).
91. (a) The eastern gate, Hatra, during excavation (b) The eastern gate, Hatra, after excavation.
92. (a) The inner section of the eastern gate, Hatra
(b) The "eagle" niche, eastern gate, Hatra, with inscriptions [I, II, XIV].
93. (a) Inner side of the eastern gate, Hatra (b) Inner side of the eastern gate, showing missiles, Hatra.
94. (a) Area called the "palace" near the northern gate, Hatra
(b) View of the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha) from the east, Hatra.
95. Aerial view of the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha), Hatra.
96. (a) Eastern section of the wall of the main sanctuary, Hatra,
(b) Eastern section of the wall of the main sanctuary, Hatra with semi-circular buttress from a previous phase.
97. (a) The main iwan group in the main sanctuary, Hatra
(b) North iwan group in the main sanctuary, Hatra.
98. (a) Third iwan group (on the north) in the main sanctuary, Hatra,
(b) Interior of great north iwan, Hatra, showing altar.
99. (a) Temple E ("of MRN"), Hatra (b) Temple E ("of MRN), Hatra.
100. Ground plan of Temple E ("of MRN), Hatra (from Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 345, plan 7).
101. (a) Temple D ("of Shah (i) ru"), main sanctuary, Hatra
(b) Ground plan of Temple D ("of Shah (i) ru"), Hatra (FROM Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 338, plan 5)
102. Ground plan of Temple C ("of the Samia"), main sanctuary, Hatra (from Safar and Mustafa, 1974, 343 plan 6)
103. Ground plan of the square shrine behind the great south iwan, main sanctuary, Hatra (from Safar and Mustafa, 1974): 335, plan 4)
104. (a) East section of Temple B ("of Allat"), Hatra
(b) Detail of east section of Temple B ("of Allat"), Hatra, with camel reliefs
105. Ground plan of the house of M'NW, Hatra (from Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 351, plan 10)
106. Ground plans of house adjoining Shrine II, Hatra (from Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 353, plan 11)
107. Ground plans of houses adjoining Shrine XI, Hatra (from Safar and mustafa, 1974: 367, plan 21)
108. Ground plan of the Parthian-period "palac" at Assur (from Pope, 1938): vol. I, fig. 106).
109. Ground plan of a large parthian-period house at Seleucia on the Tigris (from L. Waterman, Preliminary Report upon the Excavations at Tel Umar, Iraq, Ann Arbor, 1933, fig. 7)
110. Ground plans of (A) Shrine I (B) Shrine II (C) Shrine III (from Safar and Mustafa , 1974: 351, plan 10, 353, plan 11, 355, plan 12)
111. Ground plans of (A) Shrine IV (B) Shrine V (C) Shrine VI (from Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 355, plan 12, 357, plan 14, 358, plan 16)
112. Ground pland of (A) Shrine VII (B) Shrine VIIIa (C) Shrine VIIIb (from Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 359, plan 17, 361, plan 18)

113. Ground plans of (A) Shrine IX (B) Shrine X (C) Shrine XI (from Safar and Mustafa. 1974: 363, plan 19, 365, plan 20, 367, plan 21)
114. Shrine XIII, Hatra, under excavation
115. Plans of excavated tombs in the east part of Hatra (From Al-Salihi, 1972: plan (A))
116. (a) View of tomb JII, Hatra (b) Plan and sections of tomb JII, Hatra (from Al-Salihi 1972: Plan C)
117. View of tomb J3, Hatra, containing inscriptions [293, 294]
118. Plan and sections of tomb J6, Hatra (from Al-Salihi, 1972: Plan B)
119. (a) View of the site of Jaddalah, with the Wadi Jaddalah
(b) View of the spring of Jaddalah
120. (a) View of the east side of the mound of Khirbet Jaddalah, before excavation
(b) Closer view of the east side of Khirbet Jaddalah, with column bases
121. (a) Western section of the wall of Khirbet Jaddalah
(b) Western section of the wall of the Khirbet Jaddalah, during excavation
122. Ground plan of the site Khirbet Jaddalah
123. (a) Tower A, Khirbet Jaddalah (b) Tower A, Khirbet Jaddalah
124. (a) Buttresses d in the outer wall (west section), Khirbet Jaddalah
(b) Buttresses f in the outer wall (west section), Khirbet Jaddalah
125. (a) West side of Khirbet Jaddalah, before excavation
(b) West side of Khirbet Jaddalah, after excavation
126. Reconstruction of the western section of the outer wall of Khirbet Jaddalah
127. (a) Doorway leading from room 3 (into room 4), Khirbet Jaddalah
(b) Western section of the main building, Khirbet Jaddalah
128. Ground plan of the main, or inner, building, Khirbet Jaddalah
129. (a) Room 10 (on the right) and part of Portico I (on the left), Khirbet Jaddalah (b) Portico J, Khirbet Jaddalah
130. (a) West section of the main (inner) building after excavation, Khirbet Jaddalah
(b) View of the main building from the north-west after excavation, Khirbet Jaddalah
131. (a) View of the site of Khirbet Jaddalah from the north, with Wadi Jaddalah on the left
(b) Portico I, on the south side of the main (inner) building, Khirbet Jaddalah
132. (a) Limestone lintel over the doorway from room 18 (into room 23) with "evil eye" relief, Khirbet Jaddalah
(b) Window looking from room 19 into room 18, Khirbet Jaddalah
133. Drawing of the "evil eye" relief, Khirbet Jaddalah
134. (a) View inside room 19, showing bricked-up window and springing of vault, main building Khirbet Jaddalah
(b) View of (entrance) room 20, main building, Khirbet Jaddalah
135. (a) View inside (entrance) room 20 main building, Khirbet Jaddalah
(b) View inside (entrance) room 20 showing small and large (on left) niches main building, Khirbet Jaddalah
136. (a) Staircase inside (entrance) room 20, main building, Khirbet Jaddalah
(b) View from above of (entrance) room 20 in the main building, Khirbet Jaddalah.
137. (a) Large niche in (entrance) room 20, main building, Khirbet Jaddalah
(b) small niche in first-phase wall in (entrance) room 20, main building, Khirbet Jaddalah
138. Drawing of small niche in room 20, Khirbet Jaddalah
139. (a) East section of the main building, Khirbet Jaddalah, during excavation
(b) East section of the main building, Khirbet Jaddalah, after excavation
140. Colonnade on east of main building, Khirbet Jaddalah
141. Drawings of architectural details at Khirbet Jaddalah
(a) Portico pilaster capital (profile view)
(b) Portico pilaster capital (frontal view)
(c) Column bases of columns on east side of main building

142. Hypothetical reconstruction of the main building, Khirbet Jaddalah
143. Isometric reconstruction of the main building, Khirbet Jaddalah
144. (a) Drawing of arrowslit at Hatra
(b) Drawing of arrowslit at Khirbet Jaddalah
145. Graffito no. 1, Hatra
146. Graffito no. 2, Hatra
147. Graffito no. 3, Hatra
148. Graffito no. 4, Hatra
149. Graffito no. 5, Hatra
150. Graffito no. 6, Hatra
151. Graffito no. 7, Hatra
152. Graffito no. 8, Hatra
153. Graffito no. 9, Hatra
154. Graffito no. 10, and inscription [XVII], Hatra
155. Graffito no. 10, and inscription [XVII], Hatra
156. Graffito no. 11, and inscription [XVIII], Hatra
157. Graffito no. 11, and inscription [XVIII], Hatra
158. Graffito no. 12, and inscription [XIX], Hatra
159. Graffito no. 12, and inscription [XIX], Hatra
160. Graffito no. 13, Hatra
161. Graffito no. 14, and inscription [XVI], Hatra.
162. (a) Graffito no. 15, Hatra
(b) Graffito no. 16, Hatra
163. Graffito no. 17, and inscription [XI], Hatra
164. Graffito no. 18, Hatra
165. Graffito no. 19, Hatra
166. Graffito no. 20, Hatra
167. Graffito no. 20, Hatra
167. Graffito no. 21, Khirbet Jaddalah
168. (a) Graffito no. 21, Khirbet Jaddalah
(b) Graffito no. 22, Khirbet Jaddalah
169. (a) Graffito no. 23, Hatra
(b) Graffito no. 24, Hatra
170. (a) Graffito no. 25, Hatra
(b) Graffito no. 26, Hatra
171. Graffito no. 27, and inscription [XIII], Hatra
172. Graffito no. 28, Khirbet Jaddalah
173. Graffito no. 28, Khirbet Jaddalah
174. Painting no. 29, Hatra
175. Painting no. 30, and inscription [XV], Hatra
176. Painting no. 31, (lower part) and inscription [XXIII], Khirbet Jaddalah
177. Painting no. 31, (lower part) and inscription [XXIII], Khirbet Jaddalah
178. Painting no. 31, (upper part) Khirbet Jaddalah
179. Painting no. 32, (upper part) and inscription [XXIV], Khirbet Jaddalah
180. Painting no. 33, Khirbet Jaddalah
181. Pottery «1-3», Hatra
182. Pottery «4-7», Hatra
183. Jar «8», Hatra

184. Jar «8», Hatra
185. Amphora «9» and jug «10», Hatra
186. Jar «11», Hatra
187. Amphora «12-14», Hatra
188. Jugs «15-16», Hatra
189. Jug «17», Hatra
190. Jug «18», Hatra
191. Jars «19-20», Hatra
192. Pottery fragment «21» and inscription [X]. Hatra
193. Rhyton «22», Hatra
194. Amphora «23-24», Hatra
195. Amphora «25-26», Hatra
196. Amphora «27», Hatra
197. Amphora «28», Hatra
198. Jugs «29-30», Hatra
199. Jugs «31-32», Hatra
200. Jugs «33-37», Hatra
201. Jugs «38-39», Hatra
202. Jug «40», Hatra
203. Jug «41», Hatra
204. Jug «42», Hatra
205. Jug «43», Hatra
206. Jar «44», Hatra
207. Bowls «45-48», Hatra
208. Lamps «49-52», Hatra
209. Amphora «53», Khirbet Jaddalah
210. Amphora «53», Khirbet Jaddalah
211. Pottery «54-70», Khirbet Jaddalah
212. Amphora fragments «54-55», Khirbet Jaddalah
213. Amphora fragments «56-57», Khirbet Jaddalah
214. Jug fragment «58», Khirbet Jaddalah
215. Jar fragments «59-61», Khirbet Jaddalah
216. Jar fragments «62-63», Khirbet Jaddalah
217. Jar fragment «64», Khirbet Jaddalah
218. Jar fragment «65», Khirbet Jaddalah
219. Jar «66», Khirbet Jaddalah
220. Bowls «67-70», Khirbet Jaddalah
221. Pottery «71-79», Jazirah
222. Pottery «80-85», Jazirah
223. Aramaic scripts at Hatra
224. Inscription [I], Hatra
225. Inscription [II], Hatra
226. Inscription [II], Hatra
227. Inscription [III], Hatra
228. Inscription [IV], Hatra
229. Inscription [IV], Hatra
230. Inscription [V], Hatra
231. Inscription [V], Hatra

232. Inscription [VI], Hatra
233. Inscription [VI], Hatra
234. Inscription [VII, VIII], Hatra
235. Inscription [IX], Hatra
236. Inscription [IX], Hatra
237. Inscriptions [X, XII], Hatra
238. Inscription [XIV], Hatra
239. Inscription [XIV], Hatra
240. Inscriptions [XX, XXI], Khirbet Jaddalah
241. Inscription [XXII], Khirbet Jaddalah
242. Inscriptions [1-3], Hatra
243. Inscription [4], Hatra
244. Inscriptions [5, 6, 8], Hatra
245. Inscriptions [10, 12, 13, 16], Hatra
246. Inscriptions [17, 21, 24, 25], Hatra
247. Inscriptions [28, 30], Hatra
248. Inscriptions [34, 35], Hatra
249. Inscriptions [36, 37, 43], Hatra
250. Inscriptions [46, 48, 49, 51], Hatra
251. Inscriptions [56, 58, 59], Hatra
252. Inscriptions [60, 61, 62], Hatra
253. Inscriptions [63-64], Hatra
254. Inscriptions [65-66], Hatra
255. Inscription [67], Hatra
256. Inscriptions [68, 77], Hatra
257. Inscriptions [78-79], Hatra
258. Inscriptions [80, 82, 85], Hatra
259. Inscriptions [92-94, 96, 98, 100-104], Hatra
260. Inscriptions [106-110, 112, 113, 116], Hatra
261. Inscriptions [122-123, 126-127, 129, 131, 134, 139-141, 143, 145], Hatra
262. Inscriptions [146, 150, 153, 156, 160, 161], Hatra
263. Inscriptions [166-167, 170, 176-177, 181, 183-184, 187-188], Hatra
264. Inscriptions [189-190, 192-198], Hatra
265. Inscriptions [199-200, 202-204], Hatra
266. Inscriptions [207, 211-212, 214-215], Hatra
267. Inscriptions [216-218], Hatra
268. Inscriptions [219, 221, 223-224], Hatra
269. Inscriptions [225, 227, 229], Hatra
270. Inscriptions [230-232], Hatra
271. Inscriptions [240-243], Hatra
272. Inscriptions [244-245, 272, 274, 280], Hatra
273. Inscriptions [281, 283], Hatra
274. Inscriptions [286, 287], Hatra
275. Inscriptions [288], Hatra
276. Inscriptions [289-290], Hatra
277. Inscriptions [292-294], Hatra
278. Inscriptions [295, 297, 305, 333, 334], Hatra
279. Inscriptions [335-336], Hatra
280. Inscriptions [341] from Hatra, and from site no. 35, (Sa'adiya) and site no. 71, (Qbr Ibn Naif)
281. Inscription from site no. 209, ('Ibra Al-Saghiyra)

CHAPTER 1: GENERAL ASPECTS OF THE JAZIRAH

The geology of the Jazirah	25
The geography of the Jazirah	25
(a) The hills	25
(b) Valleys	26
(c) Soil	27
(d) Climate	28
(e) Water resources	29
(f) The population of the Jazirah	29
The Jazirah in the earlier Islamic period	30
(a) Administrative history	30
(b) The tribes	34
(c) The economy	35

The geology of the Jazirah

The Jazirah is an area of north Iraq. (pl. 1) consisting largely of a rocky plateau with the Sinjar hills (anticline altitude 1500 m.) forming its northern part. This anticlinal structure is oriented east-west, parallel to the Taurus mountain range. On the Jazirah's southern boundary lies the town of Ana (also on an east-west trend) whereas on the east it is bounded by the Tharthar valley, a north-south trending fracture forming one of the major fractures of the Abu Jir zone, which runs from the area of the town of Sinjar southwards to the region around the cities of Najaf and Kerbela⁽¹⁾

The Jazirah area is structurally a low dome dipping sharply to the east along the Wadi Tharthar, to the north towards Sinjar, to the south towards Ana, and to the west towards Sinjar. In each case a trough is formed around it. The rocks of the Jazirah belong mostly to the Fars Formation of the Middle Miocene age (15 million years ago), and are composed alternately of gypsum, limestone and claystone in cyclic order. In the trough areas the Upper Fars Formation (of the Upper Miocene period, 10 million years ago) is exposed and composed mostly of an alternation of sandstone and claystone. The Jazirah land surface is covered largely by gypcrete which was formed by capillary action, due to the dissolution of gypsum from bedrock and its redeposition in the overlying soils; this gypsum, which has risen up, is often affected by overly erosion, and is thought to be of the Pleistocene age (about 1,000,000-10,000 years ago).

The water-bearing strata of the Jazirah, are mostly the sandstone of the Upper Fars Formation and, to a lesser extent, the fractured limestone of the Lower Fars Formation. Tunnels through the gypsum, created by water, are common in the area near Tell 'Afar and south of Sinjar. Water moves down the dips in the strata which fall away from the apex of the low rocky dome which is situated in the Tayarat region, about 30 km. north of Ana.

The geography of the Jazirah

The Jazirah region (pl. 2) is surrounded mainly by the steep valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. Its altitude varies from 150m. to 300m. above sea level, with a number of small, closed basins from which there is no drainage outlet.⁽²⁾ The cliff line stretching from Hit on the Euphrates to Samarra on the Tigris divides the northern region from the flat alluvial plain of the south.⁽³⁾

A description of the natural features of the region follows, based primarily on the personal observation of the author.

(a) The hills

The Jebel Mak-hul is a rugged range along the west bank of the Tigris. It is about 60km. long, and on average in height it is between 360m. and 462m.⁽⁴⁾ It forms a high cliff above the river; on its other side it slopes down very gently towards the Jazirah. Its northern part ends in the Maki-heel and Khanuqa hills, which continue on to the Sharqat region. There are, as the official description of Iraq and the Gulf puts it, "narrow parallel ridges similar in characteristics to Jebel Hamrin, and rugged ranges cut deeply by ravines. Apart from goat-tracks no regular paths exist, except towards the lower north-western end"⁽⁵⁾

(1) The geological information in this section was kindly provided by Br. Saad Z. Jasim of the Iraqi Government Geological Survey Department.

(2) Jawad, 1965: 9.

(3) Oates, 1968: 1.

(4) Stein, 1941: 304; Al-Khalaf, 1965: 67.

(5) Iraq and the Gulf, 1944: 74.

Further north, other smaller ranges lie at angles to the west bank of the river Tigris. These comprise the Jebel Qaiyara, Nejma, Jawan and Umm Al-Shinin, and west of Mosul; they rise more than 150m.-220m. above the plain.⁽⁶⁾

Another range consists of Jebel Atshana (490m. in height), Jebel 'Addaia (447m.), Jebel Sheikh Ibrahim (536m.), Jebel Tell Afar (598m.) and Jebel Ishkift (624m.). The longest and highest of these ranges is Jebel Sinjar, 1463m. in height, 72km. in length and 13km. in width.⁽⁷⁾

(h) Valleys

A number of valleys start from the hills which are situated on the north and east of the Jazirah. The three main valleys are those of the Tharthar (Tartara), Al-Qasab and Al-mur (pl. 2). Smaller valleys connect these main ones. We shall discuss them in turn.

Wadi Tharthar (pls. 2, 3). This huge wadi is 300 km. long.⁽⁸⁾ In its upper part, it is fed by a number of small springs originating in the Jebel Tell Afar and Jebel Sheikh Ibrahim; the largest of these is Aġn Al-Hissan, 32km. east of Beled Sinjar.⁽⁹⁾ Six larger wadis run into the main bed of the Tharthar: the Ibdan, Ibra, Senam, Thrithir, Mityaha and Ahmar. Wadi Thrithir (the smaller Tharthar) joins the Tharthar south of Tell Abta (pl. 2). Near Hatra the Tharthar changes its direction to the south; here it is 7.50m. to 9m. wide, with water perhaps between 1.50m. and 1.80m. deep in winter or after rain in the spring.⁽¹⁰⁾ It comes nearer the Tigris west of the town of Baiji, ending in the great depression of Umm Al-Rahal, west of Samarra.

Rain water runs down the valleys to the Tharthar during winter and spring, but the Wadi becomes dry in the summer. Springs are the sources of water for the northern hills. Other springs run through valleys from the Jebel Mak-hul and Maki-heel. The constant rain water which comes down from the Jebel Sinjar has eroded the Wadi, which has become 8m. deep, and has exposed its gypsum and limestone strata.

The Wadi Tharthar is mentioned in historical documents. The Assyrian king Tukulti Ninurta II (890-884 B.C.), in his campaign journey from Assur to Babylonia during 885 B.C., mentioned that his army dug in the bed the Tartara (Tharthar) and found sweet water at its mouth, before it ended in a swamp.⁽¹¹⁾ A number of Arab geographers and historians mention the region. Al-Tabari, when discussing the fall of Hatra under Shapur the Sasanian King, takes note of the region of the Tharthar.⁽¹²⁾ Al-Hamadhani defines the Tharthar as a river, with villages and gardens on its banks, that passes through Hatra, originating in Sinjar and going down to the Euphrates; he also claims that boats sail down the river.⁽¹³⁾ Al-Qazweni says that the source of the Tharthar is the Hermas, a branch of the Khabur river, and that it goes to the Tigris.⁽¹⁴⁾ Al-Mas'udi states that Nadhira, the daughter of Adh-Dhaizan the last king of Hatra, sent a message to Shapur with directions on how to enter Hatra: "Throw a spindle on the Tharthar and follow it through an underground stream, which will lead you to the city"⁽¹⁵⁾ In addition, Yaqut says: "Tharthar water is brackish, and all the wells, generally little more than shallow holes in the ground, contain yellow, brackish, bad-smelling water"⁽¹⁶⁾ Yaqut also claims that he had seen the

(6) Stein, 1941: 304; Iraq and the Gulf, 1944: 74.

(7) Al-Khalaf, 1965: 15; Oates, 1968: 15.

(8) Al-Khalaf, 1965: 55.

(9) Iraq and the Gulf, 1944: 77.

(10) Iraq and the Gulf, 1944: 78.

(11) Olmstead, 1923: 12, 21, 77; Luckenbill, 1926: vol. 1, 128; Herzfeld, 1968: 221; Brinkman, 1968: 183.

(12) Al-Tabari, vol. 2: 50.

(13) Al-Hamadhani, p. 129. Note the Tharthar does not join the Euphrates.

(14) Al-Qazweni, p. 308, 368. This untrue.

(15) Al-Mas'udi, vol. 2: 403.

(16) Yaqut Al-Hamawi, vol. 3: 10; cf. Layard, 1853: 72.

place where the Tharthar meet the Tigris.⁽¹⁷⁾ Although the Arab geographers agree about the direction of the Tharthar, their statements about the topography of the region are often very unreliable. In particular, it is impossible for the Tharthar to join the Tigris because of the intervening low hills of Qarat Al-Qasa, north-west of the Tigris, which start from the region of Baiji and in the opposite direction from Jebel Mak-hul, making it impossible for the water to flow to the Tigris, by diverting it in the opposite direction. Moreover, there are other hills, such as Marqab Al-Tayor and Hafat Al-Shannanat, ending south-east of the Umm Al-Rahal depression (3m.-4m. below sea level), which also prevent the Tharthar from flowing east.⁽¹⁸⁾

Wadi AL-Qaşab ("reeds") (pl. 2). This starts from Jebel 'Atshana. Its main tributaries are the Wadis Salmani, Ekhhirat, Twaim and Herim, which slope down towards the east, ending in the Tigris at the village of Romana,⁽¹⁹⁾ north of the modern town of Qaiyara. Ainsworth mentioned encountering this wadi on his way to Hatra,⁽²⁰⁾ and Layard also crossed it when he visited Hatra in 1846; he noticed a salt stream and a dense marsh of reeds and water.⁽²¹⁾

Wadi Al-Mur (pls. 2, 3). This extremely salty wadi starts from the area of Mkhazaga, to the west of the police station of Slubi; other small branches join it from Jebel Jawan and Nejma. It finishes in the Tigris south of Qaiyara.

Wadi Jaddalahh (pl. 3) This is in the region which starts from the foothills of Jebel Nejma; it goes through the area, eventually joining such other wadis as the Ru'gai, Siran and Khnizirat, and ending in the Wadi Jarnaf. Its bed is dry in summer but flooded during the rainy season.

Another two important valleys in the region are those of the Wadi Shishin, just south of Tekrit, and Wadi Umm Al-Shibabit, near the ruins of Qala Sharqat (Assur). In addition to the above-mentioned wadis, others also run down from the Jebel Sinjar to the south-east and south, ending in a great salt depression. The largest are the Wadi Shicasti, which leads to the Wadi and depression of Umm Al-Jaba, and Wadi Qran, which goes into the salty Sinisla depression. Small valleys also exist where rainfall gathers, forming swamps in the winter and depressions in the summer. Ashkar and Umm-Diyabah also comprise two further great depressions in the district.

(c) Soil

Soil in the Jazirah differs from area to area (pl. 4). In the southern region it is dark and bright grey sand, found above the gypsum and limestone levels. The area between Hatra and Baqqa is covered with sand, with a thin stratum of pebbles sometimes on the surface, but usually below. Occasionally gypsum is found below the surface, and sometimes it appears above ground.⁽²²⁾ The surface level in the zone of Umm-Dabaghiyah contains, as Dorrell says, "redeposited silts and clays more or less cemented by gypsum, lying upon gypsiferous rocks."⁽²³⁾

Soil in the region between Qtr⁽²⁴⁾ Slubi and the foothills of Nejma. Jawan, Bashmanah and Naddas is muddy and suitable for agriculture, while that between these foothills and Jebel 'Atshana is reddish-brown.⁽²⁵⁾

(17) Yaqut Al-Hamawi, vol. 3: 10, 290. This is untrue

(18) Sharif: vo. 1, p. 79.

(19) Note that this is an Arabic name, meaning "pomegranate", and has nothing to do with anything Roman.

(20) Ainsworth. T841: 3.

(21) Layard: 1853: 60.

(22) Buringh, 1960: 198.

(23) Dorrell 1972: 69.

(24) Locally this word means "a series of low mounds"

(25) Buringh, 1960: 290.

Recently the Department of Dams in the Iraqi Ministry of Irrigation dug two soil test soundings on the banks of the Wadi Tharthar, in the region of Hatra. The result as regards the left bank was that the surface level (from 0-40cm. down) consisted of sandy clay loam, the next level down (40cm. 130cm) had as its upper section (40cm -60cm.) sandy clay loam again, while the lower level was clay. The third level (130cm. 200cm) was of silty clay (130cm.-180cm.), and then of sandy clay loam between 180cm and 200cm. The result of the test on the right showed sandy loam at the surface, sandy as next, and then sandy silty clay at a depth of 180cm.⁽²⁶⁾

(d) Climate

The study of the climate in the Jazirah is difficult, because there are no meteorological stations in the region (pl. 5).

Generally, the climate is very dry in the summer and cold in the winter. There is also a great difference in temperature between day and night, and between winter and summer. The average annual rainfall varies between the upper and lower Jazirah. At Samarra the annual rainfall does not exceed 155mm., and at Haditha 133mm. On the upper Jazirah plain rainfall is two to three times that at Baghdad. The average annual rainfall ranges from about 300mm. to 500mm.⁽²⁷⁾

The rainy season lasts from November to May, and the long, hot rainless summer from May to October. July and August are the hottest months. The short, cold winter goes from December to February, with January being the coldest month. This is followed by a short spring season, from March to April.

Guest has described the winds as follows: "The prevailing wind in all months is north-west, but during the winter months, depressions pass eastwards across the country from the eastern Mediterranean. They are accompanied by unsettled weather, strong south-easterly winds, often gale force accompanied by rainy dust storms. In the rainfall season the rain tends to be associated with thunderstorms and squalls."⁽²⁸⁾ The greatest dust storms in the region occur during the hot weather.

(e) Water resources

The southern limit of the main rainfall runs along the foothills on the northern side of the Jazirah (pl. 4)⁽²⁹⁾. Rain forms the main water source for the inhabitants in the whole region: they use it for drinking, for their animals and, in the north Jazirah, for dry farming.

Springs constitute an additional water source. Some are found in wadi beds, while the rest are scattered in various places. Quantity and quality differ from one area to another. The lower Jazirah has salty springs, while in the upper Jazirah sulphurous springs predominate, such as Hamam Al-Alil, Ain Bydha, Naddas and Jern. There are salt water wells around Hatra, Sa'adiya (site no. 35) and Baqqa. A few underground streams with fresh water come down to the Wadi Tharthar near Hatra at Abu Tina, Abu Hamam and Sehil. There are other fresh water springs not far from the Tharthar at Abu Tanak, Sa'adiya and Thaiyyliat. The principal spring at Jaddalah flows into the narrow rocky bed of the Wadi Jaddalah. The good quality water from this spring serves the needs of the present local population and allows some small-scale farming. It has obviously been the principal water source in

(26) Report of the Iraqi Ministry of Irrigation (Department of Dams and Reservoirs), 1970. A copy of this report is in the State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage, Baghdad (File no. 3A/ 35 Tharthar).

(27) Guest, 1966: 18.

(28) Guest, 1966: 18

(29) Oates, 1968: 2; Reade, 1978: 48.

the Jaddalah area from ancient times until the present day. Ancient cut limestone blocks are still standing around the spring, and others are scattered along the bed of the wadi. Also there are small brackish springs dotted around the Jaddalah area.

There is a large number of wells at the site of Hatra. Indeed, there seems to have been one or more in every house. There are some larger ones inside the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha). There is also a lake which has water all the year round south-west of the Bait Alaha; there are also two other depressions in the eastern section of the city which have water from early winter to early summer. Thus Hatra, through these circumstances, was the place in the Jazirah most generously endowed with water.

There are only a few ancient documents that mention the water resources of this region. Strabo says: "There is another river between the Tigris and the Euphrates, called Basileus and Aborras"⁽³⁰⁾ Pliny the Elder, the Roman writer of the mid-first century A.D., refers to a river in this general area called Pallaconta, identified with the Tharthar by Safar and Mustafa.⁽³¹⁾ Some Arab geographers state (surely incorrectly) that there were rivers in the district. Thus Al-Bakri says Hashak is a river lying beside the Tharthar and the Kaheel is also a river some 10 fersakh⁽³²⁾ south of the city of Mosul.⁽³³⁾ Yaqut states that the river Merj lay near Tekrit, west of Es-haqi, and added that Muthaqeb was a "water" between Tekrit and Mosul.⁽³⁴⁾ These rivers do not exist at present; possibly the geographers meant the wadis.

(f) The population of the Jazirah

During the last century the Arab tribes of the Juboor, Tayy, Dulaim, 'Ubaid, Hadidi, 'Eniza and Shammer settled in the Jazirah in search of rich pasture, and occupied a part of the Sinjar valley.⁽³⁵⁾ Later, the Shammer expanded its power over the Jazirah,⁽³⁶⁾ and it pushed the 'Eniza and Dulaim north and other tribes north-west, and the 'Ubaid to the region between the Tigris and the Lower Zab. Some of the Shammer tribesmen became sedentary and took up cattle grazing.⁽³⁷⁾

A group from the Tayy tribe, according to Rich, had pitched their tents in the open country at one end of the Jebel Mak-hul, around Qala Sharqat (Assur).⁽³⁸⁾ Then, Yazidis came down from the mountains and settled in villages as farmers in Jebel Sinjar and Tell 'Afar, during the period 1850-1918.⁽³⁹⁾

Today, the tribal distribution has changed somewhat. The Dulaim, Hadidi, Albu Badran and Albu Imtawit tribes live in small villages near the wadis. The population has increased, and members of these tribes are found around such existing urban centres as Hatra, Sinjar and Qaiyara.

Farmers from the Juboor tribe have settled along the banks of the Tigris in the area between Tekrit and Mosul to the north; another part of the same tribe has settled near Baghdad.

West of the Tigris, between Qala Sharqat (Assur) and Qaiyara, mainly in the Jaddalah region, is the tribe of Leheeb, a branch of the Juboor.

(30) Strabo, XVI, 233. This Greek geographer wrote under the Roman emperor Augustus (31 BC. to A.D. 14).

(31) Pliny, *Natural History*, V, xxx, 427; Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 20.

(32) Fersakh used to be calculated as the distance that could be covered on foot in one hour. Nowadays it is regarded as 5544m. (Al-Salih, 1965: 417).

(33) Al-Bakri, vol. 1, 338, Al-Asbahani: vol. 12, p. 199.

(34) Yaqut Al-Hamawi, p. 437.

(35) Al-Tell afari, 1969: 32.

(36) Layard, 1853: 58; Safar, 1960: 3.

(37) Al-Kasab, 1969: 289.

(38) Rich, 1836: vol. 2, 138.

(39) Al-Kasab, 1969: 290.

The members of these tribes now live in one of three ways: either as nomadic Beduin, or a semi-settlers, or as fully sedentary settlers.

The Beduin in the lower Jazirah live in tents of goat hair. They keep numbers of camels, goats and sheep. They supply themselves with grain, barley and dates from the urban centres. From the end of October until the end of March, for six to seven months, they go on a long journey to the desert.⁽⁴⁰⁾

In the area of southern Hatra in 1958 there were some 276 semi-villages, in which some members of the community remain partly nomadic; the maximum number of inhabitants is 50. There were also another 179 smaller villages, whose maximum number of inhabitants was 150.⁽⁴¹⁾ Other small villages are scattered along the rainfall zone. Each is inhabited by 7-20 families. The inhabitants of this group are shepherds, living a semi-nomadic life.

The other type of Arab settlers comprises those who adopted a sedentary life and built mudbrick houses and who occupy themselves with farming and cattle grazing. These are seen around the urban centres of Ba 'aj and Tell 'Abta, which belong administratively to Hatra (Al-Hadhr) (pl. 2). There are 120 modern villages administered from Tell 'Abta and 180 run from Ba'aj. These villages are inhabited by 40-120 families. Again, there are 326 villages controlled from Sinjar and Tell Afar, whose populations are 100-300 families.⁽⁴³⁾

The Jazirah in the earlier Islamic period

Little is known of the administration or economy of the Jazirah in antiquity; the earliest period of which something is recorded is the earlier Islamic. But the Jazirah is an area which has shown a considerable degree of cultural continuity, especially in living patterns and social organization.⁽⁴⁴⁾ So in an attempt to gain some idea of ancient administration, agriculture and trade, it may not be entirely irrelevant to collect together what is known of this earlier Islamic period, as it might have some bearing on earlier eras. Furthermore, the environment has probably remained unchanged for at least the last eight millennia.⁽⁴⁵⁾

(a) Administrative history

Before the Arab conquest the greater part of the Jazirah region was controlled by the Byzantine empire, while the southern area was under Sasanian suzerainty. With the rise of Islam in A.D. 637 the whole of the Jazirah became part of the Muslim world, ruled by a governor chosen by the Caliph.

Our sources for the Jazirah in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods are the Arab historians who described the Muslim conquests, such as Al-Tabari, Al-Baladhuri and Ibn Kathir, and the Arab geographers who wrote about the Jazirah and its towns, villages, rivers and population. These geographers were Ibn Khordadbeh, Ibn Ja'far, Al-Hamadani, Al-Muqaddasi and Al-Istakhri; the most important were Ibn Hawqal, who wrote a chapter on the Jazirah which was illustrated by a map, and Al-Muqaddasi.

(40) Arim, 1965: 18, 23.

(41) Census Statistics for Iraq, 1957, published Baghdad, 1963

(42) Al-Kasab, 1969: 293.

(43) Al-Kasab, 1969: 293.

(44) In Arabic the word Jazirah means "island", and it has long been used to designate this area. A crescent-shaped island in the Tigris above Mosul also is called Jazirah (Jazirat Ibn Omar) (Al-Qazweni: 351).

(45) Kirkbride, 1973: 6; see also Nützel, 1976: 21.

In the earlier Islamic period Jazirah was a large province in upper Mesopotamia with a governor at the provincial capital of Mosul.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Its boundaries were the Tigris on the east, the Euphrates on the west, the mountain of Tur-Abdin on the north, and the cities of Tekrit and Anbar on the south.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Al-Hamadhani stated that the Jazirah was the land between the Tigris and Euphrates which stretched northwards from Baqqa,⁽⁴⁸⁾ Ibn Hawqal likewise placed the Jazirah between the Tigris and Euphrates and listed Tekrit, Barima,⁽⁴⁹⁾ Sinn,⁽⁵⁰⁾ Haditha, Mosul, Balad, Sumaysat, Nuseybin, the Khabur valley and Anbar as being points in its territory.⁽⁵¹⁾

At the beginning of the Islamic period the administrative organization which was used to control the Jazirah was based on tribal territories. Whether this was in fact a more ancient administrative division is unknown. Certain towns were made administrative centres for regions for which the term "Diyar" was used, and these regions were named after the tribes who occupied them. The Jazirah was divided into three Diyars, Diyar Bakr with its chief town at Amid, Diyar Mihar with its chief town at Raqqa, and thirdly the Diyar Rabia, in whose territory the capital of the whole Jazirah, Mosul, was situated (pl. 6). There were other important cities in Diyar Rabia such as Nuseybin and Ras Al-Ayn (pl. 7).⁽⁵²⁾ In the Umayyad period Raqqa became the main town of provincial capital.

An important development in the administrative system of the Jazirah took place in the Abbasid period, when each Diyar was subdivided into a number of different areas, termed a "Kura" (a "province"), and each Kura into a number of divisions each called a "Ristaq"⁽⁵³⁾ The term Diyar now ceased to be used, except as a word to designate a tribal area which no longer had any administrative significance.

The Kura system was based on towns and their environs. Each Kura was named after the town or city which was its administrative centre (pl. 7).⁽⁵⁴⁾ The effect of the Kura system was to cut up the old tribal areas: Diyar Rabia, for example, was broken down into a number of different Kuras. The obvious centralization of the administration in the cities may have been aimed at weakening the tribal power which must have prevailed in the area.

The Jazirah consisted of the following Kuras: Mosul, Afamiya, Bazabdi, Bain Al-Nahrain, Tell Bachir, Al-Faraj, Arbil, Al-Merj, Ain Mansur, Nuseybin, Qarqisiya, Ras Al-Ayn, Mayyafariqin, Amid, Qerdi, Mardin, Sumaysat, Al-Baqqa and Balad.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The Kura of Mosul itself was divided into the following Ristaqs: Nineveh,

(46) The subject of this section differs somewhat from that of G. Le Strange's book, Land of the Eastern Caliphate, Cambridge, 1930, whose two chapters on the Jazirah deal with its towns and cities only, whereas I have emphasized administrative and economic history in areas which Le Strange did not investigate.

(47) Sharif: vol. 1. 121.

(48) Al-Hamadhani, p. 128. Baqqa, whose whereabouts is now unknown, has been located between Anbar and Hit (Al-Asbahani: vol. 8, p. 67; Al-Bakri; vol. 1, p. 264-5; Yaqut Al-Hamawi: vol. 3, p. 253; Al-Hamadhani: p. 128; Ali: vol. 3, p. 181, 248, 363). There is another place now called Baqqa on the Wadi Tharthar in the lower Jazirah, mentioned by Baqir and Safar (1964: vol. 2, 31).

(49) Barima was a town mentioned by Arab geographers as situated on the eastern bank of the Tigris, on the post road between Baghdad and Mosul in the Abbasid period. Its location is now unknown, but it has been identified with the ruins called Buraich in the Fat-ha region (Khalil, 1972: 233-237).

(50) Sinn was a town placed where the Lower Zab river joins the Tigris; its whereabouts is now unknown, but it is possibly to be identified with the site now called Shjarah ("tree").

(51) Ibn Hawqal: p. 208.

(52) Al-Muqaddasi: p. 136.

(53) Yaqut Al-Hamawi: vol. 1. p. 36, 38.

(54) Yaqut Al-Hamawi: vol. 1, p. 36.

(55) Yaqut Al-Hamawi: vol. 2, p. 24, 35, 250, 256, 343, 402, vol. 4, p. 264, 371, 623, vol. 7, p. 396, vol. 8, p. 355; Al-Bakri: vol. 2, p. 452, 568, 6323; Ibn Khordadbeh: p. 94; Ibn Rosta: p. 109.

Merj, Qerdi, Bahadra, Khabur, Sinjar and Hiyal, Me 'althaiya and Feshabur⁽⁵⁶⁾ There were additional towns and regions administered by Mosul: Tekrit, Tayrahan⁽⁵⁷⁾, Sinn, Haditha, Merj and Heza (pl. 7)⁽⁵⁸⁾

Certain towns were particularly prominent in the history and economy of the area in the Islamic period. These will now be briefly discussed individually, and where the town is of pre-Islamic origin and included in the site survey in the following chapter, its site number in that survey is given.

Mosul. This was the political and administrative centre of the Jazirah. During the Abbasid period its population increased, as it had a good supply of water and an agreeable climate. It was the economic centre of the region, and was described as the "gate to Iraq" and "the Key to Khorasan", as it was the main caravan station connecting Iraq, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Syria.⁽⁵⁹⁾

Ibn Hawqal described Mosul in A.D. 969 as a highly populated and crowded town with houses built of limestone and mortar with vaulted roofs.⁽⁶⁰⁾ The increase of population led to the crowding of houses within the walls and to buildings overflowing beyond them.

Within the town itself were hotels, baths and markets; each of these markets contained about 100 shops, and each commodity was sold in 2-4 shops.

Arab geographers also described other towns in the region, particularly those lying on the trade routes, such as Tekrit, Tell 'Afar and Sinjar.

Tekrit (Site survey no. 259) (pls. 7, 45). This is situated approximately half-way between Baghdad and Mosul. In the last century it was still the only permanent settlement between these two cities.⁽⁶¹⁾ The land outside the town is unsuitable for farming, except for the areas east of the city, which can be cultivated by means of irrigation from the Tigris. Tekrit was an ancient foundation, existing already in the Assyrian period. Throughout its history it played an important role as a trading and military centre. It eventually became a Sasanian military base and administrative centre, ruled by a "marzuban"⁽⁶²⁾

In the sixth century A.D. Tekrit became an important Christian centre. The first Jacobite maphrian, installed in A.D. 559,⁽⁶³⁾ built the first church in the town, the so-called "Green church"⁽⁶⁴⁾ The Arab tribes Taghlub, Ayad and Nimir who lived in the area were converted to Christianity.⁽⁶⁵⁾

(56) Ibn Hawqal: p. 209.

(57) Tayrahan was a region situated on the eastern bank of the Tigris, extending between Tekrit and Sinn (Al-Hamadhani: p. 129, 131; Al-Baladhuri: p. 328). Hatri was the largest town in this region; it was described as a village by Yaqut Al-Hamawi (vol. 8, p. 440) and Al-Bakri (vol. 4, p. 278) who mentioned that Tayrahan became a Kura which belonged to Samarra during the Abbasid period.

(58) Al-Hamadhani: p. 131; Al-Bakri: vol. 1, p. 270. Heza was a region located between the Lower Zab river and the town of Arbil, which has, according to one suggestion been identified with the kingdom of Adiabene (Jamil, 1969: 219). Its main town was Kfr-'Aza, which was settled by a Christian community called Shaharja. This town consisted of markets famous for their cheap prices and there were Arab tribes camping around it who came to this town to buy dates (Ibn Hawqal: p. 127; Al-Bakri: vol. 2, p. 441; Yaqut Al-Hamawi: vol. 1, p. 266).

(59) Yaqut Al-Hamawi: vol. 8, p. 195; Ibn Hawqal: p. 125.

(60) Ibn Hawqal: p. 125.

(61) Chesney, 1835: vol. 1, 35; Rich, 1836: vol. 2, 146-48; Ross, 1839: 448; Layard, 1853: 467; Smith, 1875: 52-53; Sarre and Herzfeld, 1911: vol. 1, 227; Al-Baghdadi, 1948: 87; Herzfeld, 1968: 221.

(62) Yaqut Al-Hamawi: vol. 2, p. 41; Ibn Khaldun: vol. 2, p. 951; Ibn Al-Athir: vol. 2, p. 523-4.

(63) Nasri, 1913: 300; Fiey, 1958: 126.

(64) Al-Bustani: vol. 2, p. 300.

(65) Ibn Hawqal: p. 159; Yaqut Al-Hamawi: vol. 2, p. 4.

Some Arab historians say that Tekrit was occupied by a general whom they called Antaq, possibly the Byzantine commander Antiochus who "defended Tekrit with 20,000 men when it became a Roman territory",⁽⁶⁶⁾ at the time of the Muslim defeat of the Sasanians in Iraq in AD 637. Antaq's main concern was to protect upper Mesopotamia from the Muslim conquest.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Eventually 50,000 Muslim soldiers advanced from Ctesiphon after its capture by the Arabs and after four days' march they reached Tekrit, which they took after a siege lasting forty days.⁽⁶⁸⁾

After the Muslim conquest it remained an important centre, mentioned frequently by the Arab geographers and historians. It was noteworthy for having a particularly early mosque built there, over which special precautions had to be taken because the population was still predominantly Christian.⁽⁶⁹⁾ The city was described as walled and populous, with busy markets, in which weights were more favourable to the purchaser than those at Baghdad.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Ibn Hawqal in the tenth century AD mentioned its wall; the traveller Ibn Jubair visited Tekrit in 1184 and described its wall as "showing signs of weakness".⁽⁷¹⁾ When Ross passed through Tekrit on his way to Hatra in 1836 he mentioned that he saw the inhabitants of Tekrit restoring the wall, because they were expecting an invasion by the Beduin tribe of the Shammer.⁽⁷²⁾

Sinjar (Singara) (site no.229) (pl.7). The ancient town of Sinjar, lying on the foothills of Jebel Sinjar, was enclosed by a strong wall of the Roman era.⁽⁷³⁾ In the early Islamic period it was described as being three caravan halts from Mosul, as possessing fresh water coming from a large wadi,⁽⁷⁴⁾ and as a flourishing town with many large buildings, markets and famous baths.⁽⁷⁵⁾ Most of the Arab geographers also mention that Sinjar was well known for its gardens and orchards, and also, allegedly, for its palm trees.⁽⁷⁶⁾

Tell 'Afar (site no.144) (pl.7). This town, situated between Mosul and Sinjar, is mentioned by Yaqut, Al-Istakhri and Al-Muqaddasi.⁽⁷⁷⁾ According to these geographers Tell 'Afar was divided into two sections, a fortress and a village. The ruins of a fortress, attributed to the Umayyad Caliph Marwan by the local people, lie above a fresh water spring. The village lies on the bank of a wadi. This wadi was described as a source of fresh sweet water, but it also is mentioned that the water was unhealthy; Tell 'Afar was also famous for its palm trees and exported dates to Mosul.⁽⁷⁸⁾

Mahlabiyah (site no. 127) (pl. 7). This small town is located between Mosul and Sinjar. It was the early Islamic administrative centre of the province of Al-Faraj. The whole district of Mahlabyah was owned by its inhabitants, and very little tax was paid to the governor in Mosul.⁽⁷⁹⁾

(66) Rawlinson, 1873: 568.

(67) Al-Tabari: vol. 4, p. 75-6; Ibn Kathir: vol. 7, p. 71-2.

(68) Al-Tabari: vol. 4, p. 75-6.

(69) Yaqut Al-Hamawi: vol. 2, p. 401.

(70) Ibn Jubair: p. 241.

(71) Ibn Hawqal: p. 228; Ibn Jubair: p. 241.

(72) Ross, 1839: 448.

(73) Oates, 1968: 106.

(74) Al-Qazweni: p. 373.

(75) Al-Bakwi: p. 446.

(76) Al-Muqaddasi: p. 140-41; Yaqut Al-Hamawi: vol. 5, p. 144; Ibn Hawqal: p. 220; Al-Bakwi: p. 446; Al-Qazweni: p. 393. See also below, p. 35, where it is argued that productive palm trees did not in fact grow here.

(77) Yaqut Al-Hamawi: vol. 2, p. 402; Al-Istakhri: p. 73; Al-Muqaddasi: p. 148.

(78) Yaqut Al-Hamawi: vol. 2, p. 402.

(79) Yaqut Al-Hamawi: vol. 428, vol. 7, p. 396.

Hatra (Al-Hadhr). (site no. 1) (pl. 7). The ancient city of Hatra, 110km. south-west of Mosul and 4km. from the Wadi Tharthar, was completely deserted after its destruction by the Sasanians in A.D. 241. Some evidence indicates that nomad tribes did stop there at certain times, as recent excavations in the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha) have revealed.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Some Abbasid coins were found in the city in 1970.⁽⁸¹⁾ The Atabec dynasty of Mosul (A.D. 1127-1261) very probably used the site as a military base: two Arabic inscriptions were carved by their order on the upper parts of the limestone halls (iwans) of the main sanctuary, and the upper parts of the sanctuary wall were restored with rubble and mortar in a technique known from the Qara Saray of this period at Mosul.⁽⁸²⁾ A translation of these inscriptions runs:⁽⁸³⁾

(1) "This was ordered by the poor slave to the mercy of his Lord, the just king Izzu-d-din Mas'ud, son of Maudud, son of Zanki, son of Aqsanqar, who is seeking mercy from his Lord, in the year of the Hijra 586 (A.D. 1190)"

(2) "This was ordered by the poor slave to the mercy of his Lord, the just king Nur-ed-Din Arslan Shah, son of Mas'ud, son of Maudud, son of Zanzi, son of Aqsanqar, who is seeking mercy from his Lord, in the year of the Hijra 592 (A.D. 1196)"

(b) The tribes

The Aramaic inscriptions of Hatra, carved between the year of the earliest known dated text ([214] A.D. 97/8) and the city's fall in A.D. 241, make it clear that the city and the region around were already inhabited by Arabs, and by members of such Arab tribes as the TYMW and BL'QB. So there were clearly many Arab tribes living in the Jazirah at this period. This pattern seems to have continued into the Sasanian period. A number of Arab historians and geographers state that there were Arab tribes fighting alongside the king of Hatra against the Sasanian Ardashir in A.D. 227; these are said to have been the Qudha'a, Al-'Ubaid and Halwan.⁽⁸⁴⁾ Inscriptions, some dated A.D. 97/8, from the Wadi Hauran to the west of Haditha and Ana (Pl. 7), refer to the nomads of a tribe called the Saih; a modern tribe of this name, and so perhaps the same tribe, is still living in the Jazirah.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Other Arab tribes who settled most of the Jazirah region during the Islamic period are mentioned by Arab historians; these tribes include the Ayad, Bakr and Nimir, members of which settled permanently in Tekrit during the Sasanian period,⁽⁸⁶⁾ and the Taghlab, who were recorded as encamped on the banks of the Wadi Tharthar in the early Islamic period.⁽⁸⁷⁾ Of these latter tribes, only some members of the Nimir are still nomadic.

Branches of the tribes Ayad, Bakr and Rabi'a lived in Mosul after it came under Muslim rule, while other tribes still moved round for rich pasture and fresh water sources. At that time the main parts of the tribes of the Rabi'a and Mudhar, who were herders of horses, cattle and camels, were living in the region of Wadi Hiyal near Sinjar; later this region was occupied by the Qashir, Aqeel, Nimir and Kilab tribes.⁽⁸⁸⁾

(80) Excavation reports for the temples A ("Trinity") and B ("Allat"), for the years 1973) and 1975: File no. 66/30A in the State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage, Baghdad.

(81) Al-Salih, 1972: 25.

(82) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 35.

(83) Texts Published by Ainsworth, 1841: 41 (one text only); Andrae, 1908: vol. i, pl. XXIV; Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 35.

(84) Al-Tabari: vol. 2, p. 49.

(85) Safar, 1964: 18

(86) Yaqut Al-Hamawi: vol. 2, p. 70.

(87) Al Azzawi, 1937: vol. 1, 90.

(88) Ibn Hawqal: p. 221.

(c) The economy

The main sources of information on the economic and social life of the region are the Arab geographers who described town life, the markets and the countryside, which contained a mixed population of settled villages and nomads. The villages played an important part in the economic life of the city: they were the main producers of such foodstuffs as grain, barley and olives. Taxation on this village production was levied according to Muslim law, so as to benefit the treasury of the nearest main city.

At the beginning of the Islamic period the Caliph Omar took over the Sasanian taxation system for Mesopotamia. A contemporary document, compiled by the Abbasid judge Abu Yusuf (Ya'Kub Bin Ibrahim, A.D. 731-798), gives a detailed account of the taxation on agricultural produce for the Abbasid empire, including Mesopotamia. In this we read that a part of the then province of Iraq,⁽⁸⁹⁾ south of the Jazirah, included a cultivable area totalling 36,000,000 "jerib (about one-third of an acre, or 1366 416 square metres).⁽⁹⁰⁾ Omar set a tax of 1 dinar on each jerib of grain and barley, 10 dinars on each jerib of grape vines and 5 dinars on each jerib of palm trees. His successor Caliph Othuman put dinars on a jerib of barley, 5 dinars on a jerib of sesame and 5 dinars on each jerib of cotton.⁽⁹¹⁾

As regards taxation in Upper Mesopotamia and Syria, Abu Yusuf notes that taxation system for the more southerly province of Iraq was also that used for the Jazirah, and implies that taxation for the latter was organized from Sinjar.⁽⁹²⁾ His description of the taxation of the area around Sinjar, Syria and Mosul may be summarized as follows:

<u>Material</u>	<u>Adjacent area⁽⁹³⁾</u>	<u>Distant area</u>	<u>Dinar</u>
Cultivated land	100 jerib	200 jerib	1
Grape vines	1000 trees	2000 trees	1
Olive trees	100 trees	200 trees	1

The principle of this system was that the further from Sinjar the area was, the less was required in taxation: that is, 200 jerib in a distant area would be required to produce 1 dinar in tax, whereas in a nearby district only 100 jerib would be required to produce the same amount.

It is interesting to note that most of the early Islamic Arab geographers mention the growing of palm trees and the production of dates in the northern part of the Jazirah. These include Yaqut, who says that Sinjar, Ba'shiqa and Salamiya as well as Mosul were famous for their date palms and that Tell 'Afar exported dates to Mosul.⁽⁹⁴⁾ There are, however, reasons to doubt the accuracy of this information (just as there is to doubt much else in this writer). So far as we can tell, the climate in this area has not changed for at least 5500 years,⁽⁹⁵⁾ and recent research by Al-Dabagh makes it plain that while the date palm will grow in the Sinjar region, the climate is not such that the palm will produce fruit.⁽⁹⁶⁾ The geographers' inaccuracy can be demonstrated by means of the account of Abu Yusuf just mentioned. He does not mention dates on any site in the north, including, most notably Sinjar, which was very probably an important administrative centre for tax collection in the Jazirah.

(89) Ellis, 1976: 174.

(90) Le Strange, 1930: 105; Al-Salih, 1965: 416.

(91) Abu Yusuf: p. 20.

(92) Abu Yusuf: p. 20.

(93) Abu Yusuf: p. 22, "Adjacent area" means an area less than one day's journey from the administrative centre, and "distant area" one of one, or more than one, day's journey.

(94) Yaqut Al-Hamawi: vol. 2, p. 40, 402, vol. 5, p. 104, 144.

(95) Nutzel, 1976: 19.

(96) Al-Dabagh, 1969: 50.

A table may be drawn up, on the basis of what early Islamic writers say, to show the amount of tax collected from various towns, as follows:⁽⁹⁷⁾

<u>Province</u>	<u>Material</u>	<u>Quantity</u> (in "kur")	<u>in dirhams</u>	<u>Valuation</u> <u>in dinars</u>
Nineveh,	grain, barley	10,000		4,000,000
Merj,)	cotton	300	10,000	
Heza)	houses		10,000	
	gardens			2,000,000
Ba'arabaya	grain, barley	1,000		4,000,000
Barqa'id	grain, barley	1,000	1,000	3,000,000
Bazabdi	grain, barley	1,000		1,000,000
Bahadra	grain, barley	3,000	100,000	
Jazirat	grain, barley	3,000	30,000	
Ibn Omar				
Nuseybin)	grain, barley,	10,000		5,000,000
	rice			
	cows, cotton,		10,000	
	fruit			
Mosul				4,000,000
Amid				1,560,000
Mayyafariqin				1,150,000
Sinjar,				856,000,000
Ras Al-Ayn				

This table reveals a high level of agricultural production in the Jazirah, particularly of grain and barley, with the most productive areas being those of Mosul and Sinjar. The table clearly distinguishes those districts which, because of plentiful rainfall and good soil, were very productive from those which, being outside the main rainfall zone, were less so. It is interesting to note that today, the inhabitants of Al-Hadhr (Hatra) buy grain and barley from the Mosul area; this could be relevant for how ancient Hatra fed itself.



(97) Ibn Hawqal: p. 211, 217, 219; Al-Hamadhani: p. 133.

CHAPTER 2: SITE SURVEY OF THE JAZIRAH

Chronological table	39
Introduction	39
Site Survey	41
(a) Central Jazirah	43
HATRA (Area 1, pl. 8; nos. 1-64, pl. 9)	43
(b) East Jazirah	52
QAIYARA- [✓] ĀSSUR (Area 2, pl. 8; nos. 65-93, pl. 10)	52
(c) Upper Jazirah	58
(i) MOSUL (Area 3, pl. 8; nos. 94-103, pl. 11)	58
(ii) TELL 'AFAR (Area 4, pl. 8; nos. 104-228, pl. 12)	60
(iii) SINJAR (Area 5, pl. 8; nos. 229-240, pl. 13)	76
(d) West Jazirah	78
(i) HADITHA (Area 6, pl. 8; nos. 241-253, pl. 14)	78
(ii) ANA (Area 7, pl. 8; nos. 254-258, pl. 15)	80
(e) Lower Jazirah	81
TEKRIT (Area 8, pl. 8; nos. 259-268, pl. 16)	81
Conclusion	84

Chronological table

<u>Period</u>		
Hassūna	Neolithic	c. 6500-5500 B.C.
Samarra	Neolithic	c. 6500-5500 B.C.
Halaf	Chalcolithic	c. 5000-4500 B.C.
Ubaid	Chalcolithic	c. 4500-4000 B.C.
Uruk	Chalcolithic	c. 4000-3500 B.C.
Nineveh V		later fourth millennium B.C.
Early Dynastic III		third millennium B.C.
Akkadian		c. 2400-2100 B.C.
Old Babylonian		earlier second millennium B.C.
Hurrian		earlier second millennium B.C.
Kassite		earlier second millennium B.C.
Khabur		earlier second millennium B.C.
Mitanni		earlier second millennium B.C.
Middle Assyrian		second millennium B.C.
Late Assyrian		c. 1000-612 B.C.
Neo-Babylonian		625-539 B.C.
Achaemenian		539-330 B.C.
Hellenistic (Seleucid)		330-64 B.C.
Parthian		c. 248 B.C. - c.A.D. 226/7
Sasanian		c.A.D. 226-636
Islamic		A.D. 636-

Introduction

This survey of the Jazirah has several aims. Firstly, it sets out to establish, as far as possible, which sites in the area were inhabited in the Parthian and Sasanian periods. Secondly, it aims to use the results of this investigation to study trade routes and the relationships of these sites with the chief site of this area in the Parthian period, namely Hatra (Al-Hadhr).

A certain amount of exploration has been carried out previously. Early archaeological investigations on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates were carried out by Sarre and Herzfeld in 1904. They studied the sites where ruins of buildings were to be seen, on the edge of the Jazirah; most of these were datable to the Islamic period.⁽⁹⁸⁾ The first detailed survey in northern Iraq, of the Sinjar (Singara)-Tell A'far area, was undertaken in 1936 by Seton Lloyd, who explored 78 sites, most of them datable to the prehistoric period.⁽⁹⁹⁾ Reitlinger surveyed sites in the region between Sinjar and Mosul, which he found were of the Islamic and pre-Islamic period, and so he supplemented the work of Sarre and Herzfeld.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ In 1938 and 1939 A. Stein investigated Roman posts on the ancient trade routes between Hatra and Sinjar (Singara), most of which were located in foothill areas.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ In 1948 the Directorate General of Antiquities (now the State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage of Iraq) examined

(98) Sarre and Herzfeld, 1911: vol. 1, 194, 231.

(99) Lloyd, 1938: 123-143.

(100) Reitlinger, 1938: 147-156.

(101) Stein, 1941: 299-316.

51 sites near the banks of the Wadi Tharthar and its branches in the southern Sinjar-Tell 'Afar area and north-west of Hatra, most of which dated to the prehistoric era.⁽¹⁰²⁾ In 1963 the region around Tell-Rimah and the region of the Tell 'Afar-Sinjar plain were examined by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq.⁽¹⁰³⁾ In the years 1968, 1969 and 1971 the Directorate General of Antiquities surveyed the following areas: Fat-ha on the Tigris,⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ east Tekrit.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ and the Wadi Tharthar between Hatra and the Baqqa region.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ In 1971 D. Kirkbride of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq began her survey in the central Jazirah in the region of Hatra, recording 87 sites.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ The Directorate General of Antiquities (S.O.A.H.) also examined the region of Tell 'Afar-Sinjar, as mentioned by Abu Al-Soof.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Recently the Directorate also studied the following regions:⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Eski Mosul in 1975,⁽¹¹⁰⁾ the Euphrates between Haditha and west Ana in 1975,⁽¹¹¹⁾ and Sinjar, Tell 'Afar and Mahlabiyah in 1976.⁽¹¹²⁾

In 1976 and 1977 I was able to examine the records of the Parthian and Sasanian sites in north Iraq in the archives of the Department of Exploration and Site Protection of the Directorate General of Antiquities in Baghdad, collecting valuable information relevant to the following survey of the distribution of Parthian and Sasanian sites in the Jazirah. Then over a period of two seasons I was able to survey most parts of the Jazirah personally, covering the regions of Hatra, Baqqa, Baiji, Tekrit, Sharqat, Qairyra, Haman Al-Alil, Tell Abta, Tell 'Afar, Sinjar, Haditha and Ana. The surface finds collected during this survey are now mostly in store at Hatra, with some in Baghdad.⁽¹¹³⁾

The following site survey has been arranged according to area, with a description for each site, and mentions of surface finds, date and publications where relevant.



(102) *Sumer* 4, 1948, 299.

(103) Oates, 1963: 72; Oates, 1968: 12; Oates, 1972: 801; cf. also Merpert and Munchaev, 1972: 2.

(104) Khalil, 1972: 233-239.

(105) Yasin, 1968: 117.

(106) Al-Hasani, 1969: 160; Al-Haik, 1971: 28.

(107) Kirkbride, 1972: 2-3.

(108) Abu Al-Soof, 1975: 21-23.

(109) Most parts of modern Iraq have been surveyed by the State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage of Iraq, which has recorded nearly 7000 sites, listed in the valuable archives of the Exploration Department (Al-Haik, 1968, 1971; Directorate General of Antiquities, 1970, 1975; Ellis, 1972).

(110) File 3/35.

(111) Xerox copy of lecture by Al-Shukri, 1979: 1-9.

(112) File no. 3/35. Surveys were also undertaken in other parts of Iraq, such as the plain of Rania in 1959, and the plain of Hamrin in 1977 (Abu Al-Soof, 1970: 65-104; Abu Al-Soof, 1978: 1). In addition to the State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage, foreign surveys were also conducted in central and south Iraq, such as Adams's extensive survey of the Diyala region in 1957 (Adams, 1965) and southern and central Iraq (Adams, 1959: 101-103), Adams and Nissen's of the region of Uruk (1972), Jacobsen's (1969: 103-110) of the Telloh region, and Gibson's (1972) of the area of Kish.

(113) In 1979 and 1980 I was able to visit most of the excavated sites on the Euphrates (the Qadisiya project) and in the plain of Hamrin. I am most grateful to M.A. Mustafa for discussing the surface finds with me.

Site survey

Sites are arranged in groups based on important centres, as follows:

(a) Central Jazirah	41
HATRA (Area 1, pl. 8; nos. 1-64, pl. 9)	43
(b) East Jazirah	52
QAIYARA-ASSUR (Area 2, pl. 8; nos. 65-93, pl. 10)	52
(c) Upper Jazirah	58
(i) MOSUL (Area 3, pl. 8; nos. 94-103, pl. 11)	58
(ii) TELL 'AFAR (Area 4, pl. 8; nos. 104-228, pl. 12)	60
(iii) SINJAR (Area 5, pl. 8; nos. 229-240, pl. 13)	76
(d) West Jazirah	78
(i) HADITHA (Area 6, pl. 8; nos. 241-253, pl. 14)	78
(ii) ANA (Area 7, pl. 8; nos. 254-258, pl. 15)	80
(e) Lower Jazirah	81
TEKRIT (Area 8, pl. 8; nos. 259-268, pl. 16)	81

(a) Central Jazirah

HATRA (Area 1, pl. 8; nos. 1-64, pl. 9)

No. 1. Hatra (Al-Hadhr). (See Chapter 3).

No. 2. The bridge of Hatra (pls. 9, 17 a, b).

Remains of two out of an original four piers in ashlar masonry of a bridge may be seen on the bed of the Wadi Tharthar a little less than 4 km. north of Hatra, some 300m. west of the modern bridge. The lower portion of each is semi-circular, with a diameter of 7 m. The part of each pier which faces upstream was narrowed into a point in the middle. Much ashlar masonry is scattered in the area of the Tharthar.

Date: Parthian.

Ref.: Ainsworth, 1841: 19; Andrae, 1912: vol. 2, 9, 12, figs. 5, 7; Musil, 1927: 56; Baqir and Safar, 1962: vol. 2, 47; Al-Haik, 1971: 28; Safar, 195-97; S.O.A.H. File 1757/35.

No. 3. Tell Dvwlib (pls. 9, 17 c).

This comprises two small mounds close together. Each is semi-circular in shape. The northern is about 65m. in diam., ht. about 2 m. The southern is also roughly circular, diam. 85 m., ht. 1.50 m.

Surface finds: a few rough pottery fragments.

Date: Parthian?

No. 4. Tell Dibshiya (pls. 9, 17 d).

This forms a rough rectangle, 240 m. × 85 m., ht. 4 m., enclosed by a mudbrick wall. Remains of foundations of modern rooms stand in the central part of the site.

Surface finds: a few potsherds, some incised, like some from Hatra.

Date: Parthian.

Ref.: Musil, 1927: 57.

No. 5. Tulul Dubyshi (pl. 9).

This comprises a number of small, low mounds, semi-circular in shape, with the highest hill at the southern end, 68 m. in diam. at its base and 15 m. in diam. at the summit.

Surface finds: pottery, flint, obsidian.

Date: Hassuna, Samarra, Ubaid, Assyrian, Parthian.

No. 6. Tulul Ahmad Al-Hussein (pl. 9).

Three small mounds close to each other are situated at the end of an underground stream locally called Maymoon, which ends in the Wadi Tharthar. The first mound is circular, diam. c. 16 m., ht. 2 m.; the second is oval, diam. 18 m., ht. 1.50 m.; the third is circular, diam. 15 m., ht. 1.50m.

Surface finds: a few green-glazed pottery fragments, and some cut limestone blocks scattered along the banks of the stream. Among the latter was a column drum bearing inscription [338], dated A.D. 132/3.

Date: Parthian.

Ref.: Al-Salihi, 1978: 72.

No. 7. Tulul Al-Maymoon (pls. 9, 18).

These are five mounds, mostly low. Three of them (a) to the east are called locally Maymoon Sharqi ("east"), while the other two (b) to the west are known as Maymoon Gharbi ("west"). They are situated on the Wadi Sehil. The largest is circular, about 200 m. in diam., ht. 2.50 m. In Maymoon Gharbi one site is rectangular, while the other is oval.

Surface finds: pottery fragments, some of them green-glazed, obsidian, flint.

Date: Hassuna, Samarra, Mitanni, Assyrian, Hellenistic, Parthian, Islamic.

No. 8 Tell Hasein Al-Thud (pl. 9).

This is a conically shaped mound, 100m. in diam., ht. about 5m.

Surface finds: a very little pottery; pieces of stucco.

Date: Parthian?

No. 9. Khirbet Hussein Al-Thud (pls. 9, 19a)

The foundations of a rectangular building, 40.70m × 39.50m., of rough limestone and mortar, with walls 1.30m. thick and 30–50cm. in ht. lie between low mounds on the northern and south-eastern sides.

There are T-shaped marks (see below) carved on the face of a limestone block visible in the surviving foundations. They could be marks placed here by passing Beduin, or possibly mason's marks.

Surface finds: a few pottery fragments. T T̄

Date: Parthian.

No. 10 Tulul Kirmash (pl. 9).

A number of small, low mounds lie close together. The diameter of the largest is about 30 m.

Surface finds: scattered pottery fragments.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian, Sasanian.

No. 11. Tulul Ghwiniq (pl. 9)

A number of small low mounds are scattered over a large area. The highest mound is about 3 m. high.

Surface finds: some pottery, a few broken baked bricks on some mounds.

Date: Mitanni, Assyrian, Parthian/ Sasanian.

No 12. Tell Adhamiya ("bones") (pls. 9, 19b).

There are four mounds close to each other, The largest is 350m × 150m., ht. 6m., extending from north to south.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Akkadian, Parthian.

Ref.: Musil, 1927: 57; Al-Rawi, 1947: 16.

No 13. Tell adhaman ("bones") (pls. 9, 19c).

There are two mounds; the larger is roughly 300 m. × 130 m.; ht. 6 m.

Surface finds: a few pieces of pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian.

No 14. Tell Abu Nijr (pls. 9, 19d).

There are three small semi-circular mounds. The first is 60 m. in diam., ht. 3.50m. The second is 48m. in diam., ht 3m. The third is 35m. in diam., ht. 3m.

Surface finds: rough pottery.

Date: Sasanian/ Islamic.

No. 15. Tell Shikhan (pl. 9).

Two small low mounds stand here, the first of which is semi-circular, 40m. in diam., ht. 2m. The second is 23m. in diam., ht. 2 m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Sasanian.

No. 16. Tell Ras Al-Asir (pl. 9).

Three small mounds: (a) is oval in shape, 58m. in diam., ht. 2m.; (b) is semi-circular, 110m. in diam., ht 5m.
Surface finds: pottery.
Date: Mitanni, Assyrian, Parthian.

No. 17. Tell Al-Asir (pl. 9).

Three mounds: The central, semi-circular, is the largest, being about 280m. in diam., ht. 4m.
Surface finds: pottery, among which were green-glazed fragments.
Date: Assyrian, Parthian/ Sasanian, Islamic.

No. 18. Tell Abu Tawa (pl. 9).

Three small semi-circular mounds; (a) is 30m. in diam., ht. 2.50m., (b) is 43m. in diam., ht. 3m.; (c) is 75m. in diam., ht. 3m.
Surface finds: pottery.
Date: Sasanian/ Islamic.

No. 19. Tell Gihyfa ("potsherd") (pl. 9).

A roughly rectangular mound, l. 110m., w. 80m., ht. 3-4m.
Surface finds: green-glazed pottery.
Date: Sasanian/Islamic.

No. 20. Tell Al-Swaje (pl. 9).

A semi-circular mound, 59m. in diam., ht. 3m.
Surface finds: pottery, obsidian, flint.
Date: Hassuna, Samarra, Nineveh V, Assyrian, Parthian.
Ref.: Musil, 1927: 57.

No. 21. Rajim Sihail (pl. 9).

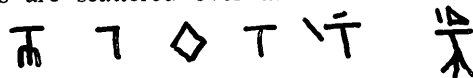
Four mounds close to each other. The main one (a) is semi-circular, 230m in diam., ht. about 6m. Another mound (b) is oval, 70m. in diam., ht. 3m. Part of a mudbrick wall remains, 1.6m., thickness 2.30m.
Surface finds: pottery.
Date: Assyrian, Parthian/ Sasanian.

No. 22. Umm Etlail (pl. 9).

A number of mounds are located around the main one, which is roughly circular, 380m. in diam., ht. 13m.
Surface finds: pottery, flint, limestone.
Date: Hassuna, Samarra, Old Babylonian, Parthian.
Ref.: Musil, 1927: 57, who calls the area Thiliyyat.

No. 23. Rajim Albu Hamad (pl. 9).

There are two low mounds; the first is rectangular, 110m. × 58m., ht. 2m., extending from east to west. The second is semi-circular, diam. 85m., ht. 2m.
Surface finds: rough stones are scattered over the surface of the second mound. Some of them bear the following carved marks:



Date: Parthian/ Sasanian?

No. 24. Tell Shirea (pl. 9).

Two small mounds: each is semi-oval in shape. One is 76m. in diam., ht. 2.50m., and the other 46m. in diam., ht. 2m.

Surface finds: a few pottery fragments.

Date: Sasanian/ Islamic.

No. 25. Rajim Al-Mowelhi (pl. 9).

A semi-circular mound, 74m. in diam., ht. 4m.

Surface finds: pottery, flints.

Date: Ubaid, Assyrian, Sasanian.

No. 26. Tell Abu Arabid (pl. 9).

A rectangular mound, 1.50m., w. 40m., ht. 6m. Part of a stone wall is visible.

Surface finds: pottery, stones.

Date: Nineveh V, Late Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref: S.O.A.H., File 666/ 40.

No. 27. Tulul Qbr Ibn Al-Shatrah (Tulul Al-Shatran) (pl. 9).

Three low circular mounds close to each other extend to the west bank of the Wadi Tharthar. The eastern one is 20m. in diam., ht. 4m., the central 25m. in diam., ht. 6m., and the western 25m. in diam., ht. 7m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian.

Ref: Al-Haik, 1971: vol. 2, 28; S.O.A.H., File 1748/ 35.

No. 28. Tell Al-Ghuzlaniyat (pl. 9).

A semi-circular mound, 130m. in diam., ht. 5m.

Surface finds: some pottery.

Date: Parthian/ Sasanian.

No. 29. Tell 'Aliba (pl. 9).

Two semi-oval mounds: (a) 84m. in diam., ht. 4m.; (b) 72m. in diam., ht. 4m.

Surface finds: some pottery.

Date: Mitanni, Assyrian, Parthian.

No. 30. Tell 'Alibat (pl. 9).

This comprises five mounds, close to each other. The main one is irregular in shape, being slightly elongated at its southern end; 1.60m. ht. 5.50m. To the east are other smaller mounds.

Surface finds: some green-glazed pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian/ Sasanian.

Ref: Musil, 1927:57.

No. 31. Tell 'Aliban (pls. 9, 20a).

This is a rectangular mound, with the walls visible of a rectangular building, 29m × 45m., ht. 1.50m. except on the wadi side where it is 3.50m. In the centre is a depression (a courtyard?). The building is enclosed by an outer wall with its remains still visible on the west side. A sounding was made by the writer in September, 1976, in the centre of the eastern section of the building, resulting in the uncovering of the main gate. Two limestone slabs, each ht. 2.60m., which supported the lintel, and the lintel itself, 1. 1.70m., were discovered. The plan of the

building and the fact that there is a source of water nearby could suggest that it was a staging post.

Surface finds: some green-glazed pottery.

Date: Parthian.

No. 32. Tell Sgalah (pl. 9).

A semi-circular mound about 65m. in diam., ht. 3m. Its southern part is lower than the rest.

Surface finds: pottery, including one red fragment.

Date: Late Assyrian, Sasanian/ Islamic.

No. 33. Tell Turki (pl. 9).

Here, irregular mounds are scattered along the eastern bank of the Wadi Tharthar.

Surface finds: pottery, scattered in the lower areas.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian.

No. 34. Tell Rumdhaniyah (pl. 9).

Four mounds lie close together with low summits. The largest is irregular in shape, l. about 200m., w. 75m., ht. 3m.

Surface finds: some pottery fragments.

Date: Parthian/ Sasanian.

No. 35. Tell Sa'adiya Gharbi (pl. 9).

A semi-circular mound, about 60m. in diam., ht. 5m., is surrounded by other small low mounds, situated near the eastern bank of the Wadi Ahmar.

Surface finds: pottery; an Aramaic inscription found in 1957.

Date: Mitanni, Assyrian, Parthian (the inscription is dated A.D. 125, and is included in our Appendix 1).

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates (unpublished survey, no.60); A.S.I., p. 249, site no. 250; Safar, 1961: 36-04; Baqir and Safar, 1962: vol. 2, 48; Oates, 1968: 35n. Segal, 1970: 58-59; Ahmad, 1977: 81. note that Yaqut Al-Hamawi (vol. 5, p. 84) and Al-'Omary (1955: 84) mention water sources in a region called Sa'adiya.

No. 36. Tell Sa'adiya Sharqi (pl. 9).

This site is located east of the village of Sa'adiya in an area also known as Sa'adiya. It is oval, 115m. in diam., ht. 6m., with a summit to the north. A further mound is situated between nos. 35 and 36 (Sa'adiya Gharbi and Sharqi), datable to the Halaf period.

Surface finds: pottery, flint.

Date: Halaf, Ubaid, Assyrian, Hellenistic.

No. 37. Tell All-Rug'ai (pl. 9).

Two sites lie within the area: (a) Malhat Al-Rug'ai has two mounds, of which (i) is oval, 140m. in diam., ht. 3m., and (ii) to the south is circular, 100m. in diam., ht. 3m (b) Ras Al-Rug'ai: is semi-circular, 95m. in diam., ht. 4m., surrounded by small hillocks.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: (a) Assyrian, Sasanian.

(b): Mitanni, Assyrian, Sasanian/ Islamic.

No. 38. Tell Buthat Al-Rug'ai (pl. 9).

This is irregularly shaped: l. 200m., w. 95m., ht. 7m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Mitanni, Assyrian, Hellenistic.

No. 39. Tell Slubi (pl. 9).

This is semi-oval, l. 165m., w. 70m., ht 3m., extending from north to south. It has two summits, one on the east side and another on the north. The site is enclosed by a wall, mostly visible on the west side, built of cut limestone and with rectangular towers, h l. 6.90m., and projecting 2m.

Surface finds: stone, some pottery.

Date: the rectangular towers recall those seen in Assyrian architecture, and also those used in the main city wall of Hatra. One sherd is Mitanni; some rough pottery fragments might be parthian.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 247, site 242; S.O.A.H., File no. 242/ 35.

No. 40. Tell 'Abariya Gharbi (pl. 9).

Three mounds extend north-west to south-east. The central mound has square walls measuring 80m. × 80m.; the inside is lower than the outside. The other two mounds are irregular.

Surface finds: pottery, mostly found on the smaller mounds, with one green-glazed sherd.

Date: Assyrian, Sasanian/ Islamic.

No. 41. Tell Mkhazaga (pl. 9).

A semi-circular mound, 200m. in diam. at the base, 30m. in diam. at the highest point, and sloping steeply.

Surface finds: pottery, most of it found on the north-east side.

Date: Assyrian, Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 274, site no. 277; S.O.A.H., File no. 277/ 35.

No. 42. Tell Umm Groon (pl. 9).

Three mounds: (a) circular, 50m. in diam., ht. 6m. Its west end extends to mound (b), which is rectangular, l. 400m., w. 85m., ht. 3m., and which has a group of summits on its upper part; (c) semi-circular, about 50m. in diam., ht. 5m. There are other small low mounds around them.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Akkadian, Assyrian, Parthian/ Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2043/ 35.

No. 43. Tulul Umm Adham ("bones") (pl. 9).

Two mounds. The west part of mound (a) is under the modern village. Mound (b), to the east, is circular, 180m. in diam., ht. 6m.; on its southern part is a modern cemetery.

Surface finds: few identifiable sherds on (a); some pottery on (b).

Date: Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 242, no. 1187; S.O.A.H., File no. 1187/ 35.

No. 44. Tell Mdaraj ("stepped") (pl. 9).

A roughly rectangular mound, l. 52m., w. 30m., ht. 2m. The visible outline of a wall of irregular stone suggests a building extended from east to west. The highest summit is to the south-east.

Surface finds: some pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Sasanian.

No. 45. Tell Egdimi (Mdaraj Shamali) (pl. 9).

This is a large mound consisting of a series of hillocks; it is rectangular, l. 220m., w. 130m., ht, 4m., which probably implies an outer wall. In the middle is the circular main mound, diam. 30m., ht. 6m.

Surface finds: some pottery, stones.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian.

Ref.: Sumer, 4, 1948, 299; A.S.I. p. 245, no. 1204; S.O.A.H., File no. 1204.

No. 46. Tell Al-Thaiya (pl. 9).

A low, rectangular mound, l. 180m., w. 175m., ht. 2m. There is a square mound in the centre, 40m. × 40m., ht. 2m. – 2.50m., on which each side ends in a small summit, possibly indicating a ruined tower. Foundations of limestone and mortar are visible on the south-east. The outline of the mound shows a square, fortified building and may stand on an early settlement.

Surface finds: some pottery.

Date: Parthian/ Sasanian.

No. 47. Tulul Bashmanah (pl. 9).

This is a large site with many mounds. One large mound in the area of Bashmanah is situated to the south of the village of Bashmanah. It is semi-circular, about 500m. in diam., ht. 5m-6m., with possibly three entrances visible on the east, west and north. In the centre of the site is a larger mound, roughly rectangular, l. 110m., w. 60m. A foundation wall 75cm. thick, of irregular limestone, can be seen on the south-west side where the highest summit is.

Surface finds: stones, pottery, flint.

Date: Prehistoric, Mitanni, Assyian, Parthian?

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 247, no 37; S.O.A.H., File no. 307/ 35.

No. 48. Khirbet Al-Farisiyah (pl. 9).

Modern houses of the village of Al-Farisiyah stand on a low mound where foundations of rough limestone and mortar can be seen. Another rectangular mound is just to the east of the village, l. 30m., w. 22m., ht. 1.50m.

Surface finds: some scattered pottery.

Date: Sasanian/ Islamic.

No. 49. Khirbet Al-Naddās (pl. 9).

A group of small mounds covering a large area extends from east to west. Foundations of houses built of rough limestone and mortar can be seen within the ruins. The highest mound is in the middle, 36m. × 28m., comprising an enclosure with circular buttresses, and a courtyard in the centre.

Surface finds: green-glazed pottery,

Date: the pottery suggests an Islamic settlement, but A. Stein considered it a Roman fortified building.

Ref.: Stein, 1941: 302; A.S.I. p. 250, no. 306; S.O.A.H., File no. 306/ 35.

No. 50. Khirbet Zazia (pl. 9).

Two small square mounds: (a) is 30m. × 30m., ht. .3m.; small summite at the north and south corners might indicate ruined towers. (b) stands just to the north of (a); it is 60m. × 60m., ht. 2m.; its walls seem to contain buttresses or towers.

Surface finds: some pottery.

Date: Parthian/ Sasanian?

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 249, no 245; S.O.A.H., File no. 245/ 35.

No. 51. Tell Umm Al-Ma'alif (pl. 9).

A low small mound, semicircular, 30m in diam., ht. 2m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian, Sasanian

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2044/ 35.

No. 52. Tell Umm Tubuq (pl. 9).

A low mound, semi-oval, 90m. in diam., ht. 2.50m.

Surface finds: some pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian, Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2010/ 35.

No. 53. Tell 'Abta (pl. 9).

A large semicircular mound, about 200m. in diam., ht. 10m. Ist upper part is flat.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Uruk, Mitanni, Late Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref.: Baqir and Safar, 1962: vol. 2, 47-48; D.G.A.I., 1967; E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site list, no. 55.

No. 54. Tell 'Abta Shamali (pl. 9).

This is rectangular, l. 150m., w. 50m., ht. 5m.

Surface finds: pottery, including some green-glazed.

Date: Mitanni, Sasanian. Islamic.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2015/ 35.

No. 55. Tell Mrichaiz (pl. 9).

Two mounds: (a) semi-circular, 50m in diam., ht. 5m. (b) is to the east, roughly oval, 15m. in diam., ht. 1.50m.

Surface finds: some pottery.

Date: Parthian/ Sasanian.

Ref.: Yaqut Al-Hamawi, vol. 8, p. 39, mentions that in Mrichaiz is a water source belonging to the tribe of Rabia.

No. 56. Tell Al-Athori (pl. 9).

There are two mounds in the area under this same name. (a) is irregular, about 125m. in length, w. 80m., ht. 3m. (b) is to the north-west of (a), and is semi-circular, about 125m. in diam., ht 6m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: (a) Assyrian, Islamic.

(b) Mitanni, Assyrian, Sasanian.

No. 57. Tell Gehif ("potsherd") (pl. 9).

A semi-circular mound, about 40m. in diam., ht. 2m. with its west part extending 30m. to the west. There is another small semi-circular mound to the north-west, about 150m. away, roughly 25m. in diam., ht. 2m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Parthian, Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2014/ 35.

No. 58. Tell Anjer (pl. 9).

A small semi-circular mound, diam 50m , ht 4m

Surface finds: some pottery.

Date: Assyrian Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no 2011/ 35.

No. 59. Tell Mshirfa Al-Jisir (pl. 9).

Rectangular, l. 60m., w. 23m., ht. 2.50m.

Surface finds: some pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2016/ 35.

No. 60. Tell Mshirfa (pl. 9).

Two mounds. (a) Mshirfa Shamali: circular, 50m. in diam., ht. 2m. (b) Mshirfa Janabi, also circular, 80m. in diam., ht. 4m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: (a): Nineveh V, Assyrian, Sasanian.

(b): Assyrian, Parthian.

Ref.: (a): S.O.A.H., File no. 1989/ 35.

(b) S.O.A.H., File no. 1979/ 35.

No. 61. Tell Buthat Mshirfa (pl. 9).

Two mounds: (a) circular, 40 m. in diam., ht. 2.50m. (b) to the south is rectangular, l. 30m., w. 20m., ht. 1m.

Surface finds: some pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian, Sasanian, Islamic.

Res.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2019/ 35.

No. 62. Qala Thrithir (pl. 9).

The base of this large mound is square, about 130m. × 130m., ht. 2m. A higher rectangular mound stands in the middle, about 90m. × 90m., with a summit at its north-east corner.

Surface finds: rough stones, pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian, Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: Sumer, 4, 1948, 299; Al-Haik, 1968: 45; A.S.I. p 245, no. 1240; S.O.A.H., File no. 1240/ 35; AASI map 131, no. 251.

No. 63. Tell Al-Karkashi (pl. 9).

Circular, 120m. in diam., ht. 2m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1987/ 35.

No. 64. Tell Sultan (pl. 9).

Two mounds. (a) Sultan Saghir: circular, 50m. in diam., ht. 1.50m., surrounded by the Wadi Mshfi except on the south. (b) Sultan Kabir: also circular, 150m. in diam., ht. 4n., has its eastern part extending to the east for 60m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: (a), (b): Assyrian, Parthin.

Ref.: (a) S.O.A.H., File no. 1977/ 35.

(b): S.O.A.H., File no. 1972/ 35.



(b) East Jazirah

QAIYARA-ASSUR (Area 2, pl. 8; nos. 65-93, pl. 10)

No. 65. Tell Fudhah (pl. 10)

This is oval, extending from north to south, 1.85m. w. 50m. at its widest part: it has a summit on the north, ht. 4m., and on its south side it slopes down 2.50m.

Surface finds: pottery, obsidian, flint.

Date: Halaf, Ubaid, Mitanni, Assyrian, Parthian/ Sasanian.

No. 66. Tell Malha (pl. 10).

Three mounds; the largest, in the centre, is rectangular, 45m. × 48m., ht. 3.50m., and surrounded by mounds on north and south.

Surface finds: some pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian.

Ref.: a place called MLH' (malha) is mentioned in the Aramaic inscription of Sa'adiya, dated A.D. 125 (Safar, 1961: 36-40). The name in the text might be identical to that of this site.

No. 67. Tell Umilih (pl. 10).

Five mounds close to each other surround a semi-circular mound, 65m. in diam., ht. 3m.-4m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian/ Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: Al-Bakri, vol. 1, p. 197; Yaqut Al-Hamawi, vol. 1, p. 339.

No. 68. Khirbet Jaddalah. (See Chapter 4).

There are three main sites called Jaddalah: (a) this site of Khirbet Jaddalah (no. 68. see Chapter 4), and (b) Tell 'Unuq Jaddalah and (c) the Khan (?), both here numbered 69.

No. 69. Tell 'Unuq Jaddalah (pls. 10, 20b).

Under this number are collected two important mounds in the Jaddalah area, close to Khirbet Jaddalah (no. 68).

(b) (pl. 21a) is 400m. south of Khirbet Jaddalah (no. 68); it is rectangular, 45m. × 35m.; ht. 4m.

Surface finds: uncut pieces of limestone; a little pottery.

Date: A. Stein (1941: 309-13) says the site was situated on a caravan route for a long period. He identifies the site with Ad Herculem, the station on the originally late Roman Tabula Peutingeriana.

Ref.: A. Stein, 1941: 309-13; A.S.I. p. 248, no. 253; S.O.A.H., File 253/ 35.

(c) (pl. 21b) has the foundations of a square building, roughly 75m. square, which might have been a khan, situated on the left bank of the Wadi Jaddalah, opposite the site of Khirbet Jaddalah (no. 68); it could have been used by caravans during the periods of occupation of Khirbet Jaddalah (no. 68) and Tell 'Unuq Jaddalah (b).

Surface finds: none.

Date: contemporary with Khirbet Jaddalah (no. 68) and Tell 'Unuq Jaddalah?

No. 70. Tell Jaddalah 'Uliya (pl. 10).

This is a semi-circular mound, about 140m. in diam., ht. 5m., with two summits, one on the north-west and the other in the centre.

Surface finds: rough stones, some pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian.

No. 71. Khirbet Qbr' Ibn Naif (called Qbr Abu Naif by Safar, 1961: 41 and also known as Khirbet Umm Al-Roos) (pls. 10, 22a,b).

This is a square enclosure, 100m × 100m., ht. 2m.; at each corner is a hillock, possibly indicating a ruined tower of the enclosure. The middle part of the site is lower. The whole enclosure stands on a low mound, ht. 2m.

Surface finds: some pottery, stones, an inscription (Aramaic).

Date: an Aramaic inscription found on the surface, published by Safar, 1961: 41-42, indicates that the building was put in A.D.137 by ZBYDW, son of RPS' (see p. 214), but possibly this building was later than the mound on which it stands.

Ref.: Safar, 1961: 41-42.

No. 72. Tell Aswad (pl. 10).

A semi-circular mound, about 70m. in diam., ht. 5m. Another small low mound lies to the north.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Sasanian/ Islamic.

No. 73. Tell Girmish (pl. 10).

Semi-oval: 58m., ht. 6m. with a summit.

Surface finds: some pottery.

Date: Sasanian.

No. 74. Khirbt Bashmanah (pls. 10, 23a,b).

Two mounds are situated between the village of Bashmanah and Tulul Bashmanah (no. 47).

(a) is rectangular, l. 30m., w. 21m., ht. 1.50m.-2m. with a depression at the centre of the east side possibly marking the gate or entrance of the enclosure.

(b) (pl. 23) lies to the east of (a); it is square and enclosed by an outer wall, 100m. × 100m., ht. 2m., with a low hillock at each corner possibly indicating ruined towers. In the centre of the enclosure stands a square mound, 30m. × 30m., ht. 3m.

Surface finds: (a) a few green-glazed potsherds.

(b) rough pottery,

Date: (a) Parthian/ Sasanian.

(b) Parthian.

No. 75. Tell Al-Khirab ('ruins') (pl. 10).

An irregular mound, l. about 70m., w. 50m. at its widest, ht. 2m.-3m.

Surface finds: pottery

Date: Assyrian, Parthian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File 1852/ 35.

No. 76. Tell 'Ain Khunazirat (pl. 10).

This group of mounds is situated on the Jaddalah-Sharqat road, overlooking the lower area to the west of the site. The main mound is irregular, l. about 90m., w. 53., ht. 5m.

Surface finds: pottery, flints.

Date: prehistoric (?), Mitanni, Assyrian, Parthian/ Sasanian.

No. 77. Khriba (pl. 10).

This is a low mound, with its eastern part cut into by the modern houses of a small village, while the rest measures about 1.55m., w. 34m., ht. 2m.

Surface finds: a very little pottery.

Date: Parthian/ Sasanian.

No. 78. Qala Sharqat (Aššur) (pls. 10,24a).

This large and ancient city, an important centre for the Assyrians, was reoccupied during the Parthian period after a time of apparent abandonment. The observation made previously that it was seemingly abandoned has been confirmed by the recent excavations of A.M. Jeru. He excavated two areas. In one, a sounding 9m. deep was made immediately south of the area locally called Qsr Al-Amir ("palace of the prince"). 9 occupation levels were discovered here, of which the 5 lowest were Assyrian; these were overlaid by a layer of debris and rubble 1m. thick, which seemed to have been part of a deliberate levelling of the old Assyrian site before new constructions appeared. Above this layer were 4 Parthian levels, totalling 3.70m. in depth. In the other, on the site of Qsr Al-Amir itself, where there the foundations of a building clearly dated to the Parthian period, this was again found to stand on a filled and levelled area. The importance of Aššur in Parthian period is evident from the size of the Parthian settlement, which extended outside the Assyrian walls; doubtless Aššur flourished again at this time because of its location on an east-west, north-south crossroads. Excavations have revealed a variety of Parthian remains. The old ziggurat was apparently respected and maintained. What was probably a temple, consisting at first of two "iwans" (open-fronted vaulted halls) and then of three side by side arose over the ruins of old Aššur temple in the first and second centuries A.D.; to this period also belonged the "Peripteros" temple. The so-called "palace", large mud-brick complex embodying various forms with much decorative stucco-work, also belonged to this later Parthian period, as did some Babyloian-type court-centred houses. Tomb types, of the same period, included Assyrian-type vaulted cavities, and then half-sunk hypogea with internal corridors off which chambers opened, in baked brick. Some later Parthian-period limestone sculpture was also discovered, comprising fragments of sculptures in the round and funerary reliefs of standing men. Fragments of late Parthian-period wall-painting included one of a helmeted god; coins and Aramaic texts were also found.

Date: Early Dynastic-Assyrian, Parthian.

Ref.: Andrae and Lenzen, 1933; Andrea, 1938; Oates, 1972; Colledge, 1977; information from the excavator. A.M. Jeru, during the writer's visit to the site in 1980.

No. 79. Khirbet Msihli (pl. 10).

Two mounds: (a) is oval, to the south of a modern village, 72m. in diam., ht. 4m. (b) is larger, semi-circular, 140m. in diam., ht. 8m., and surrounded by the houses of this village.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: (a) Old Babylonian, Assyrian, Parthian.

(b): Assyrian.

Ref.: (b) S.O.A.H., File 1612/ 35.

No. 80. Tulul Al-Bag (pl. 10).

Two large mounds: (a) is semi-circular, 150m. in diam., ht. 10m. (b) is oval, about 110m., ht. 8m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: (a) Ur III, Assyrian, Sasanian, Islamic.

(b): prehistoric, Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref.: Yaqut Al-Hamawi, vol. 2, p. 261; Ross, 1839: 450; Musil, 1927: 57; S.O.A.H., File no. 579/ 35, A.S.I. p. 579; A.A.S.I., map 129, no. 82.

No. 81. Tell Jedaydah (pl. 10).

Rectangular, l. 135m., w. 85m., ht. 8m., extending from north to south. Its eastern section is lower than the rest. Its summit is at the north-west.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Mitanni, Assyrian, Parthian, Islamic.

Ref.: the traveller Ibn Jubair (1952: 244) mentioned that he passed through a village called Jedaydah, perhaps this ~~located~~ near the Tigris and before Qaiyara, on his way to Mosul in A.D. 1184.

No. 82. Khirbet Nofan (pl. 10).

Semi-circular, about 100m. in diam., ht. 6m. Its summit is at the south-eastern end of the mound.

Surface finds: pottery, flint, obsidian.

Date: Ubaid, Assyrian, Hellenistic, Sasanian Islamic.

No. 83. Tell Sbiha (pl. 10)

Semi-circular l. 85m., w. 60m., ht. 3.50m., extending southwards.

Surface finds: pottery, flint.

Date: Uruk, Old Babylonian (?), Assyrian, Parthian.

No. 84. Tell Ajri (pls. 10, 24b-26).

This site (called 'Ajri' by Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 19) is situated south of the area called locally Fadhat Baqqa ("the lower area"), and 68km. south of Hatra (Baqir and Safar, 1962: vol. 2, 31). It consists of many mounds. The site as a whole is enclosed by a roughly rectangular wall, 1780m. in total length, which appears to be built over the remains of an earlier settlement. This wall is constructed of limestone and mortar 3.60m. thick, and has rectangular towers. Each tower projects 1.20m from the wall and is 5.10m. in length; the distance between each tower is 16.10m. The wall had five gates: two on the south side, one on the north and two on the east. The outline of the wall is visible on all sides except the south; there are two possible explanations for this, one being that houses or other buildings were substituted for the wall on the south, and the other that the wall was never finished. Within this wall the highest and largest mound is in the south corner and is nearly circular, about 300m. in diam., ht. 15m. What ancient town Tell 'Ajri has been the subject of some discussion. Ebling and Meissner (1938: 123) and Baqir and Safar (1962: vol. 2, 31) suggested it was the city of Dariga which is recorded as having revolted against the Assyrian King Samsu Adad V (823-811 B.C.); but it seems from the Assyrian text that Dariga was situated between the two rivers Zab to the east of the Tigris, and so not here. As regards the Parthian period, Baqir and Safar (1962: vol. 2, 31) and Safar and Mustafa (1974: 19) suggested that the site of 'Ajri was a town on the route connecting Tekrit and Hatra.

Surface finds: potsherds all over the site.

Date: Assyrian, Hellenistic, Parthian.

Ref.: Ebling and Meissner, 1938: 123; Baqir and Safar, 1962: vol. 1, 31; Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 19; A.S.I. p. 278, no. 589; S.O.A.H., File no. 589/ 35; A.A.S.I. map 129, no. 190 (where it is misplaced on the east bank of the Wadi Tharthar); A.M.I., 1972: IRAQ (35n-43E).

No. 85. Tell Tamri (pl. 10).

A semi-circular mound, about 200m. in diam., ht. 8m.

Surface finds: pottery, pieces of limestone.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 278, no. 589; S.O.A.H., File no. 589/ 35 (the records of sites 84 and 85 are both in one file); A.A.S.I., map 129, no. 90

No. 86. Tell Matu Dhabbi (pl. 10).

Three small mounds close to one another. The largest is semi-circular, about 70m. in diam., ht. 2m.

Surface finds: a little pottery.

Date: Sasanian/ Islamic.

No. 87. Tell Umm Al-Qita (pl. 10).

Two small low mounds: (a) is oval. 80m in diam., ht. about 2m. (b) is semi-oval. 65m. in diam., ht. 1.50m.

Surface finds: a little pottery.

Date: Sasanian.

No. 88. Tulul Sukariyat (pl. 10).

Four mounds lie close to each other. The largest is on the south, (a), trapezoidal, l. about 300m., w. 180m., ht. 6m. (b) is to the east and has two summits, ht. 2m. (c), (d) are small hillocks.

Surface finds: pottery, limestone, marble, bricks.

Date: Ur III, Middle and Late Assyrian, Parthian, Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 662/ 40.

No. 89. Qala Al-Bint (also called Qala Mak-hul, Qala Qsir Al-Bint, Qsir Al-Bint) (pls. 10, 27-29).

This site lies south of Assur and on the Jebel Khanuqa, which is itself a part of Jebel Mak-hul. It comprises a fort, standing on a high rocky cliff on the west bank of the Tigris (pls. 27a, 28a), where the river is fast-flowing and deep, and overlooking a plateau on east bank of the river. It is flanked by two deep wadis which lead down to the river. A ditch or moat was dug to join these two wadis, which therefore provided a complete defensive ditch or moat for the site. The ditch is 35m. in length, 8m. wide and 4m. deep. The fort itself stands on a massive rectangular platform which slopes down on its south flank to the ditch (pls. 28a, 29a), while on the other three sides its walls are vertical (pl. 29b). Circular towers are visible on the south-east (pl. 29b); The slope up to the fort on the south side has been made very steep, for defensive purposes. The fort itself, a wall and towers, seems to have had two stories. On the east facade is a row of ten arrowslits, facing the river (pl. 29b), each of which measures 60cm. in height with an inner width of 30cm. and outer of 12cm. (pl. 27c); these resemble those in the Roman walls at Sinjar (Oates, 1968: fig. 10). A row of large holes half-way up the wall was probably intended to take the ends of the wooden beams of the roof of a portico in front of the building. Another two holes, probably arrowslits, are located in the lower part of the wall on the east side. The building has two gateways, one on the north and the remains of a small room on the north-west, 6.80m × 2.90m., 1.50m. high, leading to a narrow ditch or passageway 80cm. wide (pl. 28a, b). At the top of this side of the ditch is one of two which protected the fort; the other was cut on the north-east side. high on the mountainside there. The fort presumably had a defensive purpose.

Surface finds: a little pottery in the ditch and at the west of the building.

Date: the building was visited by European travellers such as Thevenot in the seventeenth century, Rich in the early nineteenth and Sarre and Herzfeld at the beginning of this. The latter mapped and photographed the building and dated it to the Sasanian period (1911: vol. 1, 214-7). Baqir and Safar (1966: vol. 3,5) were not sure whether to date it to the Sasanian or Parthian periods. The fortress of Tell Bandar at Kish in Babylonia (pl. 27b), it should be noted, dug in 1933 and dated to the Parthian period, has a very similar plan.

Ref.: Thevenot, 1689: vol. 4, chapter 13, 189-209; Rich, 1836: vol. 2, 139; Sarre and Herzfeld, 1911: vol. 1, 214-7; Musil, 1927: 57; Langdon and Harden, 1936: 121-2; Baqir and Safar, 1966: vol. 3,5, 15; S.O.A.H., File no. 577/ 35; A.S.I. p. 277, no. 557; A.A.S.I., map 139, no. 52.

No. 90. Qal'a Jabbar (pls. 10, 30-34).

The ruins of this site lie south of the modern village of Mschaq in the Fat-ha district. An outcrop of the nearby Jebel Mak-hul provides a sloping terrace which rises from a height of 100m. above the river Tigris close by to one of 223m. at the top (Sarre and Herzfeld, 1911: 11). The Tigris at this point has a number of small

islands (pl. 31a). The ruins of Qal'a Jabbar are those of an irregular fortified area, the walls of which are of limestone, rubble and mortar (pls. 31b-34). Except for the east (pls. 31b, 32a), the land slopes steeply away from the walls, which follow the fissures of the wadis (pls. 33-34). On the east side, where the ground slopes less steeply down to the Tigris, the fortifications are strongest (pls. 31b, 32a). The eastern wall is roughly semicircular in plan, very massive and including a number of semicircular towers (pl. 33a). Its west end terminates in a complex of strong defensive works consisting of a gateway with an opening, standing 6m. high, and a second wall also with a gate (pl. 33b), which curves away to the east and terminates in a round tower (pl. 34a). Further towers added to the strength of this wall. Beyond the westernmost gateway, the ground slopes steeply and a narrow path leads down from the site (pl. 34b). Although the wall and tower are obviously defensive in character, their precise purpose and period are not clear, especially as inside the area no traces of structures have been recognized, and so they have been the subject of discussion. European travellers such as Thevenot and Layard visited the site. Rassam (1897: 322), who said wrongly that the site overlooks the Euphrates, described it as an old Arab fort, possibly used until recent time for exiling unwanted persons. Sarre and Herzfeld (1911: vol. 1, 218) said few sherds were found, but these included unglazed fragments; only one piece showed the light blue glaze characteristic of the Parthian-Sasanian period. They pointed out the similarity of the plan to that of the town of Halabiyyah on the Euphrates, and concluded that the techniques of walling and the pottery indicated that Qal'a Jabbar was a pre-Arab construction contemporary with Halabiyyah, used to protect a population who actually lived in tents. They also thought that Qal'a Jabbar was not mentioned in early Arab literature. This may be the case. But Yaqut Al-Hamawi (vol. 7, p. 220) mentions that a town called Kaheel was situated on the west bank of the Tigris, above Tekrit, between the two rivers Zab, and so in the general area of Qal'a Jabbar; he described it was in ruins at his time. Al-Asbahani (vol. 12, p. 199, 207) added that Kaheel was south of Mosul. The name Kaheel might be derived from that of the mountain Mak-hul, on whose slopes Qal'a Jabbar stands, which could therefore suggest that Qal'a Jabbar and Kaheel are identical, but the failure to find any evidence of habitation within the wall of Qal'a Jabbar makes it difficult to identify with any town.

Surface finds: a few rough pottery fragments.

Date: Parthian/ Sasanian?

Ref.: Thevenot, 1693; Rich., 1836: vol. 2, 141; Layard, 1853: 579; Rassam, 1897: 322; Sarre and Herzfeld, 1911: vol. 1, 217-8; Musil, 1927: 57; Baqir and Safar, 1966: 315; Chesney, 1969 (second edition); A.S.I. p. 227, no. 575; S.O.A.H., File no. 575/ 35; A.A.S.I., map 129, no. 87.

No. 91. Tell Tar Al-Rufie (pl. 10).

Trapezoidal, about 300m. in length, w. 200m., ht. 10m.

Surface finds: pottery, including one parthian sherd

Date: second millennium B.C. Assyrian, parthian?

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 687/ 40.

No. 92. Tell Buraich (Barima) (pls. 10, 35a).

Low mounds extend over an area, l. about 2k m., w. 500m., ht. 2m. Foundations of buildings, of pebbles and mortar, are visible. The only sizable hillock is on the east cliff of the Tigris at the southern end of the ruins.

Surface finds: pottery, pebbles.

Date: Sasanian?

Ref.: Yaqut Al-Hamawi, vol. 2, p. 33; Khaill, 1972: 234-39.

No. 93. Shjarah (pl. 10).

This site is located in the area between the Tigris and the east bank of the Lower Zab river. It is l. 300m., w. 160m., ht. 2m. Foundations of stone and mortar are visible. It could have been a significant settlement. Le Strange noted (1930: 91) that most early Arab writers mention a town called As-Sinn ("the tooth"), whose whereabouts

is now unknown, as located one mile below the junction of the lower Zab and the Tigris. Baqir and Safar (1966: vol. 3, 15) identify as As-Sinn the ruins of Sdiyra Westa, but this is not certain as Sdiyra Westa is situated between the Lower and Upper Zab, and so not where the Arab writers said As-Sinn was. The location of Shjarah fits their description much better, and so it might have been As-Sinn.

Surface finds: pebbles, pottery.

Date: Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: Yaqut Al-Hamawi, vol. 5, p. 153; Le Strange, 1930: 91; Baqir and Safar, 1966: vol. 3, 15; Khalil, 1972: 235; A.M.I., 1972: 35°-43°

(c) Upper Jazirh

(i) MOSUL (area 3, pl. 8; nos. 94-103, pl. 11).

No. 94. Nineveh (pl. 11, 35b).

The site of this large and ancient city is situated on the east bank of the Tigris, opposite the modern city of Mosul. The site is trapezoidal, enclosed by a wall 12km. in length, There are 15 gates in this wall, which surrounds several mounds. Of these, two are of special importance for the Hellenistic and Parthian eras.

(a) Tell Quyunjik, oval in shape, l. 1km., w. 500m. This was inhabited from the prehistoric period onwards, continuously until the end of the Assyrian period. The excavation of the temple of Nabu showed that, in the area dug, the site was deserted after the sack of 612 B.C. until the third century B.C. or later, as Hellenistic and Parthian levels indicated (Thompson and Hutchinson, 1929: 138). Thereafter it continued to be inhabited until the Sasanian/ Islamic period.

(b) Tell Nebi Yunis. This mound was occupied in the Assyrian era. Above these remains, in 1954-5, was found a Hellenistic temple dedicated to the god Hermes. The excavator indicated the possible existence of another temple about 100m. west of this, and suggested that these shrines could imply a large Hellenistic settlement lying between Tell Nebi Yunis and Tell Quyunjik (Mustafa, 1954: 281; Al-Asil, 1954: 292).

Date: (a): prehistoric to Assyrian, Hellenistic to Sasanian/ Islamic.

(b): Assyrian, Hellenistic, Parthian.

Ref.: (a) Thompson and Hutchinson, 1929: 138-146; Oates, 1968: 39-62; Madhloom, 1968: 39-62; Madhloom, 1969: 81-90.

(b): Mustafa, 1954: 281-83; AL-Asil, 1954: 292.

No. 94a. Nimrud (Kalhu) (pl. 11).

The extensive ruins of this city lie 35km. south-east of Mosul. Founded by Shalmaneser I (1273-1244 B.C.), it was the second Assyrian royal capital until the reign of Sargon II (721-705 B.C.). Destroyed during the invasion of Medes in 614 B.C., it was resettled, as excavation has revealed, in the Hellenistic period. Hellenistic levels 3.40m. thick lay about 1m. above the Assyrian occupation levels.

Date: Assyrian, Hellenistic.

Ref.: Oates, D. and J., 1958: 119.

No. 95. Qinytra (pl. 11, 36).

This large site is about 20km. south-east of Mosul, on the Tigris. Its main axis runs north-south, and it slopes away on the east and west sides. On its summit are the remains of a wall 3.50m. thick, built in a wide curve whose northern and southern ends terminate on the river banks. (pl. 36). This wall is built of limestone rubble with clay mortar, and is strengthened with 22 rectangular towers. The distance between each of these is 20m.; each tower projects 5m. and its width is 9.80m. The modern houses of the village of Qinytra are built over the site and some of them on the wall itself, The plan of the wall was drawn by F Safar.

Surface finds: rubble, some pottery fragments, some bricks at the south end of the site measuring 39cm. × 39cm. × 6.5cm.

Date: both Baqir and Safar thought the site Islamic. But the rectangular towers of the wall are very similar parthian period.

Ref.: Baqir and Safar, 1966: vol. 3, 12; A.S.I. p. 250, no. 230; S.O.A.H., File no. 230/ 35.

No. 96. Tell Al-harim (pl. 11).

This large, crescent-shaped site varies mostly between 300m. and 90m. in width; ht. 15m. It is surrounded by low mounds except on the east, where the whole site broadens out to about 500m. in width. There is reddish soil on the surface of the south part of the main mound.

Surface finds: 2 animal figurines, glazed and painted potsherds.

Date: Hassuna, Samarra, Halaf, Nineveh V, Mitanni, Assyrian, Parthian/ Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: Surface 2, 1946: vol. 2, 88; A.S.I. pl. 251, no. 320; S.O.A.H., File no. 320/ 35; A.A.S.I., map 130 (no number).

No. 97. Khirbet Zanazil (pl. 11).

Irregular, about 1 hectare in area, ht. 3m., with a small mound nearby.

Surface finds: pottery, rubble.

Date: Assyrian, parthian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 280/ 35.

No. 98. Tell Al-Bay'a ("church" in local dialect) (pl. 11).

This irregular mound is about 1.2 km. ht. 4m., with a small hillock in the middle covered with rubble and mortar.

Surface finds: some pottery.

Date: Byzantine, Islamic.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 268/ 35.

No. 99. Tell Al-Khwain ("small post") (pl. 11).

These low mound from a rectangle, l. 400m., w. 320m., the highest hillock is on the north-west. A small mound nearby measures l. 30m., w. 22m., ht. 2m.

Surface finds: some pottery.

Date: Sasanian.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 248, no. 2971; S.O.A.H., File no. 2971/ 35.

No. 100. Tell Dehala (pls. 11, 37 a).

Here the main site, on the east bank of the Wadi Al-Qasab, is irregular in shape, l. 330m., w. 190m. Other mounds are scattered along the wadi west bank. Some foundations, of limestone and mortar, are visible.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: prehistoric (?), Mitanni, Assyrian, Sasanian/ Islamic.

No. 101. Tell Al-Jern (pl. 11).

This large, high, crescent-shaped mound is l. about 400m., w. 280m., ht. 15m. An oval mound rises to the east, and to the south of the site there is a stream of fresh water which starts here.

Surface finds: flint, obsidian, rubble, pottery; most finds were made on the east side of the mound.

Date: Uruk (?), Assyrian, Hellenistic, Islamic.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 274; S.O.A.H., File no. 274/ 35; A.A.S.I., Map 130, no. 53.

No. 102. Tulul Ain Al-Bqara (pl. 11).

There are low mounds scattered in an area l. 380m., w. 250m. Foundations of uncut limestone and mortar are visible. To the east of the area is a semi-circular mound, about 45m. in diam., ht. 3m.

Surface finds: rubble, pottery.

Date: Sasanian/ Islamic.

Ref.: Al-'Omary, 1955: 156; A.S.I. p. 251, no. 282; S.O.A.H., File no. 282/ 35.

No. 103. Tulul Ain Nasir (pl. 11).

Low mounds cover an area of l. 300m., w. 130m; foundations of rubble and mortar are visible. Two of the three higher mounds within the site are called (a) Tell Airyni, and (b) Tell Mizar.

Surface finds: rubble, pottery.

Date: Sasanian/ Islamic.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 250, no. 256; S.O.A.H., File no. 256/ 35.

(ii) TELL 'AFAR (Area 4, pl. 8; nos. 104-228, pl. 12).

No. 104. Tell Ain Shridah (pl. 12).

There are two mounds, whose total circumference measures about 1000m. The main one is about 5m. in height.

Surface finds: stones, a little pottery.

Date: Sasanian.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 244, no. 1198; S.O.A.H., File no. 1198/ 35.

No. 105. Tell Shikhan (pl. 12).

This large, semi-oval mound, l. 500m., w. 320m., has its highest summit on the east side, rectangular, l. 100m., w. 60m., ht. 8m.

Surface finds: rubble, pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Sasanian/ Islamic.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 249, no. 315; S.O.A.H., File no. 315/ 35.

No. 106. Khirbet Taha (pl. 12).

Two small mounds are separated by a shallow wadi. (a) on the east is square, 45m. × 45m., ht. 2m., with a small summit at the centre. (b), to the west, is also square, 26m. × 26m., ht. 1.50m.; it would be possible to make a plan of the building from the remains.

Surface finds: (a): rubble, pottery.

(b): rubble, stucco, some pottery.

Date: (a) Parthian/ Sasanian.

(b): Islamic.

No. 107. Khirbet Al-Tair (pl. 12).

There are three mounds here. (a) is at the north end of the modern village of Al-Tair, square, 35m. × 35m., ht. 1.50m; foundations of rubble and mortar are visible. (b) is at the centre of the village, rectangular, l. 120m., w. 80m., ht. 5m. (c) is also rectangular, l. about 100m., w. 40m., ht. 1.50m., to the west of the village.

Surface finds: (a), (b), (c): rubble, some potsherds.

Date: (a), (b): Sasanian.

(c): one Parthian/ Sasanian sherd, otherwise Islamic.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 244, no. 1196; S.O.A.H., File no. 1196/ 35.

No. 108. Tell Al-Khwaim ("small post") (pl. 12).

This small crescent-shaped mound is l. 48m., w. 32m. at its widest point, and about 2m. in height.

Surface finds: flint, obsidian, pottery including one glazed sherd.

Date: 'U'baid, Sasanian/Islamic.

No. 109. Khirbet Al-Yazidi (pl. 12).

This is a rectangular mound about 500m. south of a semi-circular mound called Tell Al-Yazidi; foundations of rubble and mortar are visible, indicating a rectangular enclosure, l. about 38m., w. 30m.

Surface finds: rubble, pottery.

Date: difficult to establish, but as its rectangular form recalls that of a number of Parthian sites in the area, this could be Parthian.

No. 110. Khirbet Jyea (pl. 12).

Two mounds lie close to the village of Jyea. (a) is called Khirbet Jyea, and is a square enclosure, 110m. × 110m., ht. 2m., with a mound in the centre. (b) called Umm Qubor, is circular, about 50m. in diam., ht. 6m.

Surface finds: (a), (b): some incised pottery

Date: (a), (b): Parthian.

No. 111. Tulul Umm Al-Shinin (pl. 12).

A number of low mounds are situated to the south of Jebel Umm Al-Shinin. Among these is a series of hillocks forming a rectangular enclosure, l. about 90m., w. 80m., ht. 2m., surrounding a square mound about 18m. × 18m. This could be the site mentioned by A. Stein (1941: 301, 310).

Surface finds: rubble, some pottery.

Date: A. Stein (1941: 310) claimed to have found a small Roman fort here, suggesting Roman occupation and a trade route, but most pottery fragments were Islamic.

Ref.: A. Stein, 1941: 301, 310, 315.

No. 112. Tell Al-Daym (pl. 12).

A number of mounds forms a large site with a total circumference of about 1500m. The irregular main mound stands in the middle, l. 350m. in its lower portion. There is another small mound about 700m. to the south-east of the site.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Uruk (?), Mitanni, Assyrian, Sasanian (?).

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1209/ 35; A.S.I. p. 244, no. 1209; A.A.S.I., map 131, nos. 165, 166; *Sumer*, 4, 1948: 299.

No. 113. Tell Umm Al-Qanatir (pl. 12).

Two mounds stand here. (a), circular, about 50m. in diam., ht. 4m. (b), rectangular l. about 40m., w. 30m., ht. 2m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Early Dynastic, Assyrian, Parthian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1998/ 35.

No. 114. Tulul Al-'Arysh (pl. 12).

This is a large site enclosed by a series of mounds.

Surface finds: a little pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Sasanian/ Islamic.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 249, no. 295; S.O.A.H., File no. 295/ 35.

No. 115. Tell Abu Jarathi (pl. 12).

There are two mounds here. (a), circular, about 300 m. in diam. at its base and 80 m. in diam. at its summit; part of a limestone doorway was found here, similar to one found in a tomb at Hatra mentioned by Al-Salihi (1973: 21), which suggests an occupation in the Parthian period. (b), rectangular, is to the west, l. 74.50 m., w. 40 m., ht. 3 m.; in the centre is a depression.

Surface finds: (a): pottery, rubble, part of a limestone doorway.

(b): Parthian/ Sasanian.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 247, no. 269; S.O.A.H., File no. 269/ 35; A.A.S.I., map 130, no. 175.

No. 116. Tell Al-'Omryni (pl. 12).

There are two mounds. (a), circular, about 150m. in diam. at its base and 55m. at its summit, ht. 7m. (a), rectangular, l. 90m., w. 65m., ht. 5m., situated to the south of (a).

Surface finds: (a): some pottery, two pieces of stoneware.

(b): pottery.

Date: (a) Uruk, Khabur, Assyrian, Hellenistic.

(b): Assyrian, Sasanian/ Islamic.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 250, no. 292; S.O.A.H., File no. 292/ 35; A.A.S.I., map 130, no. 158.

p 88

No. 117. Khirbet Abdalah 'Othoman (pl. 12).

This is an irregular mound, l. about 400m., ht. 3m., surrounded by low mounds.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: first few centuries after Christ.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 245, no. 1181; S.O.A.H., File no. 1181/ 35; A.A.S.I., map 131, no. 117.

No. 118. Khirbet Hassan Al-Yasin (pl. 12).

Three mounds close to each other form one site, l. about 1500m. The east mound is the largest, ht. about 5m., while the other mounds are about 2m. in height.

Surface finds: pottery, rubble, bricks.

Date: Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 243, no. 287; S.O.A.H., File no. 287/ 35; A.A.S.I., map 131, no. 115.

No. 119. Khirbet Umm 'Adham ("mother-of bones ruins") (pl. 12).

A small mound, l. about 400m. - 500m., ht. 2m.

Surface finds: pottery, including some green-glazed sherds.

Date: Sasanian.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 242, no. 1187; S.O.A.H., File no. 1187/ 35; A.A.S.I., map 131, no. 119.

No. 120. Tell Majarin (pl. 12).

There are three mounds. (a), circular, about 80m. in diam., ht. 10m. (b), rectangular, l. about 150m., w. 60m., ht. 8m. (c) is smaller.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1846/ 35.

No. 121. Tell Twaim (pl. 12).

There are two main mounds close to one another, and other small hillocks.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: 'Ubaid, Assyrian, Parthian, Sasanian.

No. 122. Eski Mosul (Balat, Balad) (pl. 12).

The ruins are enclosed by the remains of a semi-circular wall, some parts of which are visible. A small mound lies inside the area.

Surface finds: on the small mound are scattered flints, pottery and coins.

Date: the flints suggest prehistoric occupation; Assyrian, Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: Le Strange, 1930: 99, 125; Reitlinger, 1938: 138; Stein, 1941: 310; Baqir and Safar, 1966: vol. 3, 66-67; Agha, 1974: 61; S.O.A.H., File no. 341/ 35; A.A.S.I., map 131, nos. 7, 9.

No. 123. Tell Khatab (pl. 12).

This is rectangular, l. 60m., w. 40m., ht. 3m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1845/ 35.

No. 124. Khirbet Khan Al-Zanzil (pl. 12).

A large, low mound, l. about 700m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Late Assyrian, Parthian.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 244, no. 1124; S.O.A.H., File no. 1124/ 35; A.A.S.I., map 131, no. 25.

No. 125. Tell Mutar (pl. 12).

This is circular, 50m. in diam., ht. 2m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Sasanian/ Islamic.

No. 126. Tell Khathir (pl. 12).

Two mounds, l. 600m.-700m., ht. 4m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Sasanian.

No. 127. Kharaiyb Mahlabiyah ("ruins of Mahlabiyah") (pl. 12).

A large number of mounds extend here for 3 km. Among these are:

(a) Tell 'Ain Mahlabiyah, l. about 400 m., ht. 5 m.;

(b) Tell Belyoz, to the north of (a), which is treated as a separate site (no. 157); (c) Tell Mahlabiyah, square, 3000m. × 300m.

Surface finds: (a), (c): pottery, rubble.

(b): flint, obsidian.

Date: (a), (c): Sasanian, Islamic.

(b): Samarra, Nineveh V, Middle Assyrian (?), Hellenistic, Sasanian.

Ref.: (a), (c): Le Strange, 1930: 99; Baqir and Safar, 1966: vol. 3, 60; A.S.I. P. p. 245, no. 1173; S.O.A.H., File no. 1173/ 35; A.A.S.I., map 131, nos. 91, 39.

(b): Oates, unpublished site index no. 46; A.A.S.I., map 131, no. 92.

No. 128. Khirbet Sheikh Ibrahim (pl. 12).

A. Stein (1941: 301, 310) described this caravan route site as a castellum (fort).

Date: Roman.

Ref.: Stein, 1941: 301, 310.

No. 129. Tell Huta (pl. 12).

This is circular, about 40m. in diam., ht. 3m.

Surface finds: some pottery.

Date: Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2001/ 35.

No. 130. Kharaiyb Hwaish ("ruins of the house/ court") (pl. 12).

This is a large, oval mound, enclosed by a wall 2.50km. in length. The main summit is in the middle of the site, l. about 750m., ht. 8m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 243, no. 1257; S.O.A.H., File no. 1257/ 35; A.A.S.I., map 131, no. 152.

No. 131. Tell Al-Rahmaniya (pl. 12).

This is rectangular, l. 150m., w. 80m., ht. about 8m. Foundations of rubble and mortar are visible in the east part of the site.

Surface finds: rubble, pottery.

Date: Ubaid, Assyrian, Sasanian/ Islamic.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2003/ 35.

No. 132. Tell Al-Rumih ("arch hill") (pl. 12).

This is rectangular, l. 100m., w. 60m., ht. 3m.-5m. Another small mound lies to the north.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Uruk, Assyrian, Sasanian.

No. 133. (No name) (pl. 12).

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Samarra, third millennium, Khabur, Hellenistic, Parthian/ Sasanian.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site index, no. 18.

No. 134. Tell Dekhil (pl. 12).

Rectangular mound, l. 120m., w. 80m., ht. 3m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1996/ 35.

No. 135. Tell Yal (pl. 12).

There are two mounds here, with a lower area between. One mound is rectangular, 1.90m., w. 25m., ht. 10m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1994/ 35.

No. 136. Tell Hussein Amin (pl. 12).

This is rectangular, l. 150m., w. 70m., ht. about 4m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2021/ 35.

No. 137. Tell Dam 'Aboosh (pl. 12)

This is rectangular, 1.150m., w. 60m., ht. 2m.

Date: Sasanian, pottery.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2024/ 35.

No. 138. Tell Qehwa (pl. 12).

This is circular, about 50m. in diam., ht. 2m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2022/ 35.

No. 139. Tell 'Ayar (pl. 12).

This site comprises a cluster of mounds, among which are: (a) rectangular, 1.200m., w. 100m., ht. 2m.; (b) circular, 80m. in diam., ht. 1m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1995/ 35.

No. 140. Tell Jaboqa (pl. 12).

Here there are three mounds close to one another. The largest is rectangular, 1.300m., w. 90m., ht. 2.50m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2026/ 35.

No. 141. Tell Al-Buqer (pl. 12).

This is rectangular, 1.400m., w. 120m., ht. 5m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Parthian/ Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1988/ 35.

No. 142. Tell Qasim (pl. 12).

This mound is rectangular, 1. 30m., w.15m., ht. 1.50m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2025/ 35.

No. 143. Tell Al-Hafel (pl. 12).

This is semi-circular, about 200m. in diam., ht. 3m. It has several summits; modern village houses are built over part of it.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian, Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2023/ 35.

No. 144. Tell 'Afar (pl. 12).

Two mounds lie within the modern town of Tell 'Afar, near a fresh water spring. The site has been identified as the Assyrian town of Nimit 'Astar. Tell 'Afar was mentioned by some early Arab writers, and on one

mound stand the remains of a probably Islamic fort.

Surface finds: coarse wares.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian, Islamic.

Ref.: Sarre and Herzfeld, 1911: vol. 1, 205-207; Baqir and Safar 1966: vol. 3, 60; E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 11.

No. 145. Tell Al-Rimah (pl. 12).

This large site was excavated by a British Expedition between 1964 and 1971, The levels mostly date to the second millennium B.C., but in the upper level some Parthian items were discovered.

Date: second millennium B.C., Parthian.

Ref.: Lloyd, 1938; Oates, 1963: 69-72; personal communication with J. Reade.

No. 146. Tell Taya (pl. 12).

This site is south-east of the town of Tell 'Afar, and was dug by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq. In Level I.a stamp-seal of red-brown stone was found in a grave of the Sasaian period.

Date: Sasanian (?)

Ref.: Waines, 1973: 189; Reade, 1973: 173.

No. 147. Tell Qara Tepe (pl. 12).

Surface finds: pottery, flints.

Date: Samarra, Halaf, Ubaid, Uruk, Nineveh V, Mid-Assyrian, Achaemenian, Hellenistic, Parthian/ Sasanian, Islamic (?).

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 14.

No. 148. (No. name) (pl. 12).

This mound lies 1km. east of Khidhr Elias.

Date: Parthian/ Sasanian.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 6.

No. 149. Obr Mella Jasim (pl. 12).

Date: Uruk, third millennium B.C., Late Assyrian, Parthian(?), Sasanian, Islamic (its main phase).

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 61.

No. 150. Yarim Tepe (pl. 12).

This comprises a number of mounds, some of which were excavated by a Russian expedition.

Surface finds: flints, obsidian, pottery.

Date: Hassuna, Samarra, Halaf, Uruk, Khabur, Late Assyrian, Hellenistic, Parthian, Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 63.

No. 151. Tell Aziz (pl. 12).

This mound is rectangular, l. 100m., w. 40m., ht. 3m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2029/ 35.

No. 152. Tell Aziz Gharbi (pl. 12).

This mound is semi-circular, 100m. in diam. about 5m. in height.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2030/ 35.

No. 153. Tell Aziz Junobi (pl. 12).

There are three semi-circular mounds here. (a) is 80m. in diam., ht. 1. 50m. (b) is 50m. in diam. ht. 4m. (c) is 70m. in diam., ht. 3m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1975/ 35.

No. 154. Tell Hamra ("red hill") (pl. 12).

This mound is east of the Tell Al-Rimah-Mahlabiyah crossroads.

Surface finds: pottery, obsidian.

Date: Samarra, Halaf, Ubaid, Uruk, Late Assyrian, Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, Unpublished site survey, no. 57.

No. 155. Tell Shibba (pl. 12).

Date: Mitanni (?), Hellenistic, Parthian/ Sasanian.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 17.

No. 156. Tell Khamira (pl. 12).

Date: Ubaid, Uruk, Niheveh V, Khabur, Mitanni, Late Assyrian, Parthian/ Sasanian (?), Islamic.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 16.

No. 157. Tell Belyoz (pl. 12).

One of the mounds making up the group on the site of Kharaiyb Mahlabyah (no. 127). This constitutes mound (b).

Surface finds: flint, obsidian.

Date: Samarra, Nineveh V, Middle Assyrian (?), Hellenistic, Sasanian.

Ref.: A.A.S.I., map 131, no. 92; E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 46.

No. 158. (No name) (pl. 12).

Surface finds: pottery, obsidian, flint.

Date: Samarra, Halaf, Ubaid, third millennium B.C., Khabur (?), Middle Assyrian, Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site Survey no. 34.

No. 159. Khazneh ("treasury") (pl. 12).

Surface finds: flint, pottery.

Date: Samarra, Ubaid, Uruk, Nineveh V, third millennium B.C., Khabur, Middle Assyrian, Late Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 53.

No. 160. Tall Zimbeg (pl. 12).

Date: third millennium B.C., Mitanni, Parthian.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 5.

No. 16L. (No name) (pl. 12).

Date: Halaf, Ubaid, Uruk, Nineveh V, third millennium B.C., Sasanian.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 45.

No. 162. Dem Tepe (pl. 12).

Surface finds: flint, obsidian, pottery.

Date: Hassuna, Samarra, Halaf, Ubaid, Uruk, Nineveh V, third millennium B.C., Late Assyrian Parthian/
Sasanian, Islamic (?).

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 10.

No. 163. (No name) (pl. 12).

Surface finds: flint, pottery.

Date: Hassuna, Halaf, Ubaid, Uruk, Achaemenian, Parthian/ Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: E.E.D. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 20.

No. 164. (No name) (pl. 12).

This is a low, square mound.

Surface finds: flint, pottery.

Date: Samarra, Parthian.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 7.

No. 165. (No name) (pl. 12).

Surface finds: obsidian, pottery.

Date: Halaf, Ubaid, Hellenistic, Parthian/ Sasanian.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 8.

No. 166. (No name) (pl. 12).

Date: third millennium B.C., Mitanni, Hellenistic, Parthian/ Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 40.

No. 167. (No name) (pl. 12).

Date: Late Assyrian, Parthian/ Sasanian.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 100.

No. 168. (No name) (pl. 12).

Date: Late Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 102.

No. 169. (No name) (pl. 12).

Surface finds: obsidian, pottery.

Date: Samarra, Uruk, Mitanni (?), Late Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 62.

No. 170. (No name) (pl. 12).

Surface finds: flint, obsidian, pottery.

Date: Samarra, Halaf, Ubaid, Uruk, Nineveh V, Hellenistic (?),
Sasanian (?).

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 96.

No. 171. Tell Mihrab (pl. 12).

Date : Hassuna, Samarra (?), Halaf, Ubaid, Uruk, Hellenistic, Sasanian (?), Islamic.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 99.

No. 172. Zarig Tepe (pl. 12).

Date: Mitanni, Middle Assyrian (?), Late Assyrian, Sasanian (?).

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 98.

No. 173. (No name) (pl. 12).

Date: Sasanian.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 90

NO. 174. Qadimli (pl. 12).

Surface finds: obsidian, pottery.

Date: Samarra, third millennium B.C., Mitanni, Late Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 75.

No. 175. (No name) (pl. 12).

Date: Halaf, Sasanian.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 85.

No. 176. (No name) (pl. 12).

Surface finds: flint, obsidian, pottery.

Date: Samarra, Halaf, Ubaid, Uruk, Middle Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 84.

No. 177. (No name) (pl. 12).

Date: Mitanni (?), Sasanian (?).

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 87.

No. 178. (No name) (pl. 12).

Date: Mitanni (?), Sasanian (?).

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 87.

No. 179. (No name) (pl. 12).

Surface finds: flint, pottery.

Date: Hassuna, Samarra, Halaf, Sasanian (?).

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 83.

No. 180. (No name) (pl. 12).

Date: Late Assyrian (?), Sasanian, Islamic (?).

No. 181. (No. name) (pl. 12).

Surface finds: flint, obsidian, pottery.

Date: Samarra, Halaf, Ubaid, Uruk, third millennium B.C., Mitanni, Late Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 72.

No. 182. (No. name) (pl. 12).

Date: Late Assyrian (?), Parthian (?), Sasanian, Islamic (?).

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 69.

No. 183. Tell 'Awad (pl. 12).

This mound is west of Tell Al-Rimah (no. 145). across the wadi. There are graves all around the main mound.

Surface finds: flint, obsidian, pottery.

Date: Samarra, Halaf, Uruk, nineveh V, third millennium B.C., Khabur, Mitanni, Late Assyrian, Parthian/
Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 68.

No.184. Tell Qaza (pl. 12).

This is a semi-circular mound, about 120m. in diam., ht. 6m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Uruk, Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2045/ 35.

No. 185. Tell Kidalik (pl. 12).

This mound is rectangular, l. about 150m., w. 80m., ht. 4m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Halaf, Uruk, Late Assyrian, Parthian, Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2402/ 35; E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 29.

No. 186. Tell Al-Shair (pl. 12).

Surface finds: flint, obsidian, pottery.

Date: Samarra, Halaf, Nineveh V, third millennium B.C., Khabur (?), Middle Assyrian (?), Late Assyrian (?),
Parthian (?).

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 52.

No. 187. Tell Hilu (pl. 12).

This mound is semi-circular, diam. about 150m., ht. 4m.

Surface finds: pottery, one piece of decorated stucco.

Date: Uruk, Parthian, Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2039/ 35.

No. 188. Tell Daghash (pl. 12).

This mound is semi-circular, diam. about 120m., ht. 8m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Halaf, Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1974/ 35.

No. 189. Tell Mutalah (pl. 12).

This mound is rectangular, l. about 150m., w. 60m., ht. 4m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Parthian, Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1991/ 35.

No. 190. Tell Umm Al-Shibabit (pl. 12).

This is a rectangular mound, l. about 100m., w. 90m., ht. 7m. To the east, across a track, there is another rectangular mound nearby, l. about 80m., w. 50m., ht. 1.50m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian, Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2027/ 35.

No. 191. (No name) (pl. 12).

Surface finds: obsidian, pottery.

Date: Samarra, Late Assyrian, Parthian/ Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 109.

No. 192. (No name) (pl.12).

Date: Uruk, Middle Assyrian, Late Assyrian, Parthian/ Sasanian.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 108.

No. 193. (No name) (pl. 12).

This mound is oblong, 60m. × 50m., maximum ht. 2m.

Date: Parthian.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 28.

No. 194. (No name) (pl. 12).

Date: Uruk, Middle Assyrian, Late Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref.: E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 32.

No. 195. Tell As-Sown (pl. 12).

There are two semi-circular mounds. (a) is 50m. in diam., ht. 3m. (b) is 30m. in diam., ht. 2m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Parthian, Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2041/ 35.

No. 196. Tell Mqibra (pl. 12).

This mound is oblong, l. 150m., w. 80., ht. 2. 50m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., no. 1990/ 35.

No. 197. Tell 'Azu (pl. 12).

This mound is oblong, l. 100m., w. 60m., ht. 6m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Parthian, Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1976/ 35.

No. 198. Tell Tubail (pl. 12).

This mound is semi-circular, 70m. in diam., ht. 3.50m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1982/ 35.

No. 199. Tell Hachim Shamali (pl. 12).

This mound is rectangular, l. 160m., w. 80m., ht. 4m. Its east part ends in the Wadi Umm Al-Zananbir.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Sasanian.

No. 200. Tell Hachim Junobi (pl. 12).

This mound is semi-circular, 120m. in diam., ht. 5m., and extends to the north.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1918/ 35.

No. 201. Tell Hatim Sharqi (pl. 12).

This mound is semi-circular, 70m. in diam., ht. 2.50m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2009/ 35.

No. 202. Tell Khalif (pl. 12).

This is circular, 120m. in diam., ht. 8m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2018/ 35.

No. 203. Tell 'Algana (pl. 12).

This mound is circular, 80m. in diam., ht. 3m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2028/ 35.

No. 204. Tell Shewa (pl. 12).

This mound is circular, 150m. in diam., ht. 7m., and extends to the west, where another small mound stands.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Ubaid, Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2012/ 35.

No. 205. Tell Hadhail (pl. 12).

This large site is rectangular and enclosed by a wall, within which there are three main mounds and a number of hillocks. there is a roughly circular citadel (?) mound, diam. about 200m., ht. 30m., in the north-west corner, and another circular mound about 500m. to the south of it, 120m. in diam., ht. also about 30m. Remains of an ancient canal are to be seen in the centre of the site.

Surface finds: obsidian, pottery.

Date: Samarra, Halaf, Ubaid, Uruk, Nineveh V, third millennium B.C., Achaemenian, Parthian/ Sasanian.

Ref.: Lloyd, 1938: 126, 139; Reade, 1973: 162; S.O.A.H., File no. 2037/ 35; A.A.S.I., map 127, no. 43; E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site surevy, no. 39.

No. 206. Tell Al-Benat (pl. 12).

This mound is circular, 30m. in diam., ht. 6m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1843/ 35.

No. 207. Tell Sinar (pl. 12).

This mound is semi-circular, 70m. in diam., ht. 3m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1971/ 35.

No. 208. Ain Sinu (Ain Al-Shahid) (zaguræ) (pls. 12, 38).

This site is rectangular, 1.1000m., w. 600m., ht. 2.50m., and is enclosed by a wall. Within this is a square camp. 340m. × 340m., enclosed by a mudbrick wall. Excavations carried out by E.E.D.M. Oates in 1957 indicated that the site was a Roman camp.

Finds: pottery, coins.

Date: Roman.

Ref.: Sarre and Herzfeld, 1911: vol. 1, 205; Oates, 1958: 97-100; Oates, D. and J., 1959: 207-247; Baqir and Safar, 1966: vol. 3, 61; Oates, 1968: 80-92; S.O.A.H., File no. 700/ 35; A.S.I., p. 275, no. 700; A.A.S.I., map 127, no. 3; E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 124.

No. 209. Tell 'Ibra Al-Saghiyra (Vicat) (pls.12, 37b.)

This site comprises a group of mounds on the east bank of the Wadi 'Ibra, south of the modern village of 'Ibra AL-Saghiyra, The mian mound is rectangular, l. about 120m., w.80m., ht. 15m., two gaps are visible in its circumference, one on the north side and the the other on the south-east. Foundations of cut limestone blocks and motar are also visible. In the middle of the site is the highest hillock, l. about 25m., w. 20m. This whole mound is surrounded by a sreies of low mounds, particularly on the north and east, which might suggest that it was enclosed by an the outer wall. An oblong enclosure of rubble and mortar existed in the north section. Oates (1968: 79) pointed out that the site was of prehistoric origin. From a much later period, an Aramaic inscription found on the site, in an Aramaic script fairly reminiscent of that of Harta, bears a date which has been interpreted by Al-Aloosi and Safar as 116 B.C., surely as the script looks much later than this and and as a few strokes could have been lost before the hundreds sign; if the text were contemporary with the Hatrene examples, the number could have been 495, giving a date according to the Seleucid era of A.D. 183. This inscription is now in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad. Al-Aloosi indentified this site with Vicat, the Roman station on the trade route in the originally late Roman map, the Tabula peutingeriana.

Surface finds: some pottery, rubble, an Aramaic inscription.

Date: third millennium B.C., Khabur, parthian.

Ref.: Al-Aloosi, 1954: 145-148; Oates, D. and J., 1959: 225, 226; Baqir and Safar, 1966: vol. 3, 61; Oates, 1968: 35, 79, 148, 150; S.O.A.H., File no. 1016/ 35; A.S.I. p. 261, no. 1016; A.A.S.I., map 124, no. 154; E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 125.

No. 210. Tell Hugna (pl. 12).

This mound is rectangular, 1.200m., w. 70m., ht. 7m., with a ruined building on its summit. Oates (1968: 77) said that the location of this site suggested that it stood on an ancient line of communiacion between Nisibis (Nuseybin) and Nineveh.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: ?

Ref.: Lloyd, 1938: 136; Oates, 1968: 77; S.O.A.H., File no. 1842/ 35; A.A.S.I., map 124, no. 108.

No. 211. Qasr Serij (pls. 12, 39).

This comprises the remains of a building near Tell 'Uwinat, about 5km. south-west of Tell Hugna (no. 210). The building was a basilican church of the Syrian type, built of cut limestone in the sixth century A.D.

Surface finds: cut limestone blocks.

Date: sixth century A.D.

Ref.: Reitlinger, 1938: 148-49; Fiey, 1958: 125-27; Oates, 1962: 78-89; Oates, 1968: 106-108.

No. 212. Tell Abu Dhahir (pl. 12).

This site was excavated by the University of Mosul in 1977. but the results have not yet been published. Stein (1942: 157) mentioned the site as an important one in the communication line between Nisibis (Nuseybin) and Nineveh, in antiquity. Oates (1968: 77) also pointed to the strategic location of the site, and suggested it was a Roman castellum.

Date: Ur III, Isin-Larsa, Khabur, Hellenistic, Parthian, Roman?

Ref.: Stein, 1942: 157; Oates, 1968: 77; Abbou, 1981, Sumer, 37, 81-100. Yunis, 1981, Sumer, 37, 101-111; S.O.A.H., File no. 844/ 35.

No. 213. Tell Abu Wajnam (pl. 12).

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Nineveh V, third millennium B.C., Khabur, Late Assyrian, Parthian.

Ref.: Stein, 1942: 157; Oates, 1968: 77; E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 130.

No. 214. Khirbet Chim Legleg (pl. 12).

The area of this site is about 1.50 hectar, ht. 1m. Foundations of rubble and mortar are visible.

Surface finds: pottery, rubble.

Date: Sasanian.

No. 215. Maqberat Chim Naif (pl. 12).

This is an oblong mound, orientated east-west, l. about 185m., w. 132m., ht. 1-2m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Late Assyrian, Sasanian.

No. 216. Tell Hawa (pl. 12).

Oates (1968: 77) suggested that this site was situated on an ancient road between Nisibis (Nuseybin) and Nineveh.

Surface finds: flint, obsidian, pottery.

Date: Hassuna, Samarra, Halaf, Ubaid, Uruk, Nineveh V, third millennium B.C., Khabur, Mitanni, Late Assyrian, Islamic.

Ref.: Lloyd, 1938: 124, 130; Fiey, 1964: 115; Oates, 1968: 77; E.E.D.M. Oates, unpublished site survey, no. 35.

No. 217. Tell Blida (pl. 12).

This mound is circular, 80m. in diam., ht. 4m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian, Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 2007/ 35.

No. 218. Tell Shanan (pl. 12).

This mound is semi-circular, 100m. in diam., ht. 12m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1844/ 35.

No. 219. Umm Kayf (pl. 12).

This mound is rectangular, l. about 25m., w. 150m., ht. 3m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1045/ 35.

No. 220. Gir Bir (pl. 12).

This mound is oval, with a circumference of about 1000m., ht. 18m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Early Dynastic, Middle Assyrian, Mitanni, Parthian.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 256, no. 857; S.O.A.H., File no. 857/ 35; A.A.S.I., map 126, no. 12.

No. 221. Gir Fir (pl. 12).

This is a large site with a circumference of about 1.5km., ht. 3m.

Surface finds: pottery, stone wares in the west part.

Date: Uruk, Assyrian, Parthian, Sasanian.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 257, no. 875; S.O.A.H., File no. 875/ 35; A.A.S.I., map 126, no. 56.

No. 222. Tell Ahmed Agha Kabir (pl. 12).

This mound is roundish and conical, 1.500m., ht. 30m.

Surface finds: pottery, limestone.

Date: Halaf, Nineveh V, Assyrian, Hellenistic.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 846/ 35; A.S.I. p. 256, no. 846.

No. 223. Tell Hassu (pl. 12).

This mound is circular, 500m. in lower diam., ht. 3m.-4m.

Surface finds: pottery, mostly of red clay.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1718/ 35; A.S.I., p. 254, no. 1718; A.A.S.I., map 125, no. 58.

No. 224. Tell Marag (pl. 12).

This mound is semi-circular, diam. about 120m., ht. 20m. Other mounds surround the site except on the north, where there is a wadi.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Parthian, Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1851/ 35; A.S.I. p. 126, no. 1851; A.A.S.I., map 126, no. 73.

No. 225. Tell Jadu' (pl. 12).

This mound is circular, diam. about 120m., ht. 8m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Parthian, Sasanian, Islamic.

No. 226. Khirbet Jesari (pl. 12).

This mound is rectangular, l. 200m., w. 100m., ht. 7m.-8m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Sasanian, Islamic

No. 227. Maqberat Mohummad Abu Al-Rabi ("cemetery of Mohummad Abu Al-Rabi") (pl. 12).

This is a large, irregularly shaped site. There are two high mounds on the north side, whose height ranges from 15m at the top to about 2m.-3m. on the east side of the site.

Surface finds: pottery, rubble.

Date: Assyrian, Hellenistic

No. 228. Naqberat Salal ("cemetery of Salal") (pl. 12).

This mound is rectangular, l. 200m., w. 100m., ht. 5m.-6m

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Hellenistic, Islamic.

(iii) SINJAR (Area 5, pl. 8; nos. 229-240, pl. 13).

No. 229. Beled Sinjar (Singara) (pl. 13).

The ruins of this extremely ancient town are partly covered by the houses of the modern township. Baqir and Safar reported scattered finds of flints and obsidian in the town, which could indicate that Sinjar was already settled in the Stone Age. In the Assyrian period the town is mentioned in records as Singara. Later, as Oates said, the Romans took it over from A.D. 115 and seem to have made it a military base. There are several indications of this. Firstly, there is the strategic topographical position of the town. Secondly, two Roman milestones were discovered alongside roads close to Sinjar: the first came to light in 1927 in the village of Karsi, 15km. north of Jebel Sinjar (Oates, 1968: 71), while the second was unearthed in the village of Hama about 5km. south-west of Sinjar and bore a Latin text of the period of the emperor Alexander Severus (A.D. 232-5) (Fiey, 1952: 319-320). Thirdly, the town is surrounded by a wall of cut limestone blocks, buttressed by round towers, dated to the fourth century A.D. (Oates, 1968: 106). Later again, the town came under Sasanian control, and then under Arab conquest at the beginning of the Islamic period.

Date: apparently occupied continuously from the Stone Age on.

Ref.: Sarre and Herzfeld, 1911: vol. 1, 202-204; Fiey, 1952: 319-320; Baqir and Safar, 1966: vol. 3, 63-64; Oates, 1968: 97-108. For early Arab sources, see above, p. 33.

No. 230. Tell Zuqay (pl. 13).

This mound is oval, about 100m. in diam., ht. 6m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1950/ 35.

No. 231. Gri Khazneh ("Gri treasury") (pl. 13).

This mound is semi-circular, diam. about 150m., ht. 10m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian, Sasanian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1920/ 35.

No. 232. Turbat Mandi Wa Habis ("cemetery of Mandi Wa Habis") (pl. 13).

This site is on top of a hill overlooking the road leading to the village of Dara Al-Saghira. The mound is

semi-circular, diam. about 20m., ht. 25m. There is another ruin near the village itself, with foundations of rough limestone in a plan suggesting this was a Roman camp.

Surface finds: pottery, rubble.

Date: mound: Sasanian; ruin: Roman (?).

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1863/ 35.

No. 233. Girgi Khadrog (pl. 13).

This mound is semi-circular, 80m. in diam., ht. 4m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Parthian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1918/35.

No. 234. Khirbet Gritoluk (pl. 13).

This site is triangular, 100m. × 100m. × 75m., ht. 6m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Parthian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1880/ 35.

No. 235. Tell Hanu (pl. 13).

This mound is rectangular, 1.100m., w. 75m., ht. 5m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1926/ 35.

No. 236. Tell Dara (pl. 13).

This mound is semi-oval, l. about 200m., w. 100m., ht. 16m. Another mound nearby has a number of limestone (column?) drums scattered over the surface. These are of two sizes: a larger type is 40cm. in diam., while a smaller is 20cm. in diam., length 80cm.

Surface finds: pottery, limestone drums.

Date: Parthian, Islamic.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1917/ 35.

No. 237. (No name) (pl. 13).

This circular mound, 150m. in diam., ht 4m., lies near the village of Umm Al-Dheyban.

Surface finds: flints, obsidian, pottery.

Date: prehistoric, Assyrian, Parthian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1967/ 35.

No. 238. Tell Hiyal (Alaina) (pl. 13).

This site, 30km. west of Beled Sinjar, has the remains of foundations, square in plan (100m. × 100m), of rubble and mortar

Surface finds: rubble.

Date: Roman (?), Islamic.

Ref.: Ibn Hawqal, 1929: 217, 221; Oates, D. and J., 1959: 232; Baqir and Safar, 1966: vol. 3, 64; Oates, 1968.

No. 239. Tell Hatimiya (pl. 13).

This mound is circular, 30m. in diam., ht. 3.50m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 274, no. 742; S.O.A.H., File no. 742/ 35.

No. 240. (No name) (pl. 13).

This mound lies near the village of Para, and is called Tell No. 4. It is oval, 1.150m., w. 70m., ht 6m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian.

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1963/ 35.

(d) West Jazirah

(i) HADITHA (Area 6, pl. 8; nos. 241-253, pl. 14).

No. 241. Meqberat Shahma ("cemetery of Shahma") (pl. 14).

This mound lies on a rocky cliff by the Euphrates.

Surface finds: a little pottery.

Date: Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: A.S.I., p. 376, no. 193; S.O.A.H., File no. 193/ 39; A.A.S.I., map 10, no. 24; Al-Shukri, 1979: 3.

No. 242. Gleieh ("small fort") (pl. 14).

This mainly Assyrian site is about 100m. from the west bank of the Euphrates. It was excavated by S.O.A.H. in 1978/ 79. On three side there are double defensive walls. The outer wall is rectangular (200m. × 173m.), built of rubble and clay and surrounded by a ditch. The inner wall, of mudbrick, is also rectangular (138m. × 125m.). On the south-west side, between the two walls, is a massive mudbrick tower standing on a natural hummock; it measures 30m. × 12m. and its main entrance, on the west side, is of the right-angled (or "dog-leg") type. A building unearthed in the middle of the site consisted of a number of rooms.

Surface finds: pottery, bricks.

Date: Assyrian, Kassite, Parthian.

Ref.: Postgate and Watson, 1979: 148; Al-Shukri, 1979: 3, 4.

No. 243. Zawiyeh ("angle") (pl. 14).

This site is largely covered by the modern village of Zawiyeh and an orchard. It was investigated by S.O.A.H., in 1978/ 79. Walls of rubble and mortar were unearthed, as well as pavements of bricks.

Finds: glazed pottery, coloured glazed bricks, an Assyrian inscription.

Date: Assyrian, Old Babylonian or Early Kassite, Sasanian.

Ref.: Postgate and Watson, 1979: 159; Al-Shukri, 1979: 8.

No. 244. Sur Jur'eh ("wall of Jur'eh") (pl. 14).

This site is about 500m. from the east bank of the Euphrates. It was excavated by S.O.A.H. in 1978-79. There is a double Assyrian wall: a square outer wall (300m. × 300m., ht now 2m.), and an inner mudbrick wall, surrounding a dwelling area.

Finds: pottery.

Date: Kassite, Assyrian, parthian.

Ref.: Postgate and Watson, 1979: 155; Al-Shukri, 1979: 8; A.S.I. p. 376, no. 219; S.O.A.H., File no. 219/ 39; A.A.S.I., Map 10, no. 33.

No. 245. Jifrin (pl. 14).

This large site, on a rocky cliff above the river Euphrates, is 1.1000m., w. 500m. The main mound is on the north side and is surrounded by a square enclosure (107m. × 107m.) which is constructed of limestone, brick and mortar.

Surface finds: glazed pottery, bricks, limestone.

Date: Parthian, Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: Al-Shukri, 1979: 9; A.S.I., p. 377, no. 221; S.O.A.H., File no. 221/ 39; A.A.S.I., map 10, no. 39.

No. 246. Baijan (pl. 14).

This site is on an island in the Euphrates. The island measures 1.337m., w. 71m., ht. 5m. The northern part had a wall of large blocks of limestone. A Polish Expedition carried out two deep soundings, in which five building levels were unearthed. The lowest two were of the Middle Assyrian period, while the upper three levels dated to the Parthian era (second century A.D.). There was a break in occupation between the Assyrian and Parthian levels.

Finds: pottery.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian, Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: Al-Shukri, 1979: 13, 14; personal communication with Professor M. Gawlikowski, the director of the Polish Expedition, in 1970.

No. 247. Telbis (Telbis) (pl. 14).

This is an island in the Euphrates with ancient remains; there are further remains on the nearby river banks. In the whole area these remains were found to be in three main divisions: two mounds (a) and (b), and a number of graves (?) (c). (a) is the cemetery of Telbis, on the a rocky cliff on the east river bank. (b) is the area of ruins on the island itself, which measures 1.508m., w. 87m. Foundations of structures of large cut limestone blocks are visible in the north part; there is another mound on the island, rectangle, 166m. × 35m., ht. 7m. (c) comprises four groups of graves (?) excavated on the rocky cliff of the west bank of the Euphrates: each grave (?) consisted of an oblong grave-like depression, but no finds were made.

Surface finds: (a): pottery.

Date: (a): Islamic.

(b): Parthian.

Ref.: Baqir and Safar, 1962: 19-20; Al-Shukri, 1979: 10; A.S.I. p. 377, no 7; S.O.A.H., File no. 7/ 39; A.M.I., 1972: 32"-42"

No. 248. Meqberat Ali Bin Zahran ("cemetery of Ali Bin Zahran") (pl. 14).

This mound is about 500m. from the Euphrates east bank; it is about 100m. in length, ht. 1m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Sasanian.

Ref.: Al-Shukri, 1979: 7.

No. 249. Al-'Ausiya (pl. 14).

This oval mound, l. about 220m., w. 110m., ht. 10m., overlooks the Euphrates from its west bank.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Kassite, Babylonian, Assyrian, Parthian.

No. 250. Umm Dilei (pl. 14).

On a rocky summit are the remains of a small building consisting of three small oblong rooms of ashlar and mortar, each with a tunnel (or "barrel") vaulted roof. On the site are slabs of limestone, each with the following

sign carved on it:

Surface finds: some pottery, limestone slabs.

Date: Parthian?

Ref.: Musil, 1927: 63; A.S.I. p. 376, no. 200; S.O.A.H., File no. 200/ 39; A.A.S.I., map 10, no. 4.

No. 251. Umm Al-Tus ("mother of utensils") (pl. 14).

The remains of a small building stand on a natural rock hill; some foundations are visible, including those of a room 2.50m. × 2.50m. About 400m. east of the modern village of Umm Al-Tus is a site called Qasr Umm Al-Tus, where foundations of another building were recognized.

Surface finds: pottery, rubble, cut limestone.

Date: Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, Parthian (?).

Ref.: Musil, 1927: 63; A.S.I. p. 376, nos. 198, 199; S.O.A.H., File nos. 198/ 39, 199/ 39; A.A.S.I., map 10, no. 19.

No. 252. Tweybet (pls. 14, 41a).

Here there are the remains of a building, enclosed by a rectangular wall measuring 210m. × 90m. The lower parts of some walls are still standing, built of ashlar and mortar. Two rooms were identified, each measuring 4m. × 2.50m. and with a part of their vaulting still visible. On the wall of one room some marks were said to be carved (pl. 41a). These two rooms were separated by a staircase.

Surface finds: pottery, limestone, marble.

Date: Assyrian, Parthian, Islamic.

Ref.: Musil, 1927: 57; A.S.I. p. 376, no. 202; S.O.A.H., File no. 202/ 39; A.A.S.I., map 10, no. 20.

No. 253. Umm Sakhra ("mother of stone") (pl. 14).

Here three large, irregular limestone slabs lie on the left bank of the Wadi Shitata. Their rough measurements are: (a) 3.40m. × 4m., (b) 2.85m. × 1.95m., (c) 2m. × 1.50m. On the upper face of each are the following unidentified letters:

(a)	+	Y	I	π	†	∅	□	∟	♀	≠	X	†	⌘	T
(b)	∅	∩	π	†	†	I	∪	∩						
(c)	∅	π	π	T	Y	†								

Date:?

Ref.: S.O.A.H., File no. 1749/ 35; cf. for similar signs, Field, 1952: 31-34.

(ii) ANA (Area 7, pl. 8; nos. 254-258, pl. 15).

No. 254. Jazirat Ana (Jazirat Al-Qala ("island of the fort"), Jazirat Lubbad) (pls. 15, 41 b).

On this Euphrates island, l. 950m., w. 190m., was the ancient town of Ana, apparently inhabited continuously from antiquity until the Middle Assyrian period, and then after a break from the Parthian era until about 30-40 years ago. The northern part of a limestone wall around the town is still standing, buttressed by semi-circular towers. Since 1978 S.O.A.H. has excavated the site of the mosque, one area to the east of the minaret and another consisting of some dwellings divided by a narrow street. Mudbrick walls on limestone rubble foundations characterized the buildings of the upper levels.

Finds: pottery, cuneiform texts, glass, coins.

Date: Kassite, Middle Assyrian, Parthian, Islamic.

Ref.: Baqir and Safar, 1962: vol. 1, 20-25; Brinkman, 1968: 183-184; Al-Shukri, 1979: 13; A.S.I. p. 377, no. 18; S.O.A.H., File no. 18/ 39; personal communication with the excavator, Mr. Al-Rawi, in April 1980.

No. 255. Tell Al-Darrajiya (pl. 15).

This small mound stands on the rocky cliff of the Euphrates.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: Al-Shukri, 1979: 11; A.S.I. p. 379, no. 224; S.O.A.H., File no. 224/ 39; A.A.S.I., map 10, no. 49.

No. 256. Khirbet Al-Diniya, (pl. 15).

This site comprises the remains of a fortress about 200m. from the Euphrates west bank. It was rectangular. 1.132m., w. 121m., ht. 6m., and enclosed by a wall of pieces of rough limestone of different sizes. Three mounds lie inside it.

Surface finds: pottery, limestone, bricks.

Date: Kassite, Assyrian, parthian, Sasanian.

Ref.: Al-Shuki, 1979: 6.

No. 257. Qala Ertaja (pls. 15, 42-44).

This site lies on the Euphrates east bank, where the river changes direction abruptly to the south-east. On the site two forts, close to one another, have been recognized. (a) (pl. 42, 43, 44a) is a fort with a square enclosure, 40.60m. × ht. now 2m.-3m., with walls 90cm. thick built in mud bricks, each of which measures about 40cm. × 40cm. × 12cm. Each corner has a projecting rectangular tower with a semi-circular front facade (pl. 42b); each wall has at its centre an almost completely circular tower, except for the south side where two such towers flank a gate, projecting forward 2.50m. Some pottery fragments found on the site could be Sasanian, and the towers of (a) are of a type similar to those in the city wall of Sinjar which are dated to the fourth century A.D. This might suggest that fort (a) is datable to the Sasanian period. (b) (pl. 44b) is a rectangular fort, 30m. × 13.20m., and stands at the top of a rocky cliff, approximately 40m. high. Within it the remains of rooms were identified, whose walls, now about 2.50m. in height, were of rubble and mortar. The outer eastern section of the building was buttressed at a later period.

Surface finds: pottery, rubble.

Date: (a) Sasanian (?)

(b) :?

Ref.: Shukri, 1950: 246; A.S.I. p. 384, no. 165; S.O.A.H., File no. 165/ 39; A.A.S.I., map 10, no. 51.

No. 258. Al-Qaim ("tower-like structure") (pl. 15).

This is a building of rubble and mortar roughly in the shape of a tower, on the present line of communication between the towns of Ana and Hsyba. Its character is uncertain. The early Arab writer Yaqut says it was a watch-tower used in the wars between Romans and Persians. Shukri mentions it as a tower. Lloyd thought it a Parthian watch-tower. More recently, Baqir and Safar suggested it could be a tomb.

Ref.: Al-Bakri: vol. 2, p. 569; Yaqut Al-Hamwi: vol. 4, p. 161; Lloyd, 1947: 26; Shukri, 1950: 244; Baqir and Safar, 1962: vol 1, 25-26; A.S.I. p. 384, no. 177; S.O.A.H., File no. 177/ 39; A.A.S.I., map 10, no. 58; A.M.I., 1972: 34°-41°

(e) Lower Jazirah

TEKRIT (Area 8, pl. 8; nos. 259-268, pl. 16).

No. 259. Tekrit (pls. 8, 16, 45-48).

The ancient city of Tekrit stands on the west bank of the Tigris. Its two principal ancient remains are the citadel and the town wall. The citadel (pl. 45B) is on the north-east side of the town, at the top of a rocky cliff

60.50m. (200 feet) in height (Rich, 1836: vol. 2, 146; Young, 1980: 97. states that it is 100 feet high), which runs from north to south. The citadel fortifications consisted of a wall, whose foundations are visible, and a deep ditch or moat. The remains of foundations of limestone blocks can be seen on the citadel south side; on its east a drain leads down to the Tigris bank. At the foot of the citadel, at the south corner, is the main gate, flanked by two semi-circular towers. Concerning the wall (pl. 45A), the town had an irregular wall around it; this was estimated to be 3 miles in length by Young (1980: 97), but this seems an exaggeration. Most of this wall has been removed through recent building, except for the north and south sections. Its overall dimensions and characteristics were established by the first excavations of the wall, in its north section, carried out by S.O.A.H. in 1969 (when the writer was a director) and 1970 (Salman, 1969: P"m"; Salman, 1971: p. "c,d"). In the first season a 279m. stretch was dug (pls. 45D, 48a). Its main measurements were found to be ht. 3m.-4m., and thickness 4.30m.-4.48m., with an internal face including a number of small semi-circular buttresses each of which projects 1.50m. from the wall. Beside some of these are the remains of stairways that led to the ramparts (pl. 46). On the outer face of the wall are a number of large and small semi-circular towers, all between 20m. and 22m. distant from each other. Between each two large towers there are two smaller ones. The large towers are 5.15m. in diam., and project 2.90m., while the smaller are 1.95m. in diam., and project 1.35m.-1.40m. Further excavations (under the direction of the writer) revealed more details of the wall. There were three separate periods in its construction (pls. 47, 448b). It seems that the oldest wall was the innermost; its outer face was coated with plaster, while its core consisted of a mixture of pebbles, mortar and mud. Its outer face had semi-circular towers and there were buttresses on its inner face. The second wall, between the inner and outer, was 2.45m. thick, and again its outer side was covered with mud plaster. It appears that it was added to the earlier wall when the latter had become weak, but the earlier towers remained in use (pl. 47, 48a). The third, the strongest of the walls, was added walls are very obscure. According to Assyrian records the city was fortified, but most of these records refer to the citadel (Luckenbill, 1926: vol. 2, 418; Olmstead, 1923: 635; Saggs, 1966: 137). It is clear, however, from the fact that, as early Arab writers such as AL Tabari tell us, Tekrit was besieged for forty days in A.D. 637 that it was obviously walled then.

Date: inhabited from at least the Assyrian period. apparently continuously until today.

Ref.: for early Arab sources, see above, pp. 32-33 Rich, 1836: vol. 2, 146; Luckenbill, 1926: vol. 2, 418; Olmstead, 1923: 635; Saggs, 1966: 137; Salman, 1969: p. "m"; Salman, 1971: p. "c,d"; Young, 1980: 97.

No. 260. T̄wiyba (pls. 16, 49a).

This site has the remains of a building situated on an ancient track between Tekrit and Mosul. The building is trapezoidal, 41m. × 25m., ht. 1m.-3m., with an enclosure wall buttressed by towers which were nearly circular on three corners (except for the north-eastern) and rectangular between the corners. They were constructed of stone and mortar. A number of rooms can be seen within the enclosure, standing about 1m. high, with walls of stones and pebbles in a plaster mortar.

Surface finds: potsherds, some stamped.

Date: Sasanian.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 79, no. 444; S.O.A.H., File no. 444/ 40; A.A.S.I., map 18, no. 29.

No. 261. Imam Chirim (Abu Al-Makarim) (pls. 16, 49b).

This small mound is on the cliff of the Tigris west bank. Foundations of rubble and mortar are visible, surrounding a small shrine.

Surface finds: some pottery, rubble.

Date: Sasanian.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 79, no. 449; S.O.A.H., File no. 449/ 40; A.A.S.I., map 18, no. 20.

No. 262, Qala Rayyash ("fort of Rayyash") (pl. 16).

This mound stands on the west cliff of the Tigris. It is rectangular, 61m x 29m., and enclosed by a wall whose outlines are visible. Three sides of the site (except for the east) were surrounded by a ditch.

Surface finds: some pottery, rubble.

Date: Sasanian.

Ref.: Ross, 1839: 450; A.A.S.I., map 18, no. 11.

No. 263. Tell Ibdah (pl. 16, 50).

This mound is located on a cliff from which the hill of Khirnina starts, and overlooks a cultivated area. The caravan road connecting Tekrit and Mosul ran east-west along the foot of the site. The latter is rectangular, l. 200m., w. 150m., and its highest summit is on the east side. The traveller Ibn Jubair (1952: 241) passed through this area in A.D. 1184, on his way to Mosul; this may indicate the importance of the site was Khan Al-Khirnana, dated to the thirteenth century A.D. (Al-Totonchi, 1976: 164).

Surface finds: potsherds, some of which, found in April 1976, are now in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad (nos. IM 75348-75356).

Date: Old Babylonian, Hurrian, Middle Assyrian, Hellenistic.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 79, no. 451; S.O.A.H., File no. 451/ 40; A.A.S.I., map 18, no. 6.

No. 264. Tell Wadi Al-Khan (pl. 16).

Here there is a rectangular outer enclosure, 170m. x 100m., ht. 5m., of mudbrick and mortar. There was a building in the centre of the site.

Surface finds: a little pottery.

Date: Late Assyrian, Sasanian.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 80, no. 27; S.O.A.H., File no. 27/ 40; A.A.S.I., map 18, no. 3.

No. 265. Tell Khan Al-Legleg ("stork post hill") (pl. 16).

This rectangular mound measures l. 3km., ht. 3m. Foundations of buildings were identified, of stone and mortar.

Surface finds: pottery, pebbles.

Date: Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 79, no. 129; S.O.A.H., File no. 129/ 40; A.A.S.I., map 18, no. 4.

No. 266. Tell Al-Sybat (pl. 16).

This mound is oval, l. 250m., ht. 5m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 79, no. 124; S.O.A.H., File no. 124/ 40; A.A.S.I., map 18, no. 9.

No. 267. Tell Rubidha (pl. 16).

This mound is oval, l. 350m., ht. 9m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Parthian, Sasanian, Islamic.

Ref.: A.S.I. p. 79, no. 123; S.O.A.H., File no. 123/ 40; A.A.S.I., map 18, no. 10.

No. 268. Tell Khzamiya (pl. 16).

This mound is rectangular, l. 450m., ht. 7m.

Surface finds: pottery.

Date: Neo-Babylonian, Parthian.

Ref. A.S.I. p. 79, no. 132; S.O.A.H., File no. 132/ 40; A.A.S.I., map 18, no. 12.

Conclusion

This purpose of this survey, it will be recalled, was to establish which sites in the Jazirah were inhabited in the Parthian and Sasanian period, what their urban centres, routes and interrelationships were, and how the patterns of settlement in these periods compared with those of previous eras. These questions will now be discussed in turn, with the aid of the summary of the findings (pl. 51-52).

Central Jazirah region (Area 1, sites 1-64, pls. 8, 9, 51). In the centre of the Jazirah, around the Parthian-period city of Hatra, 64 Parthian and Sasanian sites have been identified. Among these Hatra itself (no. 1) and Umm Etlail (no. 22.) were the settlements. It is noteworthy that a number of sites in the area of Hatra were apparently first occupied in the Parthian period (e.g. nos. 2-4, 6, 8, 9, 23, 28, 31, 34, 46, 49, 50, 53, 57): this might be connected with the rise of Hatra. Many others were reoccupied in the Parthian or Sasanian periods after an interval of apparent abandonment. It is also remarkable that a number of sites in the area of Hatra which were occupied in the Parthian period were seemingly abandoned at the end of it (e.g. nos. 3-9, 12, 13, 16, 20, 22, 27, 29, 31, 33-35, 39, 45, 47, 63, 64), like Hatra itself. Some others continued to be inhabited, while others again were apparently inhabited, or reoccupied, from the Sasanian period onwards (e.g. nos. 14, 15, 18, 19, 24-26, 32, 37, 40-41, 43, 44, 48, 53, 56, 58-60).

East Jazirah region (Area 2, sites nos. 65-93, pls. 8, 10, 51). This covers the area between the modern town of Qaiyara on the Tigris and Baqqa on the lower part of the Wadi Tharthar, where 29 Parthian and Sasanian sites were identified. Among these Qala Sharqat (Assur) (no. 78), Tell 'Ajri (no. 84), Tell Tamri (no. 85) and Tulul Sukariyat (no. 88) were the largest settlements. Often after a gap in occupation, some sites apparently flourished again from the Hellenistic period on (e.g. nos. 82, 84), more from or in the Parthian era (e.g. nos. 65-71, 74-79, 81, 83, 85, 88-91), and others again from or in the Sasanian period (e.g. nos. 72-73, 80, 86-87, 92-93).

Upper Jazirah region (Areas 3-5, sites nos. 94-240, pls. 8, 11-13, 51-52). This comprises roughly the foothills area, covering the regions of Mosul, Tell 'Afar and Sinjar.

The Mosul region (Area 3, sites nos. 94-103, pls. 8, 11, 51) extends from the city to the area between Jebel Qli'at and the Tigris, south of the modern town of Hamam Al-Alil, where 11 sites occupied in the Parthian and Sasanian eras were identified; most of these were fairly large (e.g. nos. 96, 100, 101).

The Tell 'Afar region (Area 4, sites nos. 104-228, pls. 8, 12, 51-52) covers the areas of Sheikh Ibrahim, Mahlabiyah and Zumar in addition to that of Tell 'Afar itself. In this region 125 sites were identified whose surface finds suggested Parthian and Sasanian occupation, and whose size often indicated prosperity. Of these sites, only 3 (nos. 147, 163, 205) showed signs of habitation in Achaemenian times; a few others were reoccupied after an interval in the Hellenistic era (e.g. nos. 116, 133, 150, 155, 157, 165, 166, 170, 171), but most were apparently either reoccupied, or inhabited for the first time, in the Parthian and Sasanian periods.

The Sinjar region (Area 5, sites nos. 229-240, pls. 8, 13, 52) extends mainly from Jebel Sinjar southwards, covering the present urban centres of Beled Sinjar, Kursi and Ba'aj. 11 sites were identified datable to the Parthian, Roman and Sasanian periods; again, these mostly showed a pattern of first habitation, or reoccupation, in these eras.

West Jazirah region (Areas 6, 7, sites nos. 241–258, pls. 8, 14, 15, 52). This is primarily the Euphrates river basin area between the modern towns of Haditha and Ana (into whose districts the survey was divided, up to the Iraqi-Syrian frontier, where a reservoir is to be constructed. Here the majority of sites with parthian- or Sasanian-period habitation showed first or renewed occupation in the parthian period. Among these sites were some on Euphrates islands such as Baijan (no. 246), Telbis (no. 247) and Ana (no. 253). The survey also showed that in this region most sites in these periods were small and fortified; the settlement on the island of Ana (no. 253), however, was apparently exceptionally large, which could indicate that it was the main settlement in the region up to the Islamic period.

Lower Jazirah region (Area 8, sites nos. 259–268, pls. 8, 16, 52). This, the region of Tekrit, extends along the Tigris between Fat-ha in the north and lower Tekrit in the south. On the north side are the hills of Khirina, where there is a flat area to the east which can be irrigated from the river. It is possible that Tekrit (no. 259) was an important settlement in the Parthian period, but there is no evidence; Tell Ibdah is a similar case (no. 263), again on the Tigris west bank. Most other sites are located on the east bank of the river, and these mainly flourished in the Sasanian period.

Distribution of sites. This survey shows a concentration of sites in the north of Jazirah. In Upper Jazirah (Areas 3, 4, 5, pls. 8, 11–13) generally, there are traces of a large number of settlements, whose surface finds are more than those in other parts of the Jazirah; in particular, there is a large concentration in the district of Tell 'Afar (Area 4, pls. 8, 12). There were far fewer settlements in Lower Jazirah (Area 8, pls. 8, 16) or in West Jazirah (Areas 6, 7, pls. 8, 14–15). This distribution could be due to geographical and climatic factors. The present rainfall zone passes through the lower part of the Upper Jazirah region, as it presumably did in antiquity; furthermore, the fertility of the soil here helps the inhabitants today to live by dry farming, as doubtless in the past. Less rain and fewer water resources in the Lower Jazirah do not, and of presumably did not, assist the inhabitants to create any sort of agriculture. This leads to the conclusion that water and soil were the main factors determining the ancient patterns of settlement in the Jazirah.

Urban centres. Among the Parthian-period settlements in the Jazirah there were what were clearly large urban centres at Hatra (no. 1), Qala Sharqat (Assur) (no. 78) and Tell 'Ajri (no. 84), and smaller ones near Tell 'Ajri at Tamri (no. 85) and Tulul Sukariyat (no. 88). The growths of these sites into urban complexes seem not to have been due simply to geographical and climatic factors.

The largest of these urban centres was that of Hatra, in a semi-desert region; the factors which produced its rise seem to have been several and complicated, and they are discussed in the following chapter. As regards Tell 'Ajri (no. 84), its surface finds, and perhaps the technique of its massive stone fortification wall, show that it flourished particularly during the Parthian period. This was also true of the whole region of the Wadi Tharthar, as is clear from the existence of such other large settlements as Tall Tamri (no. 85) and Tulul Sukariyat (no. 88). The location of communities of this size on the banks of the Wadi Tharthar might suggest that their existence depended very much on the control of the water in this wadi. The possibility that dams were erected can not be ruled out; traces of a possible such dam, in earth, may in fact be visible at the beginning of the Sadir Al-Marfu', a branch of the Tharthar. Furthermore, the sites of Tell 'Ajri (no. 84), Tall Tamri (no. 85) and Tulul Sukariyat (no. 88) appear to have been on an ancient route that perhaps connected Hatra (no. 1) and Umm Etlail (no. 22) to the north with Tell Ibdah (no. 263) on the Tigris to the south-east (pl. 53). Lastly, the previously Assyrian city of Qala Sharqat (Assur) (no. 78) was reoccupied during the Parthian period. Its excavated buildings lie on top of, and within, the old Assyrian inner wall.

Around each of these urban centres, except for Assur, is a number of sites occupied in the Parthian period. For example, around Hatra itself there was a group (e.g. nos. 3-13, 16, 17), and a larger number in its wider area: of these a considerable number (nos. 2-4, 6, 8, 9, 23, 28, 31, 34, 46, 49, 50, 53, 57) were apparently first inhabited at the time of Hatra's importance, as we have seen, and many were seemingly vacated after Hatra's fall in A.D. 241 (e.g. nos. 3-9, 12-13, 16, 20, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35, 39, 45, 47, 63-64); these would seem to have shared closely in Hatra's fortunes. Another group of small sites is scattered around that of Umm Etlail (no. 22) (e.g. nos. 20, 21, 31), while in the region of tell 'Ajri (no. 84) there were others (nos. 83, 86). Most of these sites covered a small area and few surface finds were made apart from pottery and a few pieces of limestone.

Concerning the Sasanian period, there is no evidence at present for the existence of any large urban centre in the Jazirah except, probably, for Sinjar (Singara), which was apparently of considerable importance in both the Parthian and the Sasanian eras, when it was for a long time under Roman control.

Rectangular fortified sites. Among the surviving sites a series of rectangular mounds with strong fortifications was identified in the foothills and near the water sources in this area. Several had a square outer wall measuring roughly 100m. × 100m. (e.g. nos. 68, 71, 74 (b)), while others had a smaller outer wall (nos. 49, 50). Fortunately, two of the larger examples have dated inscriptions attached, in Hatrene Aramaic script. Khirbet Qbr Ibn Naif (no. 71) was standing by A.D. 137/ 8 (as its text in Appendix I tells us), and belonged to ZBYDW son of RPŠ' and to this son ŠMS-YHB. Khirbet Jaddalah (no. 68) was founded in A.D. 141/ 2 by 'GY the son of 'B' [XX,XXI]. So both were standing in the later Parthian period, when Hatra was flourishing; this presumably is also true of the other similar structures (nos. 49, 50, 74 (b)). The fact that Khirbet 'Qbr Ibn Naif belonged to father and son could suggest that persons were responsible for this building, and so it is possible that these other roughly similar perhaps responsible for that area and even for security there. Stein noted the existence of site (no. 69), close to (no. 68), and of other possibly related remains in the region, which he considered to be staging posts on the route between Hatra and Sinjar⁽¹¹⁴⁾ The fact that all these rectangular sites stand along a route or routes in the region between the foothills and the wadis, where there are reasonable sources of water and pasture, indicate that they were intimately connected with both the strategy and the communication links of this period.

Routes (pl. 53). The results of the survey, when put together with previous scholarly observations, indicate that in the Parthian period there was one main route which passed in a mainly south-north direction through the Jazirah, off which two other important routes branched. This main route was a continuation of a great road from southern Mesopotamia, from the ports of Characene and from Seleucia northwards up the Tigris⁽¹¹⁵⁾ It continued to Tekrit (no. 259), Qala Rayyash (no. 262) and so to Tell Ibdah (no. 263). From here the road left the Tigris, as the mountain range of Jebel Mak-hul runs along the river bank at this point, continuing north through Tar Al-Rufie' (no. 91) and then slightly west, again avoiding the slopes of Jebel Mak-hul. Further north, at Tell Nofan (no. 82), another important route seemingly branched off from the main one, running west to Tell 'Ajri (no. 84) on the west bank of the Wadi Tharthar, north-west to Umm Etlail (no. 22), directly north to Hatra (no. 1), and then north-east to rejoin the road at Jaddalah (nos. 68, 69). The main route continued north from Tell Nofan (no. 82) to Jedayah (no. 81). From here another route apparently branched off to the Tigris at Qala Sharqat (Assur) (no. 78), along the Tigris west bank to Hwaish, and then north-west, away from the river, to Khriba (no. 77) and so to rejoin the main route, like the other branch, at Jaddalah (nos. 68, 69). The main route continued north from Jedayah (no. 81) through Tell Ramadhaniya (no. 34) and Tell Malha (no. 66), and at Jaddalah (nos. 68, 69) it was apparently rejoined by the side routes to Hatra (no. 1) and Assur (no. 78) just mentioned, as E.E.D.M. Oates suggested⁽¹¹⁶⁾ Form the fortified building at Khirbet Jaddalah (no. 68). the road

(114) Stein, 1941: 299-316.

(115) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 19.

(116) Oates, 1968: 76; routes also studied by Stein, 1941: 299-316.

went directly northwards past a series of more rectangular fortified enclosures at Khirbet Qbr Ibn Naif (no. 71), Khirbet Bashmanah (no. 74), Khirbet Al-Naddas (no. 49), Khirbet Zazia (no. 50), Jyea (no. 110), Umm Shinin (no. 111) and Sheikh Ibrahim (no. 128). It then turned more or less west to go through Tell 'Afar (no. 144), Tell 'Ibra Al-Saghiyra (no. 209), Ain Sinu (no. 208) and so to Sinjar (no. 229).

This main route, with its two branches, could obviously be of great strategic importance. It was a link between southern Mesopotamia and the northern part of the Fertile Crescent. Dilleman, commenting on this, pointed out in the Parthian period it was in the hands of Hatra, which he regarded as a client state of Parthia⁽¹¹⁷⁾. According to Lepper, this was the road used by the Roman emperor Trajan for his invasion of A.D. 115-117⁽¹¹⁸⁾. Moreover, if the suggestion that Hatra was on a route that branched off the main north-south road through Mesopotamia is correct, then this would explain how invading Roman armies could avoid Hatra, as they sometimes seem to have done; they could simply have taken the main road and ignored the branch to Hatra, which lay 30km. due west of the main route⁽¹¹⁹⁾.

Periods of occupation (pls. 51-52). The survey, together with a study of the tables summarizing when each site was occupied, provide some interesting revelations concerning the Jazirah. The whole region was a comparatively flourishing one up to the end of the Assyrian era, when at least 135 sites were occupied. But at this point almost every Late Assyrian-period site, both large and small, seems to have been abandoned. In the succeeding

Neo-Babylonian period, only nos. 229 (?), 251 and 259 seem to have continued to be inhabited, and no. 268 appears to be the only one newly occupied. This dismal picture continued into the Achaemenian era, when still only four or five sites are known to have had residents (nos. 147, 163, 205, 229, (?) 259 (?)). The contrast with the preceding Late Assyrian times could hardly be starker. Presumably an important contributing factor was the destruction of the Assyrian empire completed in 612 B.C. by the Medes and Babylonians. There were probably other accompanying factors involved, such as the removal of what was left of Assyrian government to Harran in Syria, perhaps with the transference of many inhabitants to this new area⁽¹²⁰⁾ and perhaps also with the Jazirah being left without much security; there could have been widespread destruction by the invaders, particularly of urban and market centres, which would have deprived any surviving farmers of centres of distribution and exchange. Indeed, the whole previous government and economy of the region could have broken down, leading to its abandonment by settlers and to its infiltration by nomads, including Arabs.

In the Hellenistic period settlement apparently began again, in a somewhat tentative way, with 25 sites now inhabited or reoccupied. This process was greatly accelerated in the Parthian period, with up to 145 sites re-used or newly inhabited, so that the level of occupation was once more comparable to what it had been in Late Assyrian times. Around the end of the Parthian period and the beginning of the Sasanian, a number of Parthian-period sites seem to have been abandoned at the time of the destruction of Hatra (no. 1) in A.D. 241, including some around Hatra itself (such as nos. 3-13, 20, 22, 23) as well as other important sites, like Qala Sharqat (Assur) (no. 78), Tell 'Ajri (no. 84) and Tell Ibdah (no. 263).

(117) Dilleman, 1962: 309.

(118) Lepper, 1948: 115-117.

(119) See also below, pl. 162, 229.

(120) Saggs, 1969: 137, There is a later parallel for this in the establishment of Samarra as a capital in the early Abbasid period.

In the Sasanian period, the Jazirah continued to flourish, with up to 160 sites continuing in use, reoccupied after an interval, or freshly founded. There were some differences from the preceding Parthian era in the areas chosen for residence. Thus Tekrit (no. 259) was clearly an important centre: it was mentioned as such by early Arab writers, and the location of a number of Sasanian sites (e.g. nos. 264, 265, 267) between Tekrit and the two rivers Zab suggests an important route ran from here to northern Mesopotamia, replacing the Parthian-period settlements and route along the Wadi Tharthar, which were now abandoned. Also the region of Tell 'Afar (Area 3) seems to have had an increase of sites in this period, perhaps as a result of Sinjar becoming a Sasanian base⁽¹²¹⁾

It is most interesting to note that these patterns of settlement in the Jazirah between the end of the Assyrian and the end of the Sasanian periods are remarkably closely paralleled in other parts of Iraq. Thus G.Herrmann states that settlements in the Diyala region increased during the Seleuco-Parthian periods "more than fifteen-fold over the Achaemenian period", and here too the Sasanian period saw a further increase⁽¹²²⁾ This increase in settlement in various parts of Iraq, as recorded in previous studies, may be expressed in a table, as follows:

<u>Reference</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Total of sites</u>	<u>Parthian</u>	<u>Sasanian</u>
Adams, 1965	Diyala	897	185	336
Adams, 1972	Uruk	466	151	75
Adams 1972	Kish	282	102	77
Gibson, 1972	Kish	175	50	66
Oates, 1963	Tell 'Afar	171	40	63
S.O.A.H. 1975	Eski Mosul	148	4	56
Al-Shukri, 1979	Haditha	28	10	6



(121) Abu Yusuf: p. 20.

(122) Herrmann, 1980: 280-282.

CHAPTER 3: IMPORTANT INDIVIDUAL SITES OF THE JAZIRAH, I: HATRA

Location	91
Early settlement at Hatra	92
(a) The archaeological evidence	92
(b) The soundings	92
Political history	95
(a) Sources	95
(b) The Archaic period	96
(c) The period of the “maria” (“lords”)	99
(d) The period of the kings	103
(e) The end of Hatra	106
Administrative and social structure	107
(a) Administration	107
(b) Social structure	115
Architecture	117
(a) Plan	117
(b) The walls	118
(c) The main sanctuary (Bait Alaha)	123
(d) The dwelling area	127
(e) The small shrines	129
(f) Tombs	132
Reasons for the choice of site	133
(a) Vegetation	133
(b) Religion	133
(c) The military factor	136
(d) Trade routes and commerce	137
(e) Conclusion	138
Conclusion	140

Location

Hatra is situated at the centre of the Jazirah, some 50 km north-west of Qala Sharqat (Aṣṣur) and 110 km south-west of the city of Mosul (pl. 54), the Wadi Tharthar runs 4km. to the east (pl. 55)⁽¹²³⁾ Its ruins stand in an open flat area of semi-desert between the Tigris and Euphrates. An air photograph and the contour map of Hatra show that the surrounding area is higher than the city (pls. 55, 56, 57), resulting in the rain water running into great depressions inside the city, as the writer has observed. During the year the water of these reservoirs can be used until the beginning of the summer⁽¹²⁴⁾ Also, inside the city, there is a lake south-west of the main sanctuary (called Bait Alaha in the Aramaic inscriptions) as well as springs and a number of wells. Outside the there are some underground streams of fresh water running through natural tunnels and ending in the Wadi Tharthar, such as Abu 'Alaq, Abu Tina, Abu Hamam and Sehil⁽¹²⁵⁾ It should be mentioned that the quality of the water in the vicinity of Hatra is better than that of the surrounding region, as the writer has observed⁽¹²⁶⁾

The region of Hatra is very rich in vegetation during the pasture season (from November until May): some types vegetation last through the summer, Such conditions may have attracted sheperds with their camels and sheep to the area. They may have also camped through the summer, as spring water and surrounding vegetation in the Wadi Tharthar were available, making animal husbandry possible⁽¹²⁷⁾

Limestone and marble, suitable for building, occur abundantly in the vicinity, as do other materials: for instance, bitumen and naphtha were, and are, to be found within reasonable transporting distance near Hit on the Euphrates and Qaiyara on Tigris, where there are oil wells⁽¹²⁹⁾

The precise reasons for the placing of what was to become the large city of Hatra on this site are obscure, and will be further discussed at the end of this section, when the evidence concerning the site has been more fully presented.

-
- (123) The name of Hatra occurs in the following spellings in ancient documents. "Hatra" (Dio Cassius, LXXX, 31 and LXXVI, 10); "Atrac" (Herodianus, III, 1,3); "Hatrae" (Ammianus Marcellinus, XXV, 539); "Hatis" occurs in the Tabula Peutingeriana (Miller, 1962: 772). "Hatra" (Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelica); the Aramaic spelling is Htr' and occurs on Hatrene inscriptions [79], cf. [I] and [II] and coins (Walker, 1958: 167-172), and in Bardaisan, Book of the Laws of Countries (Degen, 1977: 486, 487). In Aramaic "Hetera" means "enclosed camp" (Althem and Stichl, 1964: 275). In Arabic "Al-Zabidi" vol. 3, p. 146). The word is still applied today to towns in country areas. There is also a possibility that "Hadhr" can also mean "capital city" at certain periods: for instance, Kufa in Iraq is called the "Hadhira" of the Ummayyads. In Iraq again, Baghdad is called the "Hadhira" of the Abbasids. So the term could perhaps have applied to Hatra as the "Hadhira" of Arabaya province [79]. Certainly, the modern Arabic name for Hatra, "Al-Hadhr", has the meaning of "town". Alternatively, the ancient name Hatra could have been derived from another Arabic word, "Al-Hadhra" current in Iraqi Arabic today, with the meaning "holy place" (for which "Al-Haram" is in use in other parts of the Arab, cf. Ali 1969, p. 276-283).
- (124) These depressions are situated on the south-west and south-east of the city, and to north, with an artificial wadi linking the south-east and northern depressions (pl. 58a, b).
- (125) The water of these streams is cold in the summer and warm in the winter. An inscription [338] on a column drum found in Sehil indicates that a table (for entertainment?) stood at this spot. In addition, a foundation of limestone blocks on the edge of the stream may suggest that it was a leisure place for wealthy Hatrenes.
- (126) Water played an important part in Arab religion of the pre-Islamic period; the well of Zamzam at Mecca is well-known example. The wells of the mian sanctuary at Hatra (Bait Alaha) may have played an equivalent sacred role.
- (127) An Assyrian record concerning the campaign of king Tukulti-Ninurta II (890-884 B.C.) to Babylonia in April, 885 B.C., mentions his passing through the Wadi Tharthar; this text also mentions that the King slew nine wild bulls in the lower Tharthar (Olmstead, 1923: 77, and Luckenbill, 1926: vol. 1, 128), which must mean that there was vegetation and grass in the wadi.
- (128) Limestone from the area is used today for restoration work on Hatrene monuments.
- (129) Naphtha was used in the manufacture of "Hatrene fire" faced by the Roman army during their sieges of city (Dio Cassius, LXXVI, 11). There is a slight possibility that the Hatrenes used the copper form the place known only from Assyrian inscriptions, called Hamat, situated in the lower Tharthar (Luckenbill, 1926: vol. 1, 128; Herzfeld, 1968: 221).

Early settlement at Hatra.

(a) The archaeological evidence

Excavation on the site was begun by the Iraqi State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage in 1951⁽¹³⁰⁾. Much work was done from then until 1955, since when excavation has on a smaller scale, and restoration has become important. The areas investigated included the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha), small shrines, private houses, tombs and the city wall gates. These excavations were normally concentrated, however, on the upper levels. Lower levels were reached only in Shrine VIII A, in rooms, 3, 6, 10 and 14 of the Bait Alaha iwans (pl. 59), and in area I at the north-west corner of Bait Alaha⁽¹³¹⁾.

In an attempt to gain further information concerning the earlier occupations, two soundings were made by the author in 1976. These provided some further material on these periods; the main results are presented here.

(b) The soundings

Sounding I (Pls. 59, 60, 61). This is situated between the staircase of temple "B" (Pls. 60, 61) and the northern wall of Bait Alah, extending from the west to the east; it is 9.20 m. long, 1.70m. wide and 2.85m. deep. Four occupation levels were unearthed. Temple "B" was regarded as being at Level I (pl. 59b), together with the area under the foundation of the staircase which is filled with stone and stucco (Floor 1).

Level II (pl. 61b) consists of two phases. In the first phase (A) there is a mud brick wall (called A) 1.20m. thick, 3.70m. long, extending from the north to the south; it lies under the stairs of the temple "B" and consists of five rows of mud bricks, each 37 × 37 × 12cm. in size⁽¹³²⁾. Between these bricks and on the wall faces there is clay. Floor 2 (pl. 62b) belongs to this wall. A complete jar together with an incomplete stand were found on this floor «8», as well as a few fragments of jar rims and other sherds «4-7». Another mudbrick wall (called B) (Pls. 61, 62a), going from west to east, seems earlier than wall A. The wall itself was supported by a small buttress 60cm. long and 90cm. high. Three floors (1-3) belong to this wall; on floor 5 a kiln 50cm. in diameter was uncovered and possibly belongs to wall B.

Level III (Pl. 61b) is 30cm. thick and contains strata 6 and 7 (Pl. 62b); these consist of pure grey sand earth. There is no evidence of occupation at this level.

Level IV (Pl. 61b) comprises floors 8 and 9, and contains a mudbrick wall 1m. high with no plaster, possibly a foundation (Pl. 62b). The eastern part of the wall was damaged. Few fragments of pottery were unearthed in this level «1-3». Beneath it lies virgin soil (called no. 10 on pl. 62b).

Section A-A (Pls. 60, 61a, 62b, 63) shows the above strata in Sounding I. They may be out schematically as

(130) For a general account of excavations to 1974, see Safar and Mustafa, 1974. Hatra's isolated position in the desert today away from urban centres has preserved it from illicit diggers (Safar, 1951: 40; Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 12).

(131) Shrine VIII A: Al-Salihi, 1973: pl. 12. Bait Alaha: Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 327, 331.

(132) For comparison, here are measurements of mud bricks from Parthian levels on sites in Iraq:

Ain Sinu: 43 × 43 × 9cm. (Oates, D. and J., 1959: 207, 252)

Aššur: 37 × 37 × 10cm. (Said, 1979: 328)

Hatra: 40 × 40 × 12cm. 38 × 38 × 12cm. (Al-Salihi, 1980)

Jaddalah: 40 × 40 × 12cm.

Tell Abu Gbab: 40 × 40 × 15cm. (Faraj, 1979)

Tell Aswad: 40 × 40 × 12cm., and 38 × 38 × 12cm. (Al-Fitiyan and Abdullah, 1979)

Tell Irshidah: 40 × 40 × 15cm. (Muhsin, 1979: 482)

follows:

Stratum 1: filling of sand and stucco.

Stratum 2: occupation floor belonging to wall A (Pl. 61b), running from north to south, starting from the stairs of temple "B". A layer of grey earth and ash separates stairs 1 and 2. Stratum (or floor) 2 consists of reddish clay.

Stratum 3: this lies under wall A (pl. 62b) and consists of a mixture of ash, earth and small pieces of stucco, possibly contemporary with the wall B which runs from east to west.

Stratum 4: greyish earth below a row of mud bricks.

Stratum 5: here kiln was uncovered which possibly belonged to wall B. The floor was made of reddish clay mixed with stucco and ash.

Stratum 6: pure grey sand and earth.

Stratum 7: pure grey sand and earth.

Stratum 8: evidence of permanent occupation with a floor made of mud mixed with burnt stucco, a mudbrick wall and the remains of an oven and strong evidence of fire.

Stratum 9: a layer of ash.

Stratum 10: virgin soil.

A second section, B-B (Pls. 60, 61a, 64) shows the rather fewer, and different, strata found at the side of Sounding I, adjoining the northern wall of the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha). Seven strata were unearthed, of which the sequence is as follows:

Stratum 1: contemporary with temple "B"

Stratum 2: grey coloured earth.

Stratum 3: reddish earth with a layer of ash over its surface, and the remains of a burnt area 2m. long.

Stratum 4: sandy earth with a mortar surface indicating a more permanent occupation.

Stratum 5: sandy earth, containing some bones and an oven.

Stratum 6: debris, perhaps brought from another area.

Stratum 7: an area deliberately prepared, perhaps serving as the foundation for the wall above.

✓ Sounding II (Pl. 65a, b). This is located behind the southern wall of the Square Temple, the so-called temple of Samaš (Pl. 56H). The sounding was 9 × 1.50m. and 3m. deep, and extended from north to south. At least three occupation floors (strata 2, 3 and 5) were discovered. The sequence is as follows:

Stratum 1: an area filled with small pieces of stone 30cm. thick.

Stratum 2: sand mixed with ash, 70–80cm. thick. The lower part consists of a well-made floor.

Stratum 3: a damaged, sloping stratum of ash containing part of a kiln 50cm. in diameter.

Stratum 4: consists of a row of 8 mud bricks, whose visible faces average 36 × 12cm.

Stratum 5: debris of sand and ash, 60cm. deep.

Stratum 6: virgin soil.

(c) General observations

The level above virgin soil in each of my Soundings I and II is composed of ash. This same sequence of strata, namely ash above virgin soil, seems to be repeated in other earlier soundings made outside the main sanctuary (Pl. 66 a, b)⁽¹³³⁾. Professor D. Oates suggested that this ash indicated temporary occupation by nomads⁽¹³⁴⁾. There is, however, no evidence to verify this suggestion. Furthermore, it is difficult to give these levels an exact date.

(133) In addition to the two soundings 5–6m. deep in the house of M'NW (Pl. 66 a, b), which seemingly have no remains of walls, it seems from photographs of Shrine VIII A published by Al-Saihi, 1973: Pl. 12, that several occupation levels of debris and ash lay under its wall which was constructed in A.D. 98 [214].

(134) D. Oates, 1968: 63.

In attempting to interpret these remains, it is perhaps useful to remind ourselves of how contemporary Greek and Roman authors described this area. Strabo (64 B.C.–A.D. 19) mentions that Arab tribes in the region at the beginning of the Christian era occupied most of the area between the Tigris and the Euphrates⁽¹³⁵⁾ “They were shepherds and occasional bandits”, he says, and he also states that the Arab tribes of Scenitae were herdsmen and bandits occupying the barren area of Mesopotamia and constantly on the move in search of pasture for their animals. Pliny the Elder, who died in A.D. 79, gives the names of other tribes: Salmani, Masei and Attali, who were the Arabian tribes in the territory above a river called Pallaconta⁽¹³⁶⁾ He states that the Euphrates and the desert of Assyria were occupied by Arab tribes; he adds also that the Tigris forms the border between Mesopotamia and Adiabene, and that this area was occupied by the Arab tribes of Orroie. So both Strabo and Pliny agree that the barren area of Mesopotamia was occupied by nomadic Arab tribes. This testimony would not be inconsistent with the evidence from Hatra, if the ash layer here does indeed indicate the fires associated with temporary nomad occupation.

Above the ash layer, the mudbrick level (Stratum 8) in Sounding I was roughly built without plaster; this suggests a more permanent occupation, but still a seasonal one. This rough construction is similar to that of the present habitation of the semi-nomads in the Jazirah region, who are partly settled, and who build their houses with coarse mud brick and move with their cattle for long distances looking for pastures, particularly in dry seasons.

The upper levels in the same sounding consist of thick mudbrick walls, plastered with clay and associated with well-made flooring, suggesting a continuous occupation. But a lack of datable material makes it difficult to date these levels. As a very rough chronological guide, however, it could be noted that Level I of temple “B” was possibly completed in the reign of king Sanatruq I (reigning A.D. 176/ 6), as temple vault inscriptions mention his name and a statue dated A.D. 162 stood in the temple “B”, and it will be remembered that this level was regarded as Level I of Sounding I.⁽¹³⁷⁾

In addition to evidence from Sounding I, it will be recalled that other mudbrick levels were also reached in rooms 3, 6, 10 and 14 in the iwan groups in Bait Alaha (Pl. 59) and area I outside the north-west corner of Bait Alaha.⁽¹³⁸⁾ These levels in both places lay under the standing buildings, and so the possibility of earlier occupation is clear.

Can we gain any idea of when Hatra was founded from this evidence? Safar and Mustafa suggested that Hatra was originally an Assyrian village lying near the water sources in the area, a settlement which became larger as a base for the Arab tribes who pastured their animals around it during the spring season; later, the inhabitants would have built a shrine for their favourite god Samas. They also claimed that this settlement became larger after the conquest of Alexander the Great (331–323 B.C.), when new cities in Mesopotamia and north Syria were founded and linked by major routes. These suggestions were not based on any material evidence, apart from some fluted column drums said to be embedded in the walls of the great iwans in the main sanctuary, which they date to the second century B.C.⁽¹³⁹⁾ However this may be, this cannot be regarded as conclusive evidence concerning the development of Hatra from village to city.

(135) Strabo, XVI, 233.

(136) Pliny, *Natural History*, V, xxx, 427. These tribes are not mentioned in known Hatrene inscriptions. Pallaconta was identified with Wadi Tharthar by Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 20.

(137) Inscriptions: Salman, 1974: p. “e” Level I: see p. 92.

(138) See p. 92.

(139) These fluted column drums ‘showed signs of severe weathering’ according to Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 18, 339, and they suggest that they possibly belonged to an older temple, located under the standing iwans, which they date to the second century B.C. In my visits to the site I have failed to find these drums.

Archaeological evidence from other sites in the area may throw some light on the conditions of the region prior to the rise of Hatra. This is supplemented by the survey undertaken by the writer in the Jazirah with its emphasis on the period between the fall of Assyria in 612 B.C. and the parthian period.

The excavations at Aššur, Nineveh, Nimrud, Ana and Baijan show that there was a break in the occupation of these sites from the end of the Assyrian to the Hellenistic periods, an observation confirmed by the Jazirah survey conclusions given above⁽¹⁴⁰⁾. This break might have resulted from the shift of power to the south after the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C., when Assyria lost its influence and most of the major sites of north Iraq seem to have been deserted. After Alexander's conquests, however, there appears to have been an increase in settlement once again. Seleucia on the Tigris became the capital of Mesopotamia in 307 B.C., Antioch on the Orontes in north Syria was founded as a second Seleucid capital about this time, and trade routes now linked the northern and southern communities. As a result a resettlement of the ancient sites which were on the trade routes is apparent from the archaeological evidence. Furthermore, there is an increase of Seleucid and Parthian sites in the Jazirah, pointing to increased activity at this time. The existence of earlier levels at Hatra, and the Seleucid presence in the area, could give some credence to the suggestion by Safar and Mustafa that there was activity at Hatra in the Seleucid period, but no more than this may be said at the present time.

Political history

(a) Sources

There is not enough evidence available at present to write a detailed and extensive history of the city of Hatra. Information on Hatra may be derived from two main sources. The first is the accounts of Classical and subsequent Arab historians; the second is the recent archaeological excavations that have unearthed both monuments and many inscriptions which throw light on the contemporary history and social life of Hatra. These two sources we shall briefly discuss in turn.

There are useful passages in accounts surviving from several writers contemporary with Hatra's later years. Thus Dio Cassius (A.D. 150-235) and Herodian described Roman wars against the Parthians which included detailed accounts of the sieges of Hatra by the Roman emperors Trajan (A.D. 116) and Septimius Severus (in A.D. 198 and probably 200). The Syriac writer Bardaisan of Edessa also gave valuable information about the city, particularly Hatrene law⁽¹⁴¹⁾

Relevant passages and information, of variable quality, have also come down to us from periods after the fall of Hatra. These include Ammianus Marcellinus, who found Hatra deserted when he passed through the city in A.D. 363, and the Christian writer Eusebius. The Arab historians writing several centuries later, such as Al-Tabari, Ibn Husham, Ibn Khaldun and Al-Masudi, indicate that although Hatra was then in ruins, its reputation as a powerful Arab kingdom had left its impact on later generations⁽¹⁴²⁾

As regards the inscriptions, a large number of these, normally in Aramaic but occasionally in Latin or Greek, have been found on statues, commemorative slabs, walls and floors of religious and secular buildings, and in the northern and eastern gates of the city⁽¹⁴³⁾. They are mostly short texts, providing records, dedications, blessings

(140) Site nos.: 78, 94, 94a, 254, 247. Survey: above, p. 87-88

(141) Dio: LXVIII, 31; LXXVI, 10. Herodian: III, 9. Bardaisan: see Dreijvers, 1965: 47, 61; Degen, 1977: 486.

(142) Ammianus: XXV, 539. Eusebius: Praeparatio Evangelica. Al-Tabari: vol. 2, p. 200. Ibn Husham: vol. 1, p. 79. Ibn Khaldun: vol. 2, pp. 343-345. Al-Mas'udi: vol. 2, p. 401-404. Among the Arabs, oral tradition must have been an important vehicle for transmission.

(143) See Appendix 1; 341 Aramaic inscriptions have been published.

and the like, but they shed light on the life of the city and constitute the most reliable source of information on daily life that we have.

Before outlining the history of Hatra, Safar had to tackle a number of technical and philological problems. What calendar did the Hatrenes use, Seleucid or Arsacid? He concluded that the Hatrenes used the Seleucid calendar⁽¹⁴⁴⁾. Secondly, is MR(D)Y' in the Aramaic inscriptions to be read as the title "maria", or as the country "Media"? He decided that it is the Aramaic "maria", meaning something like "Lord"⁽¹⁴⁵⁾. And thirdly, what is the sign in Aramaic inscriptions for the numeral "100"? He demonstrated that it must be the triangular sign with a vertical stroke to right⁽¹⁴⁶⁾.

Safar also published a chronological king list for Hatra in 1972, dividing its history into three periods:

The Archaic period

The period of the "Lords"

The period of the kings.

With a little alteration on the basis on newly found evidence, this list is still valid⁽¹⁴⁷⁾. We shall treat the political history of Hatra under these headings, and then briefly discuss its fall.

(b) The Archaic period

As the reader has already been warned, the present evidence is not enough to give us a clear picture of the beginning of Hatra and of how long this earlier stage lasted. Safar and Mustafa are also uncertain when this stage started⁽¹⁴⁸⁾. But as mentioned above the evidence from the occupation levels in Soundings I and II, in addition to more evidence from other soundings in the iwan groups, area I and shrine VIII A, might suggest the site was developed from a temporary settlement into a permanent one, presumably in the Seleucid period, the period when the Classical writers like Strabo, Pliny the Elder and Josephus mention that the area was inhabited by Arab tribes constantly on the move, or in other words nomadic⁽¹⁴⁹⁾.

-
- (144) Safar (Arabic version) 1972: 4-5; (English version) 1973, 88. The problem arose from the fact that two calendars were used in the Parthian period, the Seleucid calendar which began from autumn 312 B.C. or spring 311 B.C. according to area, and the Arsacid calendar which was apparently reckoned from spring 247 B.C. Double dating, by both eras, was in not uncommon use throughout Babylonia and Mesopotamia from 141 B.C. onwards, and occurs for instance at Babylon and at Dura-Europos. The inscriptions from Hatra are all dated according to one era, but which of the two is not specified. Safar had long believed that it was the Seleucid era that was being used at Hatra (see Safar, 1952: 189), and proved this later (Safar, 1972: 5) by citing the inscription and date on the statue of SPRY [36], datable to A.D. 238 according to the Seleucid calendar, but to A.D. 302 according to Arsacid, an impossibility because Hatra fell in A.D. 241.
- (145) The possibility of the alternative readings "maria" or "Media" is caused by the similarity in the writing of the daleth and the resh in Hatrene inscriptions. "Maria" in Syriac means "God" (Ronzevalle, 1912: 514; Safar, (Arabic version) 1972. (English version) 1973: 88; Aggula, 1975: 197), while "Media" would mean the land of the Medes, the inhabitants of the hills east of ancient north Iraq. Safar, 1973: 20, preferred the reading "maria", and argued that "maria" was here a religious title, giving examples on the inscriptions [122, 24]. On these the important Hatrene WRWD is described as "maria" whereas his son, grandson and great-grandson did not have this title. Now if M_R^DY' were to be read as "Media", i.e., here, "the Mede", it should have been written after each name, as would have applied equally to each of them.
- (146) Safar, 1972: 4, and Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 26, mention that J. Milik (1972: 356-357) suggested the correct reading of "100" which was a triangle with a stroke, vertical but sometimes slightly curved, added on its right side. Previously, the triangle only had been incorrectly read as "100" Safar and Mustafa (1974: 405-417) subsequently republished all the Aramaic inscriptions [1-292] with corrections. About the sign for "100", cf. J. Pirenne, 1963: 101-137.
- (147) List: see Safar, (Arabic version) 1972: 3-16, and (English version) 1973: 87-97; Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 26-37; republished by Colledge, 1977: 157. Alteration: there is one to be made, as a newly discovered inscription shows that there was only one NSR-YHB, and not two [338].
- (148) 1974: 26.
- (149) See above, p. 94

Precisely how nomadic these tribes were is an interesting question. In Hatra, throughout the historical period, from at least as early as A.D. 98, there is inscriptional evidence to demonstrate that there were close tribal connections between desert nomads and urban residents. One example is provided by the tribe of TYMW [214, 293], one branch of which was nomadic in the region of the Wadi Hauran⁽¹⁵⁰⁾, and another branch of which possibly inhabited Hatra and certainly constructed, with the tribe of BL'QB, a shrine in A.D. 97/ 8 [214] and a tomb in A.D. 108 [293, 294]. From these inscriptions it also emerges that there was extremely close co-operation between these two tribes of TYMW and BL'QB and both seemingly lived in a kind of "symbiosis" with one another. Other evidence shows that again, in the earlier third century A.D., there were families partly resident in Hatra and partly nomadic in the surrounding region [79].

The inscriptions also contain the names of other Hatrene tribes, such as 'QLT' [280], RPSMS [107], 'SYLY' [242], HRNPS [290], TTNV [66], and 'QYB' [3, 200]; it is interesting that so many names of tribes occur, but as regards these there is as yet no evidence to connect them with the desert.

Some of these inscriptions, therefore, indicate that certain Hatrene tribes at least were partly resident in the city and partly nomadic in the surrounding region. This situation has a striking parallel from a later period in the Arab state of Al-Hira, on the west bank of the Euphrates, that seems to have been a favoured client-state of the Sasanians. Here the rulers held sway over both urban and nomadic populations⁽¹⁵¹⁾. Al-Hira's rival, the Syrian state of Ghassan, possessed a similar power structure⁽¹⁵²⁾. This political structure has been described, by Rowton, as a "dimorphic chiefdom"⁽¹⁵³⁾. The similarities with the tribal situation somewhat earlier at Hatra could suggest that the Hatrene power structure was also of this kind, and had perhaps been so from an early period as well.

Further light on relations between urban and desert populations in the general area of Hatra during the first three centuries A.D. is provided by the rich inscriptional evidence from Palmyra and Dura-Europos; this also indicates close connections between city and desert dwellers, although of somewhat different kinds. At Palmyra, where the city was run by a town council and the chief administrative language was Aramaic, although (as names show) at least half the population was Arab, between at least as early as A.D. 19 and the mid-third century a series of texts was raised in honour of leading citizens of Palmyra resident in the city. These had assisted the merchants who journeyed east to Babylonia in various ways, by (in A.D. 24) making peace between two tribes and becoming their chief, by organizing caravans, and by ensuring security for the merchants travelling

- (150) Six Aramaic inscriptions [WHI-5, WH 8] in the Wadi Hauran mention the name of ZBYD', son of HWM'L, from the tribe of TYMW, who spent the spring with his followers in the rich pasture area on the Wadi Hauran in the month of 'DR, A.D. 98 (Safar, 1964: 24), see below, p. 213.
- (151) The sources of information on the population of Al-Hira are later Arab historians such as Al-Tabari (vol. 1, pp. 480-481), who mentions the main three tribes, the Tanukh, 'Abad and Ahlaf; he states that the Tanukh were the nomad group in the area between Anbar and Al-Hira, and that they lived in tents made of goats' hair and camels' wool. The 'Abad inhabited the city of Al-Hira and were allies of Ardashir the Sasanian king. Later the Ahlaf came and settled Al-Hira. Their name indicates that they were a conglomeration of several tribes, as the word "ahlaf" in Arabic means "alliance".
- (152) Ghassan was composed of a group of Arab tribes called the Azad. According to tradition they moved northwards from southern Arabia and settled in the area near a spring called Ghassan, and their chief town was Jabiya (Al-Jumaili, 1972: 125, 130). Their first king was Jafna the son of Omr (Al-Mas'udi, 1966: 186).
- (153) Rowton says this "exerts a varying blend of rule and influence over the nomadic and sedentary tribes in the countryside. The population of the chiefdom includes both a nontribal and tribal element" (1973: 202). His other important articles are listed in the Bibliography. Particularly valuable for us is his observation that Mesopotamian tribes have over an enormous period of time exhibited complex patterns of behaviour, which included the possibility that individual tribes may contain both settled and nomadic elements, and that towns and cities may be founded and controlled by local dynasties whose origins were tribal.

in the desert, doubtless through their Aramaic and Arab tribal connections⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ At Dura-Europos (similarly run by a town council), under Parthian control, an official called an "Arabarch" is mentioned in a parchment contract of A.D. 121, obviously with the function of controlling the surrounding Arab tribes from the city⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ These related situations in other cities of the area, in which there was both an interrelationship with the desert Arab tribes and a measure of control exercised over that Hatra possessed the related power structure of the "dimorphic chiefdom"

During the long period of Seleucid decline, the Parthians eventually took over Mesopotamia (including Dura-Europos by 113 B.C., as coins from there indicate⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ while the Romans gradually easatal regions of Syria as well, thus extinguishing the remnants of the Seleucid kingdom. The desert region between these two powers was populated, as we have seen, by Arameans and Arabs both in the towns and nomadic in the desert, and it became a buffer zone between the two empires of Parthia and Rome. Generally, the political situation in and around this zone, in Mesopotamia, Syria and Armenia, remained unsettled for much of the second and first centuries B.C. This was particularly so during the reign of Mithradates II (c. 124/ 3-87 B.C.), when Tigranes, king of Armenia, invaded Goryene and Adiabene, which had Arbela (Arbil) as its most important centre, on his way to Media⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ Upper Mesopotamia, according to Pliny the Elder⁽¹⁵⁸⁾, was under the control of Adiabene, of which the western border extended to Syria. The political situation between Adiabene and the inhabitants of Upper Mesopotamia is best illustrated by Josephus (A.D. 37-93), who describes the relations between Abis, the king of the Arabs, and Izates, the king of Adiabene (A.D. 36-60)⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ It seems that Abis, supported by the rest of the Arab chieftains, rebelled against the domination of the Jewish King Izates. The latter advanced to the region and laid siege to Abis in his fortress at Arsamus⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ Abis, faced with defeat and capture by Izates, committed suicide.

(154) Palmyra: J. Catineau, Inventaire des inscriptions de palmyre, Beirut, 1930-1949, vol. III, nos. 21 (= CIS II 3933), 28 (= CIS II 3948), 29 (= CIS II 3949); *ibid.*, vol. IX, nos. 6a (= CIS II 3924, dated A.D. 19), all (= CIS II 3915, dated A.D. 24), 12, 13, 14a (= CIS II 3916), 15 (= CIS II 3917), 30; J. Strarcky and J. Cantineau, Inventaire des inscriptions de palmyre, vol. X., Beirut, 1949, nos. 7, 19, 38, 40, 47, 81, 87-90, 107, 111, 112, 114, 124, 127; cf. A. Maricq, "Vologesias", Syria, 36, 1959, 264-275; D. Schlumberger, "Palmyre et al Mesene" Syria, 38, 1961, 256-60.

(155) Dura-Europos: see A. Perkins, The Excavations of Dura-Europos, Final Report, vol. V. part 1, New Haven, 1959, document 20, 109-116.

(156) For the potolitical history of the Parthians, see in general Debevoise, 1938; Wolski, 1956-57; Colledge, 1967; Colledge, 1977; Herrmann, 1977. The Parthians were originally a semi-nomadic Iranian tribe, a branch of the Scythians (Strabo Geography, XI, 9, 1-3). They appeared in south central Russia around 250 B.C. under their leader called Arsaces in western sources and Arshak or Arshaq in oriental and challenged the Seleucids. They occupied the persian province east of the Caspian Sea called in western sources "Parthia", from which their name was derived. In the course of the following century they gradually moved westwards, taking over areas of the Seleucid empire, until the Parthian king Mithradates II (c. 124/ 3-87 B.C.) the rest of Mesopotamia including the three kingdoms of Adiabene, Gordyene and Osrhoene and the city of Dura-Europos (Bellinger, 1948), became a part of the Parthian empire. Armenia also came under Parthian control in this period (Herrmann, 1980: 278).

(157) Debevoise, 1938: 50.

(158) Natural History, XXX, 427.

(159) Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XX, 76-81. Abis: this name could be derived from 'B' a name common at Hatra [5, 104, 109, 140, 176, 188, 225, 228]. Izates: Josephus (*ibid.*, XX, 17-19) provides details on his life before he came to the throne. His father Monobazus sent him to Characene to avoid trouble from his brother. In Characene. Iztes was converted to Judaism.

(160) Its location has not been found yet, but it could be in the upper Jazirah.

Teixidor suggests that the absence of any mention of Hatra in the accounts we possess of the above events could imply that Hatra was not an important city then⁽¹⁶¹⁾ But Josephus' account shows that there was already an important Arab presence in northern Mesopotamia, before the rise of Hatra, because Arab chieftains took part in the events described. Teixidor also attempts to argue that Hatra was dominated by the kingdom of Adiabene, by identifying 'TLW, whose statue was found at Hatra, with Izates the king of Adiabene, basing this on the title or surname of 'TLW "NTWN'SRY", which he thought could mean "Adiabene", as J.T. Milik read the Greek legend on the coins of Nisibis in Adiabene as "Natunia"⁽¹⁶²⁾ Teixidor also produces further arguments to support his idea that 'TLW and Izates were identical. He regards 'TLW as the form of the name Izates used in the Aramaic language of Hatra, and supports his theory by suggesting that as regards the royal costume of 'TLW the headdress in particular could be the tiara of Izates presented to him by Artabanus II, the Parthian king, in recognition of this help in returning Armenia to Parthian control⁽¹⁶³⁾. Safar and Mustafa also suggested that Hatra in its early period was under the control of Adiabene, basing this also on the statue of 'TLW. They concluded that the discovery of the statue in Shrine III indicates that the Hatrenes were practising ancestor worship by preserving the tradition of this earlier domination⁽¹⁶⁴⁾

The above suggestions by both Teixidor and Safar and Mustafa are not based on enough evidence. NTWN'SRY cannot be a title or the name of Adiabene, as a number of Hatrene personal names included the same element [40, 113, 114]. 'SR occurs, furthermore, in a number of Hatrene personal names (e.g. [XV, 204]). The identification of the name 'TLW with Izates, moreover, seems extremely dubious. The suggestion of ancestor worship is also questionable: why has only this statue of 'TLW been found, and no other similar royal ancestor statues? Moreover the statue is not dated, and as yet there is no detailed study of the stylistic development of Hatrene sculpture; so it is difficult to place the statue within the history of city. Furthermore, as already mentioned, Izates ruled long before the heyday of Hatra, and this would also make him unlikely to have been remembered in the city in the later period.

The large number of religious titles on the Hatrene inscriptions led Safar and Mustafa to suggest that in the Archaic period authority at Hatra was divided between two groups of officials, each with different responsibilities in the shrine. The first of these was that of the priests (KMR'), a number of whom are known from inscriptions on their statues⁽¹⁶⁵⁾. The second group comprised secular stewards (RBYT': the word actually means "the lord of the house", which suggests some responsibility for administration) and chiefs (RB')⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ But most inscriptions mentioning KMR', RBYT' and RB' can be shown to belong to the later periods of the "maria" and the kings, and it is possible that the undated inscriptions are also from these periods. So the theory of Safar and Mustafa is not conclusive, although it is not impossible. Further evidence is needed.

(c) The period of the "maria" ("lords")

The "maria" period is named after the title MRY', "lord", which was held by six notables, (in Safar's order) NSR-YHB, WRWD, NSRW, M'NW, WLGŠ and SNTRWQ. The word is placed immediately after their name in the texts. The last two names mentioned, WLGŠ and SNTRWQ, also appear separately with the title "king". Safar

(161) Teixidor, 1967: 5.

(162) Teixidor, 1967: 1-5. Milik, 1961: 51-58. The statue was found in Shrine III, and is now in Mosul Museum (MM 8): see Homes-Fredericq, 1963: pl. VI; Ghirshman, 1962: fig. 100; Fukai, 1960: pl. 2; Colledge, 1977: pl. 13a.

(163) Teixidor, 1967: 1-5.

(164) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 26.

(165) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 26, 27. KMR': 'B' [5], BD' [34, 39], BR'Y [27], 'BD-ŠLM' [25], 'BD-ŠMS' [145], 'DRY [279], MYS' [286], NSRW [67] and SNTRWQ (the king) [VII]. For discussion, see below, p. 111.

(166) RBYT': 'B' [109], 'PRHT' [223, 224], BRNŠR' [144], GD-YHB [221], ŠMS-HRYT [94], YHYBW [278], NSR-YHB [116, 195], and WRWD [60, 144], see below, p. 110. RB': cf. [110, 288]; Safar, 1973: 97; Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 95, pl. 54 a; below, p. 108-109.

understood the term "maria" to mean a religious title, as we have seen⁽¹⁶⁷⁾, but one used by men who became the supreme political rulers of Hatra⁽¹⁶⁸⁾. The period of the "maria" itself lasted about a hundred years according to Safar and Mustafa, from very roughly the mid-first century to the 160s or 170s A.D. (Pl. 67)⁽¹⁶⁹⁾

Safar, when discussing the chronology of Hatra, concluded that the title "maria" was held by one person only at any one time. He also suggested that the title was limited to one family, that it was inherited, and the family eventually took advantage of its position to become the royal family⁽¹⁷⁰⁾. His suggestion, that the title could be inherited, seems in fact to apply definitely only to NŠR-YHB and his son NŠRW, and also to SNTRWQ "the king", his grandson, if SNTRWQ "the king" is the same man as SNTRWQ "maria"⁽¹⁷¹⁾. As regards the other three, WRWD, M'NW and WLĠS, both their relationship with each other, and their connection (if any) with the earlier mentioned "maria" are not specified by the inscriptions, and so are completely uncertain

What can be established concerning the chronological order of the "maria"? Firstly, the sequence of father-son-grandson (NŠR-YHB, NŠRW, SNTRWQ "the king" and perhaps also "maria") gives us at least a partial framework, and the inscriptional dates of A.D. 128/ 9 [VI], 133 (if text [338] refers to him) and 138 (if [272] implies that he is still alive) for NŠRW are particularly helpful (Pl. 67). If SNTRWQ "maria" is the same person as SNTRWQ I, the king mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 176/ 7 [82], then this is a further guide. M'NW "maria" occurs in a text dated A.D. 149; but there are as yet no dates for the others.

What else emerges concerning the "maria" and their period from the texts? We shall consider them in Safar's order.

NŠR-YHB. Some idea of when he lived is provided by the texts just discussed which indicate that his son NŠRW held the title "maria" in the 120s and 130s A.D. [VI, 272, 338], so that NŠR-YHB must have lived roughly around A.D. 100. Safar thought that there were two "marias" with the name NŠR-YHB, the second coming after NŠRW [272]⁽¹⁷²⁾. But the recent discovery of inscription [338], which mentions NŠR-YHB and is dated A.D. 133, has suggested to its commentator that there was only one NŠR-YHB with the title "maria" at Hatra⁽¹⁷³⁾. (This NŠR-YHB is to be distinguished from the NŠR-YHB, son of 'BD-'LY, mentioned on one inscription [25]).

(167) See above, p. 96, n. 2; below, p. 109

(168) M.A.R. Colledge suggested to me that the title need never have had political connotations: he pointed out that where a WLĠS and a SNTRWQ are described in one text as "maria" and in others as "king", there is nothing to prove that the "maria" was the same person as the king, and that the likelihood that they were the same is made less by the fact that there is more than one case of one name being associated with the two titles, so that there cannot have been one, simple political change from "lordship" to "kingship"

(169) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 27.

(170) Safar, 1972: 7.

(171) [194, 195, 196, 197, 199, 231].

(172) Safar, 1972: 10; Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 30

(173) Al-Salihi, 1978: s.v. [338].

WRWD. As yet, no dated text of WRWD "maria" has been found, so when he lived is uncertain. Safar suggested that WRWD was maria" before NŠRW because the name WRWD "maria" is inscribed on the lower walls of the great iwans, and the name NŠRW "maria" on their upper walls; from this he concluded that the lower parts of the iwans were constructed by WRWD "maria" before the upper parts were built by NŠRW "maria"⁽¹⁷⁴⁾. It is obviously not impossible that WRWD "maria" preceded NŠRW "maria", but further confirmatory evidence is required.

NŠRW. Three dated texts, as we have just said, mention a NŠRW "maria" [VI, 338, 272], in A.D. 128/9, 133 and 138. Presumably they all refer, like the many undated texts, to the same man. He seems to have been a particularly important "maria" because he both held other titles as well, and erected buildings. 'PKL'-RB' D 'LH' ("chief priest of the god") [67], 'PKL'-RB' D ŠMS' LH' ("chief priest of the (sun) god ŠMS") [IX, QSYS' ("elder") [IX, 338]⁽¹⁷⁵⁾, and 'BY' RB' ("chief patrician") [IV, IX]⁽¹⁷⁶⁾. Safar estimated that NŠRW was "maria" from A.D. 115 to 135, basing that on inscription [272], dated to A.D. 138 (pl. 67), where Safar suggested that the wording implies that NŠRW was already dead⁽¹⁷⁷⁾. But this is in fact not all clear from the text, and it should not be used as evidence for his death. Safar also estimated the age of SNTRWQ I the king from his statue [82], dated A.D. 176/ 7, as forty, and working back from this to the A.D. 138 of [272], he came to his conclusion that NŠRW was dead by A.D. 135⁽¹⁷⁸⁾. But such evidence is not conclusive.

M'NW Inscription [288], found on a fire altar and dated A.D. 149, bears the name of M'NW "maria" Safar estimated that he was "lord" between A.D. 146 and 154 (cf. pl. 67)⁽¹⁷⁹⁾.

Besides the title of "maria" in the period of M'NW new titles appear, held by various officials. One of these was RBYT' ("steward") [I, 336]. ŠMS'-BRK held this title. He was apparently agreed in A.D. 151 by all the citizens of Hatra, young and old, and the Arab tribes from the surrounding region⁽¹⁸⁰⁾. Two identical inscriptions dealing with ŠMS'-BRK's election have come to light: one was found on the northern gate [336], and the second on the eastern gate [I]. The inscription also deals with the problem of robbery⁽¹⁸¹⁾. ŠMS'-BRK's title is known, but the fact that he was in some way agreed is of great political interest, and might signify great political importance. How, in that case, did ŠMS'-BRK's political importance compare with that of M'NW "maria"? Was he a powerful political leader, and M'NW a politically weak "maria"? Or, if the suggestion that the title "maria" simply indicated a high religious office were right⁽¹⁸²⁾, was ŠMS'-BRK in that case the only political leader? The possible weakness of M'NW might be also suggested by the fact that, so far, only one inscription [288], on an altar, has been found mentioning his existence.

WLGŠ. The position of WLGŠ among the "maria" is problematical⁽¹⁸³⁾. Nor is it certain that WLGŠ "maria" [285] is the same as WLGŠ "the king [193, 286], also called "King of the Arabs" Safar suggested that WLGŠ was

(174) Safar, 1972: 8.

(175) The title QŠYŠ' appeared at Hatra also (as QŠŠ' in [III], which may indicate that it was an administrative title, possibly like that of local "senator" in Palmyra (Segal, 1967: 9).

(176) 'BY' appears in [IV] for the first time at Hatra, but this title was held by Bakru, king of Edessa, in third century A.D. (Cureton, 1864: 25; Smith, 1879, I: 6; Segal, 1970: 43, n. 4. The parallel term "patricius" in Latin means a member of the Roman nobility, but it under Constantine became a title of a person at court in high office. Also, in the Talmud, 'BY' means "judge" (Ali, vol. I: 66). In Arabic, 'BY' ("father") can also be used for "a noble person".

(177) Safar, 1972: 5-7; Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 30

(178) Safar, 1972: 5-7; Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 30

(179) Safar, 1972: 11.

(180) The excavators of Bait Alaha thought a circular structure in it could have been used for public meetings.

(181) See below, p. 109, 113, 116.

(182) See above, p. 100, n. 168

(183) Five, or possibly six, Parthian kings were called WLGŠ (Vologases), beginning with Vologases I (c.A.D. 51-76/ 7): see Debevoise, 1938: 270; (six?) Le Rider, 1965.

the elder son of NŞRW, pointing to the relief of reclining man named (above) NŞRW (noly, without title), with three figures standing beside or near him⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ One has the name WLGS written over his head. It is difficult to accept this one inscription as evidence that WLGS "maria" was the son of NŞRW "maria" There are, by contrast, several inscriptions indicating that SNŞRWQ I "the King" was the son of NŞRW "maria" [IV, 194-7, 199, 231], but there is years A.D.155-158, between M'NW "maria" and SNŞRWQ "maria", while Milik puts WLGS between WRWD and NSRW⁽¹⁸⁵⁾

SNŞRWQ. There is one (undated) inscription, on a fire altar [232], which mentions SNŞRWQ "maria". Many texts, however, refer to SNŞRWQ "the king. of these, some have no chronological information [28, 120, 139, 144, 195, 198, 287] Some are datable from their content and make it clear that there were two kings of this name, one the son of NŞRW "maria" and reigning in A.D. 176/ 7 [IV, 82, 194, 196-7, 199, 231], and one a later King (SNŞRWQ II) of the same name [36, 37, 79, 203, 229] (pl.67). Safar assumed that SNŞRWQ "maria" and king SNŞRWQ I, son of NŞRW "maria", were the same, and many scholars have followed him in this. If this was indeed the case, then the date of A.D. 176/ 7 for king SNŞRWQ I is a useful chronological guide as regards SNŞRWQ "maria" . Safar thought that SNŞRWQ held first the office of "maria", and then the kingship. If, however, the two were not the same, then we have as yet no chronological data concerning SNŞRWQ "maria"⁽¹⁸⁶⁾

What was happening as regards Hatra in the broader political context of the Near East at the time of these "maria", between the mid-first and mid-second centuries A.D.? Since the first century B.C. Parthia and Rome had been the dominant powers in the area. Ultimately an accommodation was reached between them in the A.D. 60s. The Euphrates became for practical purposes the boundary separating the two empires. The long-standing problem of who controlled Armenia was solved for the time being by a compromise: the Parthians chose the king (at this time, Tiridates, brother of the parthian King Vologases I, c. A.D. 51- 76/ 7), while their nominee had to receive his crown from the hands of the Roman emperor in Rome⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ The resulting peace, however, came to an abrupt end with the accession to power of the Roman emperor Trajan. He had designs on eastern territories, and set off from Rome for the east in A.D. 113 at the head of an army. He arrived in Antioch in A.D. 114, and turned Armenia into a Roman province. He then occupied Mardin and Nisibis; possibly these were then under the control of Adiabene⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ Some resistance came from the Arab ruler (Ma'nu in the Edessa region. But Trajan pressed on over the Euphrates and conquered the upper Jazirah; and Sinjar (Singara) too came under his control⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ He next crossed the Tigris and occupied Adiabene, and then marched southwards to Ctesiphon in A.D. 116⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ In mid-116, however, the Parthians, together with some local rulers, organized considerable resistance to Trajan's invasion. Hatra and Edessa joined this revolt against him. On his way back to Antioch that summer Trajan made an attempt to capture Hatra, which proved unsuccessful⁽¹⁹¹⁾

The revolt of Hatra against the Roman emperor when he was in Baby onia at the head of a large army indicates the considerable power and strength of the city at this period--a deduction reinforced by his failure to take it. This strength must have rested on its army, weapons and defensive walls. The latter were possibly constructed before Trajan's invasion of Mesopotamia: if so, they could have reflected the constant tensions in the region between the Romans, pursuing their periodically expansionist policy towards Mesopotamia, and the Parthians, who naturally made every effort to hold them back.

(184) Safar, 1973: 89; Colledge, 1977: pl. 23.

(185) Safar, 1973: 89; Aggoula, 1975: 196. Note that WLGS "maria" [285] is to be distinguished from WLGS MR' ("mara") [140]: cf. below, on Administration.

(186) Safar, 1972, 1973; Safar and Mustafa, 1974. For the suggestion that these two were not identical, see above, p. 100. n. 168

(187) Debevoise, 1938: 193, 196; Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 27.

(188) Debevoise, 1938: 218-225; see in general Lepper, 1948.

(189) Debevoise, 1938: 226, 232; Oates, 1968: 70, cf. also pp. 87, 135.

(190) Debevoise, 1938: 233-4; Lepper, 1948: 115.

(191) Dio Cassius, LXVIII, 31.

No document remains to tell us who organized the defence of Hatra against Trajan. But Safar suggests that NSRW the "lord", who as already mentioned could have lived at this time and who had important titles, was most likely to have undertaken this task⁽¹⁹²⁾ He seems to have been a leading figure, and, as father of SNTRWQ I the "king", was definitely a founder of the later royal dynasty. Most of the religious building in the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha) and outside it were constructed during his period of influence, and so, probably, were the city's defences⁽¹⁹³⁾

Trajan's annexation of Mesopotamia was short-lived; he attempted a renewed invasion in 117, but died in early August of that year. His successor Hadrian, realizing the difficulties of retaining these territories, wisely handed them back straightaway to local rulers.

Throughout the period of the "maria" apart from the episode of the rebellion of A.D. 116, there is no evidence about the allegiance of Hatra, whether to Rome or Parthia. Safar and Mustafa imagined that Hatra was allied to Adiabene, and Safar also suggested that the Parthian King may have made payments for the construction of the city wall; if so, Hatra's allegiances would have been eastern, but again there is no evidence concerning this. On the other hand, a curious memento of Trajan's campaign may have survived in Hatra, if a supposed portrait head of Trajan, made locally and perhaps used for cult purposes, has been correctly identified⁽¹⁹⁴⁾; this might indicate some pro-Roman feeling.

(d) The period of the kings

Following the "maria" era is the "period of the kings", named thus because the rulers of the city started holding the title MLK' ("king"). The evidence is scanty for the beginning of the era and as yet it is not clear who was the first ruler to hold the title; so far, five persons are mentioned in Hatrene inscriptions as having this ('TLW, WLGŠ, SNTRWQ I, 'BD-SMY' and SNTRWQ II) (pl. 67).

There are, as we have seen, two cases where the same name occurs in inscriptions separately with the titles MRY' ("maria" or "lord") and MLK' ("king"): these are WLGŠ and SNTRWQ⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ Although it was not necessarily the case that WLGŠ "maria" or SNTRWQ "maria" was the same individual as WLGŠ "the king" or SNTRWQ "the king", Safar assumed they were, and arranged his chronology accordingly.

We shall study these kings in turn, assembling the evidence so far gathered concerning each⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ Of the five, only for SNTRWQ I, 'BD-SMY' and SNTRWQ II do dates occur in their texts.

TLW. This name occurs once with the title MLK' ("king"), in an undated inscription at the foot of the statue of a bearded man in fine robes [21]. The word succeeding his name, as we have seen, has sometimes been interpreted as meaning "of Adiabene", but we consider incorrectly so⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ Whether, and where, he fits into Hatrene royal chronology cannot as yet be established.

(192) Safar, 1972: 7; Safar, 1973: 90; Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 30.

(193) For NSRW and SNTRWQ I, see above, p. 102, n 186 Inscription [335] on the lintel of the "first" entrance inside the northern gate of the city wall which bears the name of NSRW could suggest that the wall was constructed or completed by NSRW, (before the siege of Trajan in A.D. 116?) For the northern gate, see below, pp. 120

(194) Allegiance: Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 27. Payments: Safar, 1972: 10. Head: found in Temple C in Bait Alaha: see Toynbee, 1970: 233; Safar and Mustafa, 1974: pl. 71.

(195) See above, p. 101-102.

(196) The supposition that WKWR [292] was king, on the grounds that on his statue his garments look royal, is unlikely and based on inadequate evidence: Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 305, pl. 305, 364.

(197) See above, p. 99.-

WLGŠ. This name is found with the title MLK' in undated texts [193, 286]. In [193], however, the full title given is MLK'D 'RB, "king of the Arabs", a title also held by SNṬRWQ I, 'BD-SMY' (?) and SNṬRWQ II. Safar proposed that WLGŠ was the first king, estimating his reign to have lasted from A.D. 158 to 165⁽¹⁹⁸⁾. Safar speculates that WLGŠ himself received the throne from Vologases (WLGŠ) III (or IV), the Parthian king, in acknowledgement for the help and services given by WLGŠ's father NSRW in aiding the Parthian army in Asia Minor during A.D. 161 and in capturing Edessa from the Romans⁽¹⁹⁹⁾. But these suppositions are difficult to substantiate: the absence of any textual evidence makes it hard to describe the exact relationship, if any, between NSRW and the Hatrene WLGŠ, and there is no mention in our sources of the Hatrene army being involved in the capture of Edessa. In any case, after this success the Parthians were compelled to retreat as the Roman army advanced, and it is likely that these events contributed to increasing Parthian weakness⁽²⁰⁰⁾.

SNṬRWQ I.⁽²⁰¹⁾ SNṬRWQ I "the king" was definitely the son of NSRW "maria", as inscription attest [194, 196, 197, 199, 231]. The name SNṬRWQ with the title "maria" is inscribed on a fire altar [232]. Safar believed that SNṬRWQ "maria" and SNṬRWQ "the king" were both the same person, and accounted for the variation in title by suggesting that SNṬRWQ held the title of "maria" for a short period, and then was able to get the crown from Vologases III (or IV), the Parthian king, as Safar thought the Hatrene WLGŠ had also done. Throughout his reign SNṬRWQ I acquired several titles. There is one dated inscription [82], of A.D. 176/7, calling him simply "king". This could be from the beginning of his reign. In some texts, he is called "king of the Arabs" [IV, 196-7, 198 (?), 199, 231], and elsewhere "the victorious king of the Arabs" [194], an indication of the expanding power of Hatra in this region of what is called in Hatrene inscriptions [79, 288] 'RBY', and in some western sources "Arabia"⁽²⁰²⁾. An inscription [287], which mentions a SNṬRWQ "king of the Arab lands" and his son 'BD-SMY' his successor, could belong to the era of either SNṬRWQ I or II, as both these kings had a son called 'BD-SMY' (although Safar attributed this to SNṬRWQ II)⁽²⁰³⁾.

SNṬRWQ I, on present evidence, seems to have restarted building after a period of apparent inactivity (except for the reconstruction of the north wall of Bait Alaha in A.D. 138 [272]) since the days of NSRW "maria". He was involved in the building of the square shrine (the so-called temple of Šamaš) behind the great south iwan in the Bait Alaha. His name was found by Safar in two places: on the architrave over the portico on the west side of the temple [199], and on a column on the upper terrace⁽²⁰⁴⁾. Furthermore, no new shrines are recorded as having been built by Arab tribes from the time of NSRW "maria" onwards: this could indicate that the Hatrene rulers and subjugated the surrounding tribes to the central power of Hatra, and SNṬRWQ I'S titles of "(victorious) king of the Arabs" could signify the same. It is also not impossible that the construction of the tall square shrine (in Arabic, "Kaaba") behind the south iwan at Hatra was intended to attract the Arab tribes to worship at Hatra.

(198) Safar, 1972: 1; Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 31.

(199) Safar, 1973: 93.

(200) Debevoise, 1938: 254.

(201) Concerning the origin of the name SNṬRWQ, Safar (1952: 40) considered that it is of Aramaic origin, while Fukai (1960: 138), suggested that Sinatruces is the Latinized version of the originally Parthian name Sanatruk (SNṬRWK). There was also a Parthian king with the name Sinatruces (SNṬRWK), c. 78/ 5-71/ 68 B.C. (Herzfeld, 1914: 659-61; Colledge, 1977: 163). Another Sanatruq was the king of Adiabene (A.D. 91-109) who captured Edessa and Nisibis (Fukai, 1960: 138). The Hatrene king SNṬRWQ was mentioned in Syriac and Greek sources (Ronzevalle, 1912: 516-518). A king of Bahrain was also called Sanatruq: he was captured by Ardashir the Sasanian king (Al-Tabari: vol. 1, p. 479).

(202) Of two Hatrene inscriptions [79, 288] mentioning this term, the first describes Hatra as in this province, and mentions that there were Arab tribes in this region. Dio Cassius also mention "Araba" when describing Trajan's march northwards from Babylon in A.D. 116; he advanced to Hatra through "Arabia", which indicates that this region's location lay north of Ctesiphon (LXVIII, 31). Arab historians mention that the power of Hatra extended from the Tigris to the Khabur, to which "Arabaya" could have extended, with Hatra as its major centre.

(203) Safar, 1972: 14.

(204) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 334, 31.

SNTRWQ I had many statues and reliefs erected by or for him in the temples of Hatra. One statue was found in the portico of the so-called temple of Samas, behind the Bait Alaha south iwan. It stood beside statues of his sons NYHR and 'BD-SMY'. A second headless statue was found in this "temple" of Samas representing him in a military costume, armed with two daggers and a sword and carrying a statue of a god, possibly ŠMS⁽²⁰⁵⁾. The head and base of a third statue were also found in the portico of the same temple; here his crown is adorned with a winged eagle⁽²⁰⁶⁾.

A large relief was recently discovered in temple B in Bait Alaha (pls. 59, 68). It consists of three panels separated by half-columns. Each panel represents a separate scene, and there are inscriptions attached, now damaged. The main subject, in the centre, is SNTRWQ in the act of worship; his head is uncovered and he stands barefoot in front of the goddess Allat (?) in her aspect as goddess of justice. She is sitting on the balance of the scales. On each scale crossed hands are depicted. The centre scene is flanked by two other scenes. On the left are two children and on the right two adults. Associated finds, including a building text, suggest the king as SNTRWQ I. An inscription [VII] below the left scale has the words "SNTRWQ the king", while another, under the feet of the king, reads "SNTRWQ the king, the priest". This is the first occasion on which a ruler of Hatra is described as a priest⁽²⁰⁷⁾.

'BD-SMY' King SNTRWQ I was succeeded by his son 'BD-SMY' [333], see [36, 79, 195, 203, 223, 229, 277, 287, 290 (A.D. 192/ 3), 33, 341] (pl. 67). When he ascended the throne is unknown, but one inscription [195] informs us he had the title "king of the Arabs" like his father and his son, if the phrase in this text refers to him and not to his successor, and another inscription [290] tells us he was reigning in A.D. 192/ 3, and so at an unsettled period in the Near East. The Parthian monarch Vologases III (or IV) was facing a revolt by another Parthian ruler, Vologases IV (or V), in Seleucia; in the Roman empire three generals ruler, Vologases IV (or V), in Seleucia; in the Roman empire three generals were struggling for power, among whom was Pescennius Niger, the governor of Syria⁽²⁰⁸⁾. Niger found support in the western Parthian provinces; his supporters included the ruler of Hatra, 'BD-SMY', if he is the same person as the Barsamia mentioned by the Classical historian Herodian (us)⁽²⁰⁹⁾. The victor Septimius Severus, after capturing his rival Niger, marched eastwards to punish the rulers who had supported him. He advanced to Nisibis and attacked Adiabene, Ctesiphon and Seleucia⁽²¹⁰⁾. Then he advanced towards Hatra and laid siege to the city in the spring of A.D. 198, but failed to capture it. He withdrew to Syria in order to rearm and refurbish his equipment, and returned probably in the autumn of A.D. 200 for a second attempt, which was equally unsuccessful⁽²¹¹⁾. It may well have been 'BD-SMY' who led this defence of Hatra against Severus. Safar estimated his reign as having lasted from A.D. 190 to 200; this is obviously guesswork, as the only known dated inscription belongs to A.D. 192/ 3, but if Safar were right, his last year would have coincided with Septimius Severus' withdrawal⁽²¹²⁾.

Two statues of 'BD-SMY' have been uncovered. One was found next to that of his father in the portico of the so-called temple of Šamaš; it presumably shows him before he was king, as he wears no crown. He holds a palm leaf in one hand and a sceptre in the other. A second statue, slightly damaged, represents him in his royal attire, wearing the Parthian tiara adorned with an eagle⁽²¹³⁾.

(205) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: pls. 4, 63.

(206) Ibid., pl. 8.

(207) Dimensions: length 3.55m., height 90cm., thickness 34.5cm. See Salman, 1974: (page) e. My grateful thanks are due to Mr. Hazim Al-Najafi, the excavator, who gave me permission to study it.

(208) Debevoise, 1938: 255.

(209) Herodian (us) III, 1. 3.

(210) Birley, 1971: 202.

(211) Dio Cassius, LXXVI, 10, 11; Birley, 1971: 202, 204.

(212) Safar, 1972: 14.

(213) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: pls. 14, 72.

SNTRWQ II. King SNTRWQ II is known from a number of inscriptions (pl. 67). He was the son of king 'BD-SMY' [36-7, 79, 195, 203, 229]. [333, 341] might concern him; [28, 120, 139, 144, 198, 287] could refer to either SNTRWQ I or II. A statue of his daughter ŠPRY was erected in A.D. 238 [36]; the text on the base states that she was "the daughter of SNTRWQ the king, the son of 'BD-SMY' the king" but this does not make it clear whether SNTRWQ was still alive in this year. If he was, his reign possibly ended with the destruction of Hatra in A.D. 241 by the Sasanians.

His titles included "king" [36, 37, 79, 195], "king of the Arabs" [203], and "the king, victorious and benefactor" [229]. There is a problem which we have already considered concerning inscription [287], which mentions a SNTRWQ "king of the Arab lands", attributed to SNTRWQ II by Safar, although it is impossible to tell from the inscription whether SNTRWQ I or II is meant⁽²¹⁴⁾. On only one inscription, [203], is he definitely called "king of the Arabs"; this is inscribed on the statue of his tutor. The omission of any mention of Arabs on the rest could indicate his lack of power over them, unless the phrase "king of the Arabs" on [195, 198] also refers to him. Archaeological evidence also suggests that at this late period Hatra was in decline: for instance, the new additions to the Bait Alaha and to the northern and eastern gates, as the author has observed, were made of cheap and coarse material.

A statue of SNTRWQ II [195] unearthed in the square so-called temple of Šamaš represents him in a religious act, leading Safar to suggest that SNTRWQ II, in the last years of his reign, devoted his life to religion, distributing the secular authority between his two sons, giving 'BD-SMY' the army and M'NW the administration. The newly discovered relief of SNTRWQ I or II just discussed, however, with its texts describing SNTRWQ as both "king" and "priest", reveals that there was nothing unusual in a Hatrene ruler adopting both these roles, and so Safar's hypothesis is unnecessary⁽²¹⁵⁾.

In the period of the kings other aspects of religious and secular administration are illuminated by the inscription. Many administrative posts are recorded, including KMR' (priest), and a priestess (KMRT') is recorded [34]; she must have been married, for her son is mentioned in the same text. RBYT' (steward) also continues, and some inscriptions indicate that it could be held by inheritance [144, 224, 278 (c.A.D. 165)]⁽²¹⁶⁾.

It was also in this period, as an indication of Hatrene connections with other cities of the area, that a lady of Hatra apparently went to live, and die, at Palmyra⁽²¹⁷⁾.

(c) The end of Hatra

Hatra outlasted the Parthian empire, but was destroyed during the rise of the Sasanian. Most of the Parthian allies, like Adiabene and Kerkh Slukh (Kirkuk), had turned against their Parthian masters and sided with the Sasanians⁽²¹⁸⁾. The collapse of the Parthians in the mid-220s A.D. left Hatra exposed. In A.D. 227 Ardashir I besieged the city, but without result⁽²¹⁹⁾. After this, it appears that the city turned for help to the Romans. Several

(214) See above, p. 104.

(215) Safar, 1972: 15. Relief: see above, p. 105.

(216) For administrative posts, see below, p. 110-115.

(217) H. Ingholt, Berytus, 3, 1936, 106-107, pl. XXI, 3.

(218) Debevoise, 1938: 268-269.

(219) Dio Cassius, LXXX, 4.

inscriptions indicate a Roman presence in the area from the 230s A.D. A Roman milestone, dated A.D. 233, was found 4km. south-west of Sinjar (Singara)⁽²²⁰⁾ In Hatra itself, three Latin inscriptions indicate the Hercules in shrine IX: a reference to the Ninth "Gordian" Cohort (that is, of the emperor Gordian III, D.A. 239-244) dates these to Hatra's very last years⁽²²¹⁾ But all these defensive precautions by the Hatrenes did not save the city from the Sasanians. A Manichean document recently found in Egypt indicates that Hatra fell to Shapur I. in April, A.D. 241, after a siege that lasted a year⁽²²²⁾ The Sasanians destroyed both the city and the Kingdom of Hatra. This blow left Hatra deserted. Just over a century later the city was in ruins, as we are told by the Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus, who passed through Hatra in A.D. 363 with the Roman army⁽²²³⁾ Though destroyed, Hatra left a lasting image in the minds of the Arabs. Many a poet wrote verses on its glories, its fall and its ruins (Appendix 2). Hatra remained deserted until modern times, except for some apparent use as a military station in the Atabec period (A.D. 1127-1261), as two inscriptions testify⁽²²⁴⁾

Between the early nineteenth and the early twentieth century a few European travellers visited Hatra: Ross in 1836, Ainsworth in 1840, Layard in 1846, Andrae in 1906-11, and Gertude Bell in 1911⁽²²⁵⁾ They mentioned that Bedouin of Shammer tribe had pitched their tents within or around the city⁽²²⁶⁾

In 1946, the Iraqi government established a desert police station just outside the ruins⁽²²⁷⁾ Bedouin started settling around the station, making use of the wells within the walls of the city. Later, since 1951, when the Iraqi Antiquities Department excavations commenced, there has been a migration of workers from the surrounding countryside, resulting in the establishment of a village.

Administrative and social structure

(a) Administration

Much confusion has been introduced into the study of Hatrene administration through the building of large hypotheses upon rather slender evidence. It is important, therefore, first to set out precisely what titles and offices existed and at what period or periods they occur in the texts; this will be done chronologically, as far as the texts allow, so that the various titles and posts will be introduced in the order of their known first dated mention, where this exists, with posts of unknown date discussed last. Secondly, we shall briefly discuss what can safely be concluded concerning Hatrene administration on this evidence. Inevitably, some of the information and discussion here will overlap that of the previous section, but it is given here again as it is for a different purpose.

(220) Fiey, 1952: 319-320.

(221) Inscriptions: Oates, 1955: 40-43. Statue: Iraq Museum, IM 58153; S.B. Downey, *AJA*, 72, 1968, 214-217.

(222) Present archaeological evidence does not shed light on the Sasanian siege of Hatra. Arab historical sources such as Al-Tabari, Al-Mas'udi, Ibn Husham and Ibn Khaldun, give conflicting information about the length of siege and how Shapur I (A.D. 240-272) entered the city. These historians took material from the earlier Arab poets: they speak of kings called Satrun and Dhaizan, and tend to romanticize events, although Al-Mas'udi records the alliance with Rome: see Appendix 2. Manichean text: Milik, 1972: 355.

(223) Ammianus Marcellinus, XXV, 539.

(224) Ainsworth, 1841: 1-20; Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 35.

(225) Ross, 1839: 443-475; Ainsworth, 1841: 1-20; Layard, 1852: 75; Andrae, vol. I, 1908 and vol. II, 1912; Bell, 1927, vol. I, 298-300 and vol. 2, 655.

(226) According to a document kept in the State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage (Survey Department) the site is located within the property owned officially by Mash'an Al-Faisal, the sheikh of Shammer. The sheikh himself in this document states that he relinquishes the site and its surrounding area (12,000 mishara = roughly 3000 hectares) to the State Organization of Antiquities, and the transference of ownership was carried out in the Government House at Mosul in 1954, Professor Fuad Safar was the representative of the State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage (File no. 3/ 35A).

(227) Al-Jamil, 1956: 217. Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 13.

MRY' [IV, VI (A.D. 128/ 9, IX, 33, 67, 82, 123, 140, 189, 194, 196, 197, 199, 232, 233, 266, 267, 272 (A.D. 138), 273, 274, 285, 288, 338 (A.D. 133)]. The problems connected with this title, meaning something like "lord", have been discussed in the previous section⁽²²⁸⁾. Six notables are known to have held it: NŠR-YHB, WRWD, NŠRW, M'NW, WLGŠ and SNTRWQ. The only dated texts are those of NŠRW (A.D. 128/ 9, 133, 138). But the fact that his father NŠR-YHB is stated to have held the title before him [VI, 272, 338] indicates firstly that the title already existed in the previous generation, say around A.D. 100, and secondly that a son could hold it after his father (although the texts do not specify if it passed directly from father to son, or if there were other holders of it in between). In this connection it will also be remembered that NŠRW's son SNTRWQ I held the title MLK', "king", and if this SNTRWQ is the same person as the SNTRWQ "maria" of [232], then this would be a second known instance of its passing from father to son. Whether the MRY' held religious or secular power or a combination of both, and whether the MRY' held supreme power at Hatra, are at present unknown. But it is interesting to note that NŠRW held other titles besides that of MRY': in [IV, IX] 'BY' RB' ("chief patrician") and 'PKL' RB' D SMS 'LH' ("chief priest of the god Šamaš"), in [67] 'PKL' RB' D 'LH' ("chief priest of the god") and in [IX] as well as [338] (dated A.D. 133) QŠYŠ' ("elder"). What this range of titles signifies is not clear; but it is noteworthy that NŠRW is usually given simply the title MRY' in the texts, and that there is a later parallel for the holding of political and religious posts together in SNTRWQ I (or II?), who was both MLK' ("king") and KMR' ("priest") [VII]. The title under discussion, MRY', should be distinguished from MR' [140], which will be treated shortly.

'BY' RB' ("chief patrician") [IV, IX]. This title appears on two inscriptions only, as a title of NŠRW "maria", whose floruit, as we have seen, fell in the 120 a and 130 s A.D. It was also held by Bakru, king of Edessa, in the third century A.D.⁽²²⁹⁾

'PKL' RB' ("chief priest") [IV, IX, 25, 67]. This post occurs in varying forms. In [25] it appears alone, where either NŠR-YHB or 'BD-ŠLM' (depending on which of them it refers to) is described as "chief priest" (only); if NŠR-YHB is meant, then it is interesting that he asks to be remembered before the deities MRN, MRTN, BRMRYN and B'LŠMYN, with whose cults his priesthood might possibly be connected. Elsewhere it occurs as titles of NŠRW "maria", whose floruit fell in the A.D. 120s and 130s, in the forms 'PKL' RB' D ŠMŠ 'LH' ("chief priest of the god Šamaš") [IV, IX] and 'PKL' RB' D 'LH' ("chief priest of the god") [67]. Safar supposed that NŠRW "maria" was the only "chief priest" at Hatra, and that his priesthood was the highest in the city⁽²³⁰⁾. But firstly, [25] tells us that another "chief priest" existed, and secondly, Safar has ignored the fact that NŠRW is "chief priest" only of "the god" [67] or of "the god Šamaš" [IV, IX]; so in fact the situation was not as he imagined.

QŠYŠ' ("elder", or "old") [I, II, IX, 202, 336, 338]. The word basically means "old", as it does, referring to the older inhabitants of Hatra, in the identical texts [I, 336] dated A.D. 151. But it can also be an honorific title, "elder", of which there are several examples. The earliest of these is the text of A.D. 133 in which NŠRW "maria" has it [338]. Two officials on [II] are called QŠŠ; here the term may have the special extra sense "steward". Lastly, an altar [202] the eighteenth collected under this number in Safar's catalogue, has the words "The altar of QŠYŠ"⁽²³¹⁾

RB' ("chief") [IV, 25, 56, 67, 110, 140, 231, 288]. This term is used in a variety of contexts. We have met it in the secular usage 'BY' RB' ("chief patrician") [IV IX] and the religious 'PKL' RB' ("chief priest") [IV, IX, 25,

(228) See above, p. 96, 99-100.

(229) See above, p. 101, n. 4; Segal, 1970: 43, n. 4.

(230) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 47.

(231) Note in [VIII] the occurrence of the name QŠ BRMRYN.

67] as titles of NŠRW “maria”, whose floruit fell in the 120s and 130s A.D.⁽²³²⁾, here the defining word comes first. Elsewhere, it sometimes occurs alone, as in [288] (dated A.D. 149) and [110]⁽²³³⁾. Or again, a phrase describing the area of responsibility may follow. Some of these are religious, such as the RB SMY’ (“chief of the standard”) [56], the standard being a common religious emblem at Hatra,⁽²³⁴⁾ or the RB QYNT’ (“chief of the singers”) [43, 202]. Other cases seem secular: on [231] occurs RB’ D (RB?), possibly “chief of the A (rabs)”⁽²³⁵⁾, while on [140] we read of a status erected to one KPY’, who bears the problematical title MR’, by his RB D ḤŠYHY (“chief of his guards”)⁽²³⁶⁾

RBYT’ (“steward”) [I, IV, 16, 60, 94, 109, 116, 144, 195, 218, 221, 223, 224, 251, 287, 336]. This name seems composed of the elements RB BYT’ (“master of the house”)⁽²³⁷⁾, hence “steward”. As with RB’, contexts vary. It first appears in the identical [I, 336] (A.D. 151), as RBYT’ alone. The son of a “steward” sometimes becomes a “steward” [144, 223, 224, 278]; and in [223] ŠMSY “the steward” is recorded as having had a son who became the “steward of (the god) BRMRYN. in the time of ‘BD-SMY’ the king. If [224] is taken in conjunction with the latter [223], they would appear to record two different stages in one man’s career: each is concerned with the erection by the steward ‘QB’ of a statue to ‘PRHT, doubtless the same man in each case, who in [224] is described simply as ‘PRHT “the steward”, but in [223] as RBYT’ DY ‘RB, “steward of the Arabs”. We shall now analyse the various kinds of RBYT’ in turn, according to the earliest occurrences of each in present knowledge.

RBYT’ (“steward”) [I, 60, 94, 116, 144, 218, 221, 251, 278, 336]. The two identical texts [I, 336], dated A.D. 151, which contain the earliest known instance of this title are of unusual interest: for ŠMS-BRK, the “steward” concerned, seems to have been agreed in some way to his position. The title was a fairly common one at Hatra. No other text in which it occurs alone is datable, unless perhaps for [221], if the ŠMS-YHB there is the one of [V] (A.D. 162), and [223], where ŠMSY “the steward” lived in the generation before ‘BD-SMY’ the king (reigning in A.D. 192/ 3). There are, as we have seen, several cases of both father and son holding the post [144, 224, 278] and one of a “steward” whose son became “steward of BRMYN, [223]⁽²³⁸⁾

RBYT’ D (Y) MRN (“steward of (the of god) MRN) [VI, 195]. This post is recorded in the spelling RBYT’ DY MRN in the time of king SNTRWQ II (reigning A.D. 176/ 7) [VI], and in the spelling RBYT’ D MRN in that of king SNTRWQ II (reigning in A.D. 238?) [195]. The post was presumably religious, as MRN (“our lord”) was one of the most important gods of Hatra.

RBYT’ D (Y) BRMRYN (“steward of (the god) BRMRYN”) [16(?), 109, 223, 224]. This position occurs in two texts datable to the period of king ‘BD-SMY’ (reigning A.D. 192/ 3) [223, 224]. It appears again in [109], and is perhaps to be restored in [16], where the god’s name is damaged but could begin with B and definitely ends with N, so that the only two alternatives are BRMRYN and B’ LŠMYN; in the light of the existence of a post RBYT’ D (Y) BRMRYN, and the absence of one of RBYT’ D(Y) B’ LŠMYN, in the known texts, it would seem most likely that this is a further example of RBYT’ D(Y) BRMRYN. This again is presumably a religious position, as BRMRYN (“The son of our lord”) was another of Hatra’s leading gods.

(232) See above, p. 108.

(233) In [110] the holder is SLWK (from Greek Seleukos), although he is the son of YMLK, an Arab name. SLWK has occurred 7 times: Safar and Mustafa, 1974: Index.

(234) On SMY’, see Caquot, 1955: 59–69; Downey, 1970.

(235) Cf. the title RBYT’ DY ‘RB [223], discussed below under RBYT’. In [231] this RB’ is mentioned before the king; this might have political significance. Cf. the Arabach at Dura-Europos: above, p. 98, n. 155.

(236) Note also the use of RB’ as a divine title (of the god SMS on [107]), paralleled later by the use of MLK’: see below, p. 110, n. 240.

(237) See above, p. 99.

(238) Note that in the Islamic sanctuaries of Iraq, to this day, it is normal for the stewardship of each sanctuary to remain in one family.

RBYT' DY 'RB ("steward of the Arabs") [223]. The one occurrence of this post falls in the time of king 'BD-SMY' (reigning A.D. 192/ 3), when a certain 'PRHT' held it. Neither its responsibilities, nor its relationship to the apparent post of RB' D ('RB?') just discussed, are clear⁽²³⁹⁾

SPR' ("scribe") [35, 215, 221, 289]. The only possibly datable text containing this term would be [221], if the carver ŠMS-YHB named on it is the same as the sculptor ŠMS-YHB of [V], dated A.D. 162. Its precise meaning is debatable. It may well have usually carried the normal sense of a person who wrote down texts, for instance on parchment or papyrus; and one of these [35] is described as the "scribe of (the god) BRMRYN", that is, presumably, an official who worked in the sanctuary of BRMRYN. But in at least one case [289], where ZBDY "the scribe" asks to be remembered together with BRNSR' "the sculptor", this particular juxtaposition of professions could imply that SPR' here means the man who carved inscription on stone.

MLK' ("king") [IV, VII, 21, 28, 36, 37, 79, 82, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 202, 203, 223, 229, 231, 277, 286, 287, 290, 333, 334, 341]⁽²⁴⁰⁾ Five individuals on Hatrene inscriptions have this title, namely 'TLW' [21], WLGŠ [193, 286], SNTRWQ I [IV, VII (?), 82, (A.D. 176/ 7), 139 (?), 194, 196-7, 198 (?), 199, 202 (?), 231, 287 (?), 333], 'BD-SMY' [36, 79, 195, 203, 223, 229, 277, 290 (A.D. 192/ 3), 333 (?), 341 (?), SNTRWQ II [VII (?), 28, 36, (A.D. 238), 37, 79, 139 (?), 195, 198 (?-possibly I), 202 (?-possibly I), 203, 229, 287 (?-possibly I), 333 (?), 334 (?), 341 (?). With each of the latter three a dated text is associated: [82] shows SNTRWQ I reigning in A.D. 176/ 7 and [290] his son 'BD-SMY' reignidg in A.D. 192/ 3, while [36] informs us that the daughter of SNTRWQ II, ŠPRY, was an adult in A.D. 238, without making it clear whether her father was still alive in that year. Many texts tell us that king SNTRWQ I was the son of NSRW "maria", that king 'BD-SMY' was the son of king SNTRWQ I, and that king SNTRWQ II was the son of king 'BD-SMY' (pl. 67); there is no actual evidence that 'BD-SMY' followed his father directly into the kingship, nor that SNTRWQ II followed 'BD-SMY' immediately, but the most natural assumption would be that this was how it came about. Most of these king, in some of their texts at least, have extra titles or epithets, as follows:

MLK' D(Y) 'RB ("king of the Arabs"). This title is held by WLGŠ in [193], by SNTRWQ I in [IV, 194, 196-7, 198 (if SNTRWQ I), 199, 231], by 'BD-SMY' in [195] (if it refers to him here rather than to SNTRWQ II), and by SNTRWQ II in [195] (if it refers to him and not to 'BD-SMY'), [198] (more likely SNTRWQ I), [203] (erected by his tutor).

MLK' D 'RBY' ("king of Arabaya", that is, "Arabia" or "the Arab lands")⁽²⁴¹⁾ This is seen once [287], in association with a king SNTRWQ, perhaps more likely to be SNTRWQ I as it is similar to the preceding title which often occurs after his name.

• ZKY' ("victorious"). This epithet is associated with king SNTRWQ I on [194] (following the phrase MLK' DY 'RB), and with king SNTRWQ II on [79, 203] (following MLK' DY 'RB), [229].

"Benefactor". This is the translation offered by Safar and Mustafa of the word following ZKY' ("victorious") on a text of SNTRWQ II [229]; the word itself, however, is hard to read, so it is difficult to check this suggestion⁽²⁴²⁾.

(239) There is no evidence for Safar's suggestions that the holder of this post was more important than the king, and responsible only for the nomad Arabs (Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 32, 47). Cf. the Arabarch at Dura: above, p. 97, n. 151

(240) To be distinguished from these secular, political uses of MLK' and its derivatives are the religious uses, where it denotes the kingdom and royalty of the gods. This is clearest in [79], which mention "the Eagle and his kingdom (MLKWTH)". In the identical texts [I, 336] dated A.D. 151 the phrase BMLK' DY 'LH' occurs, meaning perhaps "in the council of the god" Safar and Mustafa (1974) read MLK' as the word following the divine name B'LŠMYN in [16, 17].

(241) See above, p. 104-105.

(242) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: inscription [229].

WZDQ ("pious")⁽²⁴³⁾ This epithet is associated with a SNṬRWQ the son of king 'BD-SMY' on [333, 341]; this would lead one to suppose that king SNṬRWQ II is meant, but the title MLK' ("king") is lacking, so possibly they could date from before his assumption of the kingship. Together with these texts in the northern gate of Hatra [334] was found, where the same epithet is attached to a SNṬRWQ, presumably the same individual.

These titles and epithets may well have had some special political significance at Hatra. An analysis of them shows that 'TLW' had no extra titles. King WLGŠ had the title "king of the Arabs" on [193]. SNṬRWQ I was variously described as "king of the Arabs" (alone) [IV, 196-7, 198 (?), 199, 231], "king of the Arabs, victorious" [194], "king of 'RBY' (Arabaya, Arabia)" [287] (if this refers to him rather than to his grandson), and "priest [VII] (again, if SNṬRWQ I rather than II) King 'BD-SMY' (reigning A.D. 192/ 3) had the title "king of the Arabs" on [195], if the phrase here refers to him rather than his successor. SNṬRWQ II is called "king of 'RBY" on [287] (if this refers to him rather than SNṬRWQ I), "king of the Arabs" on [195] (if the phrase refers to him here), [198] (more likely SNṬRWQ I), and "king of the Arabs, victorious" on [203] (erected by his tutor); on [79] he is "victorious" alone, on [229] "victorious, and benefactor (?)", on [VII] "priest" (if this is not his grandfather), and apparently on [333, 334, 341] he is "pious" (before his accession?). A comparison of these titles and epithets creates the impression that the most powerful was SNṬRWQ I.

PSGR^B [28, 195], PSGRYB' [287], PZGR [36 (A.D. 238)]. This title's spelling varies, but the meaning is fairly sure. If [28, 287] are to be dated the period of SNṬRWQ I (reigning A.D. 176/ 7), then this title should be assigned to it. But these could belong to the time of SNṬRWQ II, as [195] certainly does, and [36] is dated to A.D. 238. The crown prince may have been given official duties, if the 'BD-SMY' who is ZNPT' ("chief of the army") on one inscription is one of the two princes of that name, one the son of king SNṬRWQ I and the other the son of SNṬRWQ II.⁽²⁴⁴⁾ The title was also known at Edessa.⁽²⁴⁵⁾

KMR' ("priest") [III (c.A.D. 195-205), VII, 5, 27, 34 (A.D. 235), 39, 51, 154, 279, 286 (period of WLGŠ the king)]. The earliest datable references to this post come in the period of the kings, with [III] (c.A.D. 195-205) carrying the earliest actual date, although [286] (period of WLGŠ the king) and [VII] (period of king SNṬRWQ I or II) might be earlier. The texts sometimes mention the priesthoods of specific deities: 'TR 'T' [5], BRMRYN [27], MR LH' (?) [51], and NRGWL [145]. It is noteworthy that king SNṬRWQ I or II is also called "priest" on [VII].

KMRT' ("priestess") [34 (A.D. 235)]. This post is mentioned once, late in Hatra's history; the occupant is MRTBW, priestess of ŠRBL (?). The text also mentions her son, so she was presumably married.

No texts concerning other posts have precise dates, although sometimes a rough date may be inferred from their content. These may perhaps be conveniently studied in two groups: those probably or definitely to be associated with the monarchy or royal household, and others.

MRBYN' ("tutor") [203]. The official involved here was tutor to SNṬRWQ II before he became king, and so the office must have existed by around A.D. 200.

MHYMN' ("confidant") [100, 139]. The second of these two texts [139] is the clearer: in its association of this post with royalty, it suggests that the position was a royal one, and if so, perhaps fairly influential. The statue concerned was of a grandson of SNṬRWQ I (reigning A.D. 176-7), so that [139] should date roughly to the earlier third century A.D.

(243) On its meaning ("pious", or "great"?) see Al-Salihi, 1980: 169.

(244) Al-Salihi, 1975: 186; *ibid.*, 1980: 177, pl. 33 (p. 178).

(245) Segal, 1970: 32.

NḤSRPT (“master of the hunt”) [112]. If the ŠPRY mentioned in this is the princess of [36], then the date of the latter, A.D. 238, would give an indication of the period of this one also, and once again suggest royal associations for the post. It is interesting to remember in this connection that many of the graffiti of Hatra represent hunting, for which the area may have been renowned (pls. 145–163).

BṬḤS (“chief of the army?”) [143]. This is an obscure term, interpreted by Safar and Mustafa to mean the chief of the army; if correctly so, then he must have taken orders from the king⁽²⁴⁶⁾

ZNPT (“chief of the army”). This word appears, together with the name ‘BD-SMY’, on the high relief of a beardless, bareheaded man found in the northern gate. The excavator translates this term “chief of the army”, and states his belief that the ‘BD-SMY’ shown is the son of SNTRWQ II mentioned in [195]⁽²⁴⁷⁾. There is, however, nothing in the relief or text to specify whether this is ‘BD-SMY’ the son of SNTRWQ I, ‘BD-SMY’ the son of SNTRWQ II, or simply a high official of this name⁽²⁴⁸⁾

DBḤ (“sacrificer”?) [164]. This obscure term is taken by Safar and Mustafa to mean the person responsible for the king’s temple offerings and animal sacrifices,⁽²⁴⁹⁾ certainly the king is mentioned in the text.

Other posts and titles mentioned in the texts of Hatra have no obvious connections with the monarchy, and these will now be discussed.

MR (“lord” or “master”) [140]. Qbr Ibn (or Abu) Naif (A.D. 137) (?)⁽²⁵⁰⁾. The name of this title or position is clearly derived from the same root as MRY (“lord”) and the divine name MRN (“our lord”). Its holder in the Hatrene text [140] is sufficiently important to have his own chief of guards, RB D ḤŠYHY, discussed above⁽²⁵¹⁾. The text from Qbr Ibn Naif is unfortunately damaged, and so it is not certain that the term appears here. It is noteworthy that the Hatrene MR, KPY, whose statue is the subject of [140], is the son of another MR, WLGŠ.

MQYM(W) B (“general collector of taxes”) [218]. Safar and Mustafa interpret these letters in this way⁽²⁵²⁾. Alternatively, they might perhaps be read as the common personal name MQYM (W), with an unidentifiable word following⁽²⁵³⁾, or possibly more plausibly, as the name MQYM followed by the element RB, either as the title discussed above, or as a part of a compound name including this element, formed on the lines of MQYM-ŠMŠ [60, 61].

ḤŠBN (“accountant”) [49]. This term occurs once; the man concerned is accountant of the temple of B’ŠMN (in this spelling).

DSHPT (“chief of guards”?) [295]. An obscure term in [295] is interpreted by Al-Salihi to mean the chief of guards⁽²⁵⁴⁾

RMW (?) (“archer”?) [150]. Another difficult term, RMW (?), is translated by Safar and Mustafa as “archer” (?).

QYNT (“singers”) [43, 202] (third altar). A group of singers, under a RB (“chief”), are mentioned twice; in each case the context is religious, so that these were probably temple performers.

(246) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: inscription [143].

(247) Al-Salihi, 1975: 186; *ibid.*, 1980: 177, pl. 33 (p. 178).

(248) The name ‘BD-SMY’ occurs elsewhere outside the royal family: e.g. [56].

(249) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: [164].

(250) Safar, 1961: 42, where he calls the site, incorrectly, Qbr Abu Naif.

(251) See above, p. 109.

(252) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: [218].

(253) MQYM (W) as a personal name: e.g., at Hatra, in [60, 61]; at Palmyra, very common.

(254) Al-Salihi, 1975: [295].

These, then, are the titles and posts that have appeared so far on inscriptions found in and around Hatra. What do they tell us, in conjunction with the rest the texts, about the development of its administration? In any study of this, the temptation to go beyond the evidence, which has already afflicted previous commentators, must obviously be avoided.

were probably temple performers.

ZMR' ("trumpeter") [219]. This term occurs once.

"Doctor" [92]. term on one inscription is translated by Safar and Mustafa as "doctor"⁽²⁵⁵⁾

The earliest evidence relevant to the administration of Hatra concerns the period around A.D. 100; This was a time when tribal activity was significant: in A.D. 97/ 8 the Taymu (TYMW) and Belaqb (BL'QB) tribes built a shrine to NRGI. at their own expense [214], as well as a tomb [293] in which a text [294] indicates that it was standing by A.D. 108. This was also the time when NSR-YHB held the title or position of MRY' ("lord"), a term whose precise meaning and status is unknown, although it is often taken to indicate the political ruler of Hatra; certainly, the family of NSR-YHB was well respected [VI]⁽²⁵⁶⁾

NSR-YHB's son NSRW is recorded as also being MRY' in inscriptions dated A.D. 128/ 9, 133 and 138⁽²⁵⁷⁾ These and other texts make it clear that NSRW was a person of distinction, for he held the titles 'BY' RB' ("chief patrician"), 'PKL' RB' D SMS ("chief priest of the god Samas"), 'PKL' RB' D 'LH' ("chief priest of the god") and (in A.D. 133) QSYS' ("elder") as well as MRY', a collection of titles rivalled only by those of the later kings SNTRWQ I and II, among which 'BY' RB' is so far unparalleled elsewhere at Hatra; and he was also the father of king SNTRWQ I. Four other "maria" are known, of unrecorded date (unless SNTRWQ "maria" is the same person as king SNTRWQ I, reigning in A.D. 176/ 7). The titles of NSRW "maria" also indicate that those of 'PKL' RB' ("chief priest") and QSYS' were current in his day.

In A.D. 149 T the term RB' ("chief") occurs alone [288], as it also does in [110]. Elsewhere this term is followed by a phrase specifying the area of responsibility, whether religious, as with the RB SMY' ("chief of the standard") [56] or RB QYNT' ("chief of the (religious) singers") [34, 202], or secular, as with the chiefs "of the Arabs (?)" and "of his guards"; but these are undated⁽²⁵⁸⁾

In A.D. 151 comes the earliest known record of the post of RBYT' ("steward") [I, 336]; the term is used alone here, and its occupant SMS-BRK, most interestingly, seems to have reached this position through some sort of agreement, and was clearly an influential person.

As with RB', the term may be used alone, or have a phrase following defining the sphere of activity, religious or secular. Some examples are datable from their content to the later period of the kings, and will be referred to there. Soon after there may have come the first occurrence of SPR' ("scribe")⁽²⁵⁹⁾

The earliest dated reference to a MLK' ("king") comes in a text of SNTRWQ I dated A.D. 176/7 [82]. There can be little doubt that the holder of this title was the supreme political ruler of Hatra. Two further dated references to "kings" occur, in A.D. 192/ 3 ('BD-SMY') [290] and A.D. 238 (SNTRWQ II, not necessarily still alive) [36]; two other kings are known of from undated texts, 'TLW [21] and WLGS [193, 286]. It will be remembered that king SNTRWQ I was the son of NSRW "maria", that king 'BD-SMY' was the son of king SNTRWQ I, that king SNTRWQ II was the son of king 'BD-SMY', and that the "crown prince" 'BD-SMY' (II)

(255) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: [92].

(256) NSR-YHB: see above, p. 100-101. MRY': see above, p. 96 and 108.

(257) NSRW: see above, p. 101,108.

(258) See above, p. 109.

(259) See above, p.109-110.

was the son of king SNTRWQ II: so some kind of system of inheritance was operating, although there is no proof that a king's son succeeded his father directly (pl. 67). Most of the kings have other titles and epithets besides that of MLK', and some of these doubtless had administrative significance. Thus MLK' D (Y) 'RB ("king of the Arabs") is held by WLGŠ [193], SNTRWQ I [IV, 194, 196-7, 198 (?), 199, 231], 'BD-SMY' (if [195] refers to him) and SNTRWQ II [195 (?), 198 (?), 203]. Either king SNTRWQ I or II is called MLK' D 'RBY' ("king of Arabaya/ Arabia/ Arab lands") on [287]: how this differs from the preceding in meaning, if at all, is unknown. Again, either SNTRWQ I or II is described as KMR' ("priest") on [VII]. It has often been assumed that "kingship" only existed at Hatra during the period of the datable references to "king", that is, in Hatra's final seven decades, or at the most from about A.D. 160 onwards⁽²⁶⁰⁾. This could have been more or less the case, but it should not be forgotten firstly that two undated kings ('TLW and WLGŠ) are known of, who could have ruled much earlier, and secondly that the administrative relationship between "kings" and other seemingly influential offices, such as "maria" and RBYT' ("steward"), are quite unknown. The impression that Hatra's latter decades were to some extent administratively different from before is, however, increased by a study of the other known posts from this era.

There is, to begin with, one title that disappears completely: 'BY' RB' ("chief patrician"), held by NSRW "maria" [IV, IX]. Secondly, there is a group of posts or titles for which the dated references belong to the first half of the second century A.D., but of which there are also undated mentions that could possibly be later: this comprises MRV' ("lord"), 'PKL' RB' ("chief priest") and QŠYŠ' ("elder"), as well as RB' ("chief"), which occurs on undated texts in such varied forms, with so many defining phrases following it, that it could well have lasted into the era of the "kings", and could even have undergone some development then. Next there is the office of RBYT' ("steward"), first heard of in A.D. 151 [I, 336] when ŠMŠ-BRK was somehow agreed to it which definitely continued, and developed, later: thus under king SNTRWQ I (reigning A.D. 176/ 7) an (obviously religious) RBYT' DY MRN ("steward of (the god) MRN") is first heard of [IV, 195] (and again under SNTRWQ II, [195]), while under king 'BD-SMY' we first learn of both the religious RBYT' D (Y) BRMRYN ("steward of the Arabs") [223]. Sometimes a son becomes a "steward" (not always of the same kind) after his father; and under king 'BD-SMY' (reigning A.D. 192/ 3) 'PRHT appears to hold the post simply of RBYT' at one time [224] and of RBYT' DY 'RB ("steward of the Arabs") at another [223].

But it is the apparent proliferation of new posts and titles that particularly marks off the period of the "kings" from those before it; and some of these, naturally, are connected with the monarchy. Thus PŠG RB(Y)

may first be recorded under SNTRWQ I, if [28, 287] refer to him rather than SNTRWQ II, under whom the position definitely existed [195]. KMR' ("priest") too appears under the "kings", with [III] (A.D. 195-205) carrying its earliest datable mention but [VII, 286] being possibly earlier; undated texts could of course antedate this period. It is noteworthy that king SNTRWQ I or II himself held it [VII]. The position of royal MRBYN' ("tutor") existed by about A.D. 200 [203], and of MHYMN' ("confidant") soon after [100, 139], while NHRPT ("master of the hunt") [112] appears seemingly very late indeed; DBH' ("sacrificer"?) [164] also has royal connections. KMRT' ("priestess") is recorded only in A.D. 235 [34].

Lastly, there is the group of titles or offices for which there are as yet no dated references; some at least, however, could well have belonged to the period of the "kings". These include the mysterious MR' ("lord" or "master") in [140] and possibly the text from Qbr Ibn Naif. Hatra's military organization, strong enough to resist the onslaughts of Trajan, Septimius Severus and Ardashir I, is seemingly reflected in the posts of BTHS' ("chief of the army"?) [143], ZNPT' ("chief of the army") on the high relief from the northern gate, ŠHPT' ("chief of guards"?) [295], and RMW (?) ("archer"?) [150]. Religious administration is represented by the RB QYNT' ("chief of singers") [43, 202] and the HŠBN' ("accountant") [49] of the temple of B'SMN. Finally, there is a ZMR' ("trumpeter") [219] and perhaps a doctor [92].

(260) Safar, 1972; Sa'far and Mustafa, 1974: 37.

This study of Hatrene administration, based on the texts found so far, has revealed that nothing definite can be said of the period before about A.D. 100, although, as we have seen, there are signs that Hatra may have been an example of a "dimorphic chiefdom"⁽²⁶¹⁾ From the late first century A.D., however, the series of inscriptions begins. The earlier texts feature the activity particularly of tribes and of MRY' ("lords"), at least one of whom was also "chief patrician" and "chief priest" of a god or gods, and father of a future "king"; but the political position of these MRY' remains unknown. From soon before or around the mid-second century A.D. the positions of RB' ("chief") and RBYT' ("steward") occur: these are of several kinds, and both religious and secular. Then in A.D. 176/7 we first hear of a "king", SNTRWQ I, and from this period onwards Hatra was clearly under the political control of monarchs, who had their own royal officials such as army chiefs, confidant, tutor, sacrificer and the like. Temple bureaucracies also seemingly burgeoned, with a new word for priest, stewards of particular gods, singers and an accountant. Thus in its last few decades Hatra clearly possessed a strongly centralized monarchy and a complex administration which reflected the power of its position in the contemporary world.

(b) Social structure

Our information on life and society at Hatra is sparse. This is due to the nature of the buildings, texts and art investigated so far.

Nevertheless some aspects of life are illuminated, which are sketched below.

The population, as is evident from nomenclature, was mainly Arab, with an Aramaic admixture; and there were, as we have seen, close connections between urban and nomad individuals and tribes⁽²⁶²⁾ Within Hatra, the buildings, artefacts and texts found so far generally reflect the lives only of the wealthy and powerful, the rulers, priests and aristocracy, whose concerns appear in the Aramaic texts and whose appearances are represented in Hatrene art. But a less wealthy population is attested as living within the walls of the city in the inscriptions concerned with the agreement of ŠMS-BRK in A.D. 151 [I, 336].

An awareness of lineage played an important role in Hatrene life. This has remained a characteristic of Arab society until today. Hatrene individuals are careful to trace their lineage in inscriptions, sometimes several generations back, and this has facilitated the reconstruction of the genealogies of several families (pls. 69-70). The length of these family trees is an indication of the social stability that clearly prevailed at Hatra.

Names of gods were often used as parts of the personal names of the inhabitants of Hatra. Examples include MRHWN [43], meaning "their lord", ŠWZNBL [143] "our god protects us"⁽²⁶³⁾, also 'BD-'SR [181], 'WD-'SR [204, 227], 'BD-'LH' [218, 272, 338], 'BD-'ŠMS' [145], and so on. This frequency of theophoric names indicates the importance of religion in Hatrene life; similar Semitic theophoric names were in use in other contemporary

(261) See above, p. 97-98.

(262) Urban-nomad connections: see above, p. 96-98. As regards the Arab majority in the Hatrene population, from personal observation of the inhabitants of the present village of Al-Hadhr (Hatra) and the surrounding area I have found that most of the Hatrene personal names mentioned in the Aramaic inscriptions (listed below) are still in use in the area, although often in a slightly transmuted form. The original Hatrene names in this list are given in capital letters; where this name continues in use unchanged, no Arabic equivalent is given, and where it continues in slightly changed form, this form is given, within brackets: 'DY [4] ('Aḏy, 'Aḏay), 'RS' D [161], GBR [177], GDY [107], ḤBYB [221], ḤRYS [129], RḤMNY [166, 170] (Raḥman), ZBDY [46, 106], ZYD-'LT [195] (Zaid), ŠDW [222] (Šado, Šaad), ŠDYM [85] (Šadam), 'BD [96], 'BD 'LH' [151, 218, 236, 272] (Abdalah, Abd Al-Ilah), 'BD-'GYLW [80, 141, 153, 167, 286] ('Ajl), 'BD-'MLK [103] (Abd Al-Malik), 'BYD' [248] ('Abyd), 'G' [5, 13, 48, 51 etc.] ('Aja), 'QB [49, 186, 235] ('Aqab), 'WD [127] ('Awad), MRHWN [43], M'N' or M'NW [12, 43, 79, 189, 230, 288] (Ma'an), MKY [146], NDR [93] (Nadir), NŠRW [33, 67, 82, 84, 194, 196, 197, 231, 250, 272-274] (Naṣr, Nasir), HNY [101] (Hani), WRWD [60, 102, 123, 144, 189, 210, 233, 261, 263, 267] (Ward, Wardy, Warda).

(263) Habeeb, 1973: 162.

(26) cities of the region, little evidence concerning social strata, particularly as regards the common population. Inscriptions mainly indicate to us the high social status of government officials or wealthy citizens, in other words of those who could afford the gifts and offerings to the temples. These offerings can be rich, as texts testify [107, 240–246]. A few inscription may show that some craftsmen and artisans have perhaps climbed the social ladder sufficiently to have been able to sign their works or have themselves commemorated in the temples. Their profession include those of carpenter [8] (and [6]?), smith [8, 77, 190] (and [6]?), shoemaker [212], fuller [13] and bleacher [283]. Among the more important professions were doubtless those of architect ('RDKL')⁽²⁶⁵⁾ and sculptor (GLP)⁽²⁶⁶⁾, for their work involved costly commissions. Inscriptions found in the northern gate of the city wall [336], in the southern iwans of the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha) [1, 106, 234] and in the tomb of the two tribes TYMW and BL 'QB [293] give us the names of several architects and sculptors (pl. 71). It seems that in Bait Alaha, two families of craftsmen were involved directly, the architect YHBSY, his architect son BRNNY and his grandchildren (mentioned in a text dated A.D. 151) who all became sculptors [1, 106, 234, 336] (pl. 71). Another architect is GGLY' [232]⁽²⁶⁷⁾; one son, SMS-YHB, became both an architect and a sculptor (and is mentioned in a dated text of A.D. 162), while another son became a sculptor [V, 232, 237]. It the architects, a new generation of stone carvers turned their skills to sculpture instead. Other architects were employed at Hatra, such as YHM-SMS [305], HBWS' [16], 'BN' [207], NBW [211], BRNY' [294], and 'STT [335], in addition to other sculptors like BRNSR' [289], SBZ [34] and HBYB [221]. Though there is no evidence to show the origin of these architects and sculptors, they have normal Hatrene names; Safar suggested they might have come from Assur, but there is nothing in their nomenclature to support this⁽²⁶⁸⁾.

A few inscriptions are unusual in shedding light on Hatrene law. Four are concerned with theft, for which the punishments are extreme [I, II, 281, 336]. [II] states that if anyone is caught stealing material from religious buildings, "let him die the death of the god" what that death was is not, unfortunately, revealed. [281] specifies stoning for theft from the shrine of the god BRMRYN. Two identical inscription [I, 336], dated A.D. 151, are even more interesting. They are again concerned with theft, but here there is a differentiation between the kinds of death penalty meted out to inhabitants of Hatra, who will die the death of the god, and to foreigners, who will die by stoning. These severe punishments for stealing at Hatra are also mentioned in literary sources. Bardaisan of Edessa states: "Law in Hatra: in Hatra there is the law that anyone who steals a trifle, if only water, is punished with stoning";⁽²⁶⁹⁾ later, the fourth-century Christian Greek writer Eusebius adds: "In Hatra the thief of a single obol will be stoned"⁽²⁷⁰⁾ Lastly, there is a despairing appeal to a variety of deities to punish the unknown murderer of a man's wife [30], where the secular authorities are ignored, presumably as they have failed; and a graffito [XI] seems concerned with religious ordinances on the killing of birds.

The texts also grant glimpses into such matters as the status of women. Thus several women are honoured with statuary (e.g. [30]), and princesses may be permitted the luxury of a friend [36, 37]. And the distress of the bereaved husband whose wife had been murdered is eloquent testimony to the status she had certainly had in his eyes at least [30]

(264) Perking, 1973; Colledge, 1976.

(265) This word continued to be used in the Islamic period for a good builder or architect, particularly at Mosul (Jawad, 1969: Sumer, Vol. 25, p. 165).

(266) GLP is more likely derived from ancient Arabic term means "to polish" since it is still in use at present (Ibn Manzur, Vol. 9, 30–32. The same term was used in Palmyrene Aramaic, in the from GLWP. (Colledge, 1976; 20, n. 17). This term is also found in Greek

(267) M.A.R. Colledge questioned whether the reading of this name ought not to be 'GLY', as there are several names of this general form in use at Hatra, Palmyra and elsewhere in the area; but the reading GGLY' seems clear.

(268) Safar, 1962: 26.

(269) In the Syriac "Book of the law of countries" attributed to him, written possibly in the second century A.D.: see Drijvers, 1965: 47.

(270) Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, ed. Mras, p. 339 lines 12–13; Degen, 1977, 487. Obol (os): small Greek coin.

Hatrene costume, as shown in art, also contributes to our picture of society. Garments and decoration vary considerably, and it is beyond the scope of the present work to discuss them in detail. Suffice it to say here, therefore, that in the main male figures are represented normally in Parthian, but sometimes in Greek or Arab, dress, and females usually in the complex regional garb also seen at Dura-Europos, Palmyra and elsewhere, that seems ultimately based on the Greek tunic and cloak⁽²⁷¹⁾ Thus Hatrene costume reflects both the strata of its society, and its political and cultural position in the area.

Architecture

The overall plan of Hatra is quite clear. The city is defended by two main walls enclosing the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha) and the dwelling area as well as the tombs. The aerial photograph of the city (pl. 72), and the map drawn by W Andrae (pl. 73)⁽²⁷²⁾ provide us with details of the main streets leading to the Bait Alaha and the centre of the populated area. The excavations which have been undertaken in the city since 1951 by the Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage have provided us with more information about the planning of the religious buildings in the Bait Alaha, together with the small shrines, the tombs and the dwelling area; the defence system in the northern and eastern gates of the city wall has also been thoroughly investigated⁽²⁷³⁾ The following description of the city will deal in turn with the plan, city walls, gates, main sanctuary (Bait Alaha), dwelling area, small shrines and tombs.

(a) The plan

The actual choice of the site for building the city of Hatra depended on a number of factors which made it more suitable than any other location within the region.

Hatra is surrounded by an open area. To the east and south-east of the city there is reddish muddy soil, as the writer has observed. On the west there is sand, and to the north are wadis leading to the Wadi Tharthar. These areas are flanked also by lower-lying ones, particularly on the west and south (pls. 55, 57).

The area enclosed by the walls of Hatra is mostly flat, especially in the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha) and the immediately surrounding area, all of which lies between the 185–200m. contour line (pls. 57, 74). This area is enclosed by three great depressions, except for the west side (pl. 74). The contour map (pls. 57, 74) shows that the areas immediately inside the city are somewhat higher than those outside the walls. The ground rises gradually when the city, and is at its highest level at the 220–230m. contour line.

This topographical feature has given an advantage to the city in that the rain water collects in these depressions which might in antiquity have served as reservoirs. This water at the present day serves the needs of the modern population of the village of Al-Hadhr (Hatra) together with their animals, as already mentioned⁽²⁷⁴⁾ Very probably these natural reservoirs provided the wells within the city with their water.

(271) Al-Jundi, 1972; Perkins, 1973: 33–113; Colledge, 1976: 145–153; Colledge, 1977: 133–135.

(272) W. Andrae and members of his German archaeological expedition at Assur visited Hatra for short periods during the years 1906–1911, surveying and photographing its ruins. Two volumes were published, in 1908 ("Hatra", vol. I, WDOG, 9) and 1912 ("Hatra", vol. II, WDOG, 21). They became the main reference works for later archaeological exploration in the city.

(273) Excavation at Hatra by the Iraqi Department of Antiquities (now the State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage) started in 1951, and continued until 1955, revealing important new finds of the Parthian period (Sumer, 1951, 40; Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 12). During the first season the excavation was carried out four points in different parts of the ruins. Area i, north-west of the Bait Alaha, was the highest mound investigated: five building levels were found, but with no significant finds (Safar, 1952: 171). In Area ii, south-west of Bait Alaha, excavation began with some small shrines, and then moved to Bait Alaha. In recent years excavation has been carried out in two gates of the city wall and in the tombs; these will be discussed later.

(274) See above, p. 91.

The contour map (pls 57, 74) shows, that the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha) situated nearly at the centre of the city, and the north-west part of the wall, are almost entirely within the contour lines 158-200m, while the other parts of the wall lay within the contour line 200m. Clearly a close relationship existed between the layout of the city and the local topography, and this suggests that the latter strongly influenced those responsible for planning the city walls of Hatra. The siting of the city has resulted from the following of a certain contour line (200m), and the avoiding of the lower area at a level of 180m, which lay mostly outside the city to the north and south-east. This suggests that the Hatrenes were very familiar with local topography. The dotted line on pl. 74 indicates where the circumference of a circle, drawn from the centre of the main sanctuary as its central point, would have gone: the way the actual wall runs, however, shows an expert use of contour lines, to create a roughly circular enclosure.

As regards city plans, there are many examples of Hellenistic cities in Mesopotamia, Syria and Asia Minor whose layouts are either rectangular or irregular, as at Seleucia on the Tigris (pl. 75), Charax (pl. 75), Dura-Europos (pl. 77), Antioch on the Orontes (pl. 78a), and also Alexandria in Egypt (pl. 78b), as well, later, as Syrian plamyra (pl. 79). The street plans of these cities were based on those of Greece: the scheme involved the organization of the city into rectangular blocks, with the streets crossing each other at right angles and a principal street leading to the main market square.

The essentially rectangular layouts of these cities differ radically from the circular plan which occurs in Syria, Mesopotamia and Iran in various periods, including the Parthian. This phenomenon was discussed by Cresswell, who gives examples of nine circular cities dated to the pre-Islamic period⁽²⁷⁵⁾. Among these are Zincirli in northern Syria from the eighth century B.C., Abra to the east of Nisibis, Ecbatana (Hamadan) in Iran dated to the seventh century B.C., Greek Mantinea (371 B.C.), Ctesiphon, Hatra and the Sasanian cities of Shiz (Thakht-i Sulaiman) and Darabgerd. He pointed out that a circular fortification needs less walling than a rectangular one surrounding an equivalent area, and is easier to defend. Various suggestions have been offered concerning its origin. Cresswell concluded that Assyrian military camp plans were especially influential⁽²⁷⁶⁾. Ghirshman refers to the circular plan of the Parthian towns built as military camps on their western frontier, and adds that the camp of Ctesiphon, which was planned by the Parthians, was "based on a compromise between the Greco-Semitic commercial aristocracy and the Arsacids"⁽²⁷⁷⁾. Reuther indicated that the plan of Hatra was not peculiar to the Parthian period, and he stated also that this plan in no way conforms to the "Greco-Hippodamian" cities such as Seleucia on the Tigris, but he suggested that the plan originated in the tent of its earliest population⁽²⁷⁸⁾. As regards Hatra, however, we have already seen that the defences were arranged according to topography⁽²⁷⁹⁾ and the comparative circularity of its walls would have facilitated defence.

(b) The walls

The city is enclosed by two walls, roughly circular in plan, termed the "outer" and "inner" walls. We have already seen how the line of the walls follows the 200m. contour line⁽²⁸⁰⁾. A glance at the plan (pl. 74) will show that if a pure circle had been adopted, which would have been the most economical solution, its line would have crossed lower ground. This would have been disadvantageous in at least two ways: firstly, an enemy could have

(275) Cresswell, 1960: 18; points reiterated by Colledge, 1977: 34-35.

(276) Cresswell, 1960: 18.

(277) Ghirshman, 1962: 34.

(278) Reuther, 1964: 42-44.

(279) See above, p. 117-118.

(280) See above, p. 118.

positioned himself on ground higher than the wall itself, and secondly, water, which tends to collect in these lower areas, could have undermined the structures.

The outer wall (pl. 73). This is 8km. long, and encloses a roughly circular area 3km. in diameter. Nothing remains above the surface from the north-west section. There is no evidence either to date this wall or to determine its relationship with the main inner wall. Safar and Mustafa mentioned that this wall is made of earth, but they were not sure if it was a wall proper or a circumvallation, made by enemies who besieged the city⁽²⁸¹⁾. Al-Salihi pointed out that it was made of earth and added: "This circumvallation, some think, should be attributed to Shapur I, the besieging Sasanian king"⁽²⁸²⁾. Al-Salihi, in a recent article, claimed that he investigated an area 10 × 5m. in this wall, and found that it was made of earth on a foundation of uncut limestone, adding that there is no archaeological evidence to indicate either that this wall was made by Shapur I the Sasanian king during his siege of Hatra, or that it was erected by the Hatrenes themselves to make attack more difficult⁽²⁸³⁾. Two soundings in the north and north-east parts of this wall undertaken by the writer in the spring of 1978 disclosed that the wall is indeed made of earth, but without any special foundation, and that furthermore, most significantly, the earth of the wall itself was taken from within the enclosed area of the inner side of the wall, which surely suggests that the wall was built by the Hatrenes themselves⁽²⁸⁴⁾. Had it been made by Roman or Sasanian attackers, they would have most likely taken the earth for it from their side of the barricade, that is, the outside which is not the case.

The area between the two walls is some 500m. wide and was not occupied, except for the erection of two towers (pl. 73B, B) which are still standing, one to the east of the eastern gate (pl. 80a), and the second to the north of the northern gate, each built of cut limestone in two stories. The purpose of these two buildings is not clear at present but their location on the same contour line (200m) which is associated with the main wall (pl. 74) may suggest that they served as watch towers.

The inner wall (Pl. 73). The inner (or main) wall is 6km. long, and encloses a rough circle about 2 km. in diameter. Large-scale excavations were undertaken in the north part of this wall, covering an area 180 × 45m., which contained the ditch, the wall and the gate⁽²⁸⁵⁾. These have given a reasonably clear picture of the fortifications at Hatra.

The inner wall is surrounded by a ditch, and itself consists of two walls. The outer of these is 3.10m. to 3.50m. wide and is preserved up to a height of 3-4 m. In it are set 163 small rectangular towers (mostly solid, but sometimes hollow)⁽²⁸⁶⁾, 28 large towers situated principally near the main gates (all solid), and a further number of even larger fort-like towers (some solid, and some with traces of rooms)⁽²⁸⁷⁾. The inner of these two walls which form the "inner wall" is 11.90m. behind the outer. It is of mudbrick and 2.85m. thick, and it also was supported by smaller towers. The author investigated one of these and found it to be solid, with its lower part of cut limestone, while the upper was of mudbrick (pl. 80b).

Among the towers of the outer part of the "inner wall", some are particularly tall and wide. A study of the arrangement of these tall towers reveals some interesting interrelationships between them. Firstly (Pl. 81), if lines

(281) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 22.

(282) Al-Salihi, 1973: 9.

(283) Al-Salihi, 1980: 168.

(284) These soundings are marked on Pl. 69, close to the words "OUTER WALL"

(285) Al-Salihi, 1980: 158.

(286) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 22.

(287) The early Arab geographer and historian Al-Hamadani mentions (p. 129) that in the wall of Hatra there were 60 large towers, and 9 smaller towers between each two large ones.

are drawn from a central point in the court of the main sanctuary, they reach the tall towers of the inner city wall, and also the two outside the northern and eastern gates as well, without crossing any tall building. Secondly (Pl. 82), a tower (F) was constructed just to the east of the main sanctuary which itself stood on high ground:⁽²⁸⁸⁾ again, if lines are drawn from this to those of the wall and beyond, no high buildings (or tombs) interrupt them, so that it is evident that from the top of Tower F, the tops of all these other towers would have been visible. Furthermore (pl. 83), if lines are drawn between all the high towers of the inner wall and the two towers outside, no high buildings stand in the way; and as the two towers beyond the wall are on the same 200m. contour line as the wall itself (with lower ground between), it is obvious once rest. So it would have been simple to exchange signals between these towers. The height and positioning of these towers, therefore, reveal much concerning Hatrene defence planning, the ingenuity of which doubtless had much to do with their repulsion of attacks by Romans and Sasanians⁽²⁸⁹⁾

The ditch (Pls. 73, 84a). The main wall is enclosed by a ditch (or moat?). The only section yet excavated is one by the northern gate Here the ditch was 8m. wide and 4m. deep, above a rocky level⁽²⁹⁰⁾ The side of the ditch closest to the wall is vertical and was built of limestone, including some column drums (pl. 84) which may have been carried there from another place. Substantial buttresses, 2.50m. wide at the base and 2m. wide at the top, were constructed to support the masonry of the ditch. The inner walled face of the ditch lies immediately beneath at least one large tower (pl. 84a).

A bridge was built over the ditch, slightly to the west of the northern gate (pl. 85a). It consisted of an arch resting on two piers. The bridge led, on its inner side, into a passage flanked by two rooms, each 2.10 × 3.20m., immediately in front of a small tower in the wall. The pedestrian, after crossing the bridge, had to turn left and walk a distance before crossing the bridge, had to turn left and walk a distance before reaching the entrance of the northern gate on his right.

It is to be noted that the ditch curves round the outermost structures of the wall and gates, and so cannot be earlier than these.

The northern gate (Pls. 58, 86). There are four gates set into the main wall of Hatra, one roughly at each point of the compass. The northern and eastern gates have been excavated. The northern was dug in 1952; later, further excavation of this, and part of the wall, took place⁽²⁹¹⁾

The northern gate, which extends between the ditch and the main wall, projects 7.55m. forward from the latter. Its outer entrance faces west, towards where the bridge stood; this entrance is 3.60m. wide and is flanked by two buttresses. It led into a hall measuring 4.50m. × 4.10m. On the left (north) side of this, as one goes in, is the niche added after the original construction, where a statue of Heracles was discovered⁽²⁹²⁾ On the east side is another niche, similarly added later than the original building, termed the "eagle niche", which contained the relief of an eagle with an inscription [336] beneath bearing the date A.D. 151⁽²⁹³⁾ This text reveals that the gate was standing by this year; and as the niche was inserted into a pre-existing structure, that structure could have originally been built some time earlier. The entrance passage then bends to the right, leading south towards a hall 8.62m. × 8.32m. ending in a second doorway (termed by the excavator "the first entrance") 3.80m. wide. The excavator mentioned that the debris found in this area indicates that this doorway was arched

(288) The highest buildings in the main sanctuary are the iwan groups, estimated by Safar and Mustafa (1974: 330) as having originally been about 23m. high. For the siting of Tower F, see *ibid.*, pl. 331 (on far left).

(289) For a possible indication of a date for the inner wall, see below, p. 121.

(290) Al-Salihi, 1980: 166.

(291) Fukai, 1960: 142; Salman, 1969: p. "e"; Postgate, 1972: 141-2 Al-Salihi, 1972: 19; *ibid.*, 1980: 158-189.

(292) Al-Salihi, 1980: 163.

(293) Al-Salihi, 1980: 160. [336] is identical to eastern gate text [I].

with uncut limestone and plastered with mortar. He added that the relief of a reclining male was found there; as a lintel inscription [335] was found nearby mentioning a NSRW, he suggested that perhaps the relief represented NSRW "maria", who could have been responsible for undertaking the restorations of the arch and other parts⁽²⁹⁴⁾ but this is to go far beyond the evidence, as firstly the text mentions only a NSRW, not NSRW "maria",⁽²⁹⁵⁾ and secondly there is in any case nothing to indicate that text and relief belong together. This doorway is flanked by two elongated towers. The eastern is 7.50m. × 1.50m., and the western is 7.50m. × 2m.; each has its doorway on the south, while a vertical window, which is narrow on the outside and wider inside, is placed on its northern facade. Beyond this unit (the gateway and the flanking towers) is a hall, after which comes a passageway linking the areas between the main and the inner enclosure. Most parts of the walls and floors in this area show traces of a severe fire: the limestone and stucco had been burned to a reddish colour, perhaps during the final Sasanian assault in A.D. 241 (pl. 89a). At the end of this hall is the last doorway leading to the city, flanked by two elongated towers (pls. 86, 87a). The eastern is 4m. × 5.40m., and the western is 4.50m. × 3m. They are built of cut limestone and mortar, and are defended by arrow-slits (which the excavator describes as pyramidal windows)⁽²⁹⁶⁾ Those in the walls facing the hall are double (pl. 87b), 86cm. wide on the inside, 35cm. high and 10cm. wide on the outside, while the remainder are single arrow-slits, 35cm. wide on the inside and 53cm. high, and 10cm. wide on the outside (pl. 88). In the debris around this doorway and its flanking towers an inscription [334] was found, mentioning SNTRWQ "the pious" (WZDQ): this was taken by the excavator to refer to king SNTRWQ II, when he regarded as the builder of this part⁽²⁹⁷⁾ but as we have seen SNTRWQ "the pious" in this text is not necessarily the same individual as the king of that name⁽²⁹⁸⁾, and as the text was not found in situ, it is not clear what this personage did indeed build. This unit, smaller and lower than the main section, might in fact have preceded it. Archaeological evidence that the last unit of the northern gate originally adjoined a wall, that had been demolished and replaced by another wall built just to the south of it (pl. 89b) this then became the inner enclosure.

Of the two gates excavated (the northern and eastern) the northern is by far the larger. This could well reflect its considerable importance, as through it passed a roadway (visible from the air, pl. 56), which led most directly to the Wadi Tharthar. Furthermore, on the Wadi Tharthar itself, a bridge was built where this particular road (and no other) met it. This road was clearly the main approach to Hatra from the north or east. The greater importance of the northern gate could also have resulted in the fact that it shows signs of burning (from the final sack of Hatra?), whereas the eastern does not.

The city wall in this area was buttressed by large and small towers (pl. 86). The archaeological record shows the large towers to have been added to the wall rather than into it, as was the case with the small towers; it is clear, therefore, as in the eastern gate area as well, that they are a later addition to the defences⁽²⁹⁹⁾

The eastern gate (pls. 90-93). Excavations undertaken in this part of the city wall unearthed the gate, wall and an architectural unit which consisted of a number of rooms built on to the inner side of the wall. The ditch and the bridge in this area are still unexcavated³⁰⁰⁾

(294) Al-Salihi, 1980: 159, 169.

(295) But see below, p. 201: the eastern gate has a similar lintel text [IX] definitely of NSRW "maria"

(296) Al-Salihi, 1980: 161.

(297) Al-Salihi, 1980: 161.

(298) See above, p. 110-111.

(299) Al-Salihi, 1980: 165, 178-9: he believes the builder of the large tower near the northern gate to have been king SNTRWQ I (ibid., 178-9), as a relief found in the ditch in front has the words SNTRWQ MLK' either side of the (damaged) figure's head (ibid., pl. 35), and another relief found there to represent 'BD-SMY' the crown prince, although the male figure there is accompanied only by the text 'BD-SMY' ZNPT' ("chief of the army"). But which SNTRWQ was involved, whether this 'BD-SMY' is the crown prince of that name, and whether they were in fact connected with the building of this tower, are all uncertain.

(300) Excavations started in spring 1979; the writer was able to take part for a week.

The outer entrance of the gate is 3.62m. wide and faces south. It is flanked by strong buttresses. Within there is a rectangular hall measuring 13.40m. × 4.78m. On the east side is the niche, apparently added after the original building of the gate, where a statue of Heracles was found; both niche and statue were similar to those found in the northern gate. Additional work of poor quality seems to have been executed later. The entrance hall terminates 4.60m. from the entrance. Immediately adjoining this on the west is another hall, 4.70m × 12.50m. On the south side is a tall niche 1.68m. high, added later than the original construction, containing the relief of an eagle standing on a base bearing an Aramaic inscription [I] (pl. 92b) text [II] was found on the right hand side of the same niche. [I] is the same as [336] on the northern gate, and is dated A.D. 151; both it and [II] are remarkable for containing legal matter laws against theft and the placing of two of these here might suggest that the gates of Hatra were used to warn the public as well as defend it. The hall ends with a doorway (pl. 93a) 4.50m. wide, leading to the city; its lintel, found in two parts, had an Aramaic text whose beginning is damaged [IX], but which is definitely concerned with building activity apparently by NṢRW "maria", who is named in the text with the title 'BY' RB' (chief patrician") and 'PKL' RB' DY ŠMS' LH'

This lintel text [IX] is of the greatest importance, because it may illuminate considerably the development of Hatra's defences. Here in the eastern gate the main hall with its flanking elongated towers could be earlier than the projecting (eastern) section; and in addition, the ditch curves round to accommodate this furthest eastern part, and so cannot be earlier than it. NṢRW "maria", it will be recalled, is mentioned in texts dated A.D. 128/ 9, 133 and 138 [IV, 338, 272]. If he built the main central section, as this lintel [IX] strongly indicates, then the outer eastern section must have been added by A.D. 151, as [I], from the eagle niche there, tells us; and at the same time, or later, the ditch would have been dug.

This lintel [IX] also has further implications. For the main section of the gateway, that built by NṢRW "maria", is integrated into the outer of the two walls that make up the city "inner wall": and so it could well have been that NṢRW "maria" built the whole of this wall as well. Now this wall, of course, runs round to the northern gate, and here it is integrated into the main hall in a very similar way. It will be recalled that another text [335] mentioning a NṢRW was in fact found in the northern gate, again on the lintel from the doorway leading to the city: although it does not specify NṢRW "maria", yet certain correspondences in terminology with the eastern gate lintel text [IX] would seem to suggest that NṢRW "maria" could be meant here too. In that case, he could have built the main central section of the northern gate also. But the northern gate gives us further information about the relationships between the various parts of the defences. Firstly, it has a similar jutting portion (here to the north) to that on the eastern gate. Secondly, it again has a text dated A.D. 151 [336], but here on a niche set later against one wall of the main section. Thirdly, it again has the ditch running round the projecting portion. But finally, the northern gate, as well as this main section integrated into the outer wall of the city "inner wall", also possesses a stretch of the inner wall of this double defence, together with a gate, which is planned like the main section perhaps built by NṢRW "maria", but which is both slightly smaller and on slightly lower ground, which could indicate, as they are up to a weaker structure, that this wall and gate preceded the main section, which could have been built in front of it later as an improvement⁽³⁰¹⁾.

The plan of the eastern gate is simpler than that of the northern. There are no remains in this area of the inner wall of the double city "inner wall". There are no arrowslits in the rooms flanking the inner entrance, and no evidence of fire or destruction, as seen in the northern gate. All this may indicate the lesser importance of this gate as compared with the northern.

(301) One could speculate, for instance, that the improved wall and gates of NṢRW "maria" were built after the experience of the siege by the Roman emperor Trajan in A.D. 116, as the need for stronger defences was felt.

Against the city wall on the south side of the eastern gate is a series of rectangular rooms, built of mudbrick with plaster mortar, which could have functioned as guard houses (pl. 91b). In this sector of the wall, as around the northern gate, there are large towers which were added to the pre-existing wall.

(c) The main sanctuary (Bait Alaha)

The main sanctuary was called by the Hatrenes BYT 'LH' (Bait Alaha, "the house of the god" [272] and HYKL' RB' ("chief temple") [107] (pls. 59, 94 b, 95)⁽³⁰²⁾ It is situated approximately at the centre of the city.

The earlier levels and phases have as yet not been much investigated. It will be recalled that Safar made some soundings, as did the author. The author penetrated down to virgin soil, above which was a layer of ash, then one of rough rubble constructions, and then several of mud-brick walls; Safar found mud-brick buildings, and reported the discovery of fluted column drums re-used as filling material (together with pottery) in the iwan group's walls⁽³⁰³⁾ The sanctuary is best known, however, in its latest phase, when most of the buildings were of cut limestone with a rubble and mortar core.

Walls (pl. 59). The rectangular walls which run right round the sanctuary have on their outer face, in their latest phase, a series of rectangular buttresses; but there are traces of earlier semicircular buttresses just south of the eastern gate (pl. 96a,b)⁽³⁰⁴⁾ The following measurements were taken by Safar and Mustafa on the inner side: northern wall 435m., eastern 321.50m., southern 438m., and western 310m. Eleven gates gave access to the Bait Alaha. Three of these comprise the main gates in the eastern section, the central of which is called "N"; between and flanking these gates are rectangular rooms projecting from the wall itself. A little to the east of these gates stands Tower "F" The north, west and south walls also contained entrances (M); but these were less imposing than those on the east, which perhaps constituted the main entrance.

The sanctuary area was divided by a wall into two parts, the court and sanctuary. The sanctuary was itself divided by a wall which was termed the "dividing wall" by Safar⁽³⁰⁵⁾; its subdivisions are referred to as "northern" and "southern"

The court (pl. 59).

Of the two main divisions of the sanctuary, the court is the larger. In it are the alleged "temple of MRN (Maran, "our lord")" (E), the so-called "Ablution temple" (I), and the "temple of 'LT (Allat)" (B). There is also the foundation of a building (J) situated to the east of the temple E ("of MRN"), but too far from it to have been its altar. A series of porticoes stood on the south and east, and also, on the west, between a gate leading into the sanctuary and the southern wall of the Bait Alaha. In addition, a few piers are to be seen at the northern end of the court; they may have formed part of portico or series of porticoes. Safar and Mustafa suggested that these porticoes may have had a wooden roof, and they added that at they might have been used by the servants of the temples or by the guards⁽³⁰⁶⁾. The inclusion of porticoes in the courtyards of shrines in modern Iraq, used for rest during the day, might suggest that the porticoes in the Bait Alaha at Hatra were similarly utilized by visitors to the shrines.

(302) Safar, 1962: 29; Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 327.

(303) See above, p. 92-95; Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 18, 331.

(304) Salman, 1970, p. 'f'; Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 327.

(305) Safar, 1962: 10.

(306) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 327. We might add that if these roofs were indeed of wood, the material would have had to be imported from a considerable distance, as the whole region round Hatra is treeless

Two main gates led from the court to the sanctuary: the first (L) is located to the north, and the second (K) to the south, of the temple E ("of MRN"). Each consists of three entrances, the central being wider and higher than the two flanking it.

The sanctuary is divided into two parts, northern and southern, as already mentioned (pl. 59). It contains the following buildings: the series of iwans (vaulted and open-fronted halls) (G), the square temple (H), the "temple of Shahru" (D), the "temple of the Samia" (C), the "temple of the Trinity" (A), in addition to porticoes on the north and south sides.

Iwan groups (pls. 59, 97a).

One interesting aspect of the buildings of the Bait Alaha is their inclusion of a number of examples of the architectural unit known as the iwan. Indeed, the principal buildings of the sanctuary of Bait Alaha, in their final phase, consisted of a series of no fewer than eight huge limestone iwans standing in line (pl. 97a), but divided into three groups: the northern (pl. 97b), the southern, and a third group (a pair, to the north) characterized by the decorative use of calves heads (pl. 98a)⁽³⁰⁷⁾ Both the northern and southern iwan groups have the same design of three iwans, the central being wide and high while the flanking iwans are smaller and have rooms over them, so that they are brought up to the same height as the central iwan. The third group consists of two oblong iwans with one room placed behind them. The facade of each iwan is flanked by two engaged semicircular columns with capitals in the Composite order (pl. 98a); each iwan had an arch ornamented with relief figures, like the spaces between the arches. At the far end of each iwan are the remains of what seems to be a marble altar (pl. 98b).

Safar and Mustafa suggested that the north and south iwan groups were built in two stages⁽³⁰⁸⁾ The masonry of the lower courses up to a height of 4.70m. is quite different from that of the upper portions. Furthermore, it will be recalled that the name WRWD is inscribed on the lower part of the walls, and NSRW on the upper: these might refer to the "maria" of the names⁽³⁰⁹⁾ Inscription [106] from the south iwan does in fact make it plain that three generations of architects, all from the same family, worked on this iwan (pl. 71), which lends some support to the suggestion of Safar and Mustafa.

The third group of iwan is clearly a distinct unit. Their walls are clearly separate from those of the northern (and the adjoining southern) iwans. But whether this group is earlier or later than the northern and southern iwans we cannot say; they may even have been contemporary with each other. What can be said, however, is that architecturally the third group is distinct in its design from the northern and southern iwans.

Temple E ("OF MRN") (pls. 99, 100) This temple was dubbed "the Hellenistic temple" by Al-Salihi and Safar, because of its architectural type.⁽³¹⁰⁾ Its frequent attribution to MRN depends entirely on inscriptions [147-188] which were found on the floor of the temple: these mention the god's name in such a way as to make the attribution virtually certain, although decisive evidence is lacking.

The temple is situated between the two gates K and L. It consists of a rectangular hall, 9.08 × 6.09m., surrounded by a peristyle of 24 Ionic columns on square bases, on a podium 10.35 × 13.85m. The cella doorway faces east and is approached by eight steps. There were alleged to be the remains of an altar at the back of the

(307) This group is termed "the temple of Mithra" by Safar and Mustafa (1974, 331), but wrongly: Drijvers (1978: 151-186) showed Mithra was not worshipped at Hatra.

(308) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 331

(309) See above, p. 101

(310) Safar, 1962: 4; Al-Salihi, 1973: 13.

cella⁽³¹¹⁾: if so this would be an eastern, not a Mediterranean feature. The cella and peristyle are themselves surrounded by a further peristyle of 25 columns standing at ground level; these are thicker, and their capitals are of the Composite order. Both rows of columns probably reached the same height, although not enough survives for certainty; what does survive has been very heavily restored. Around the outside of the cella walls, except on the east, are nine niches which were added later to house Roman statues of deities in Mediterranean marble which were found lying close by; Poseidon, Eros, Apollo and Hermes have been recognized⁽³¹²⁾

What date or dates should be attached to this temple? Al-Salihi and Safar and Mustafa suggested that there were two principal stages in the construction of this temple, the earlier part being the cella and the surrounding Ionic columns on the podium, which they dated to the second century B.C. (pre-Parthian period), and the second stage consisting of the outer row of Composite columns added in the Parthian era⁽³¹³⁾. But although it does seem that there were two phases of building, these dates must be too early. The design of the original cella and Ionic peristyle on its high podium, approached from the front, is a Roman one, introduced to the Roman near east from the time of the first Roman emperor Augustus (31 B.C.-A.D. 14) onwards with the temple of Jupiter at Baalbek⁽³¹⁴⁾. This form, however, spread slowly, in an area where Hellenistic Greek tradition remained strong. Thus at Palmyra, in the centre of Syria, the temple of Bel (dedicated in A.D. 32) is still Hellenistic in essential design and much detail; only later, with the temples of Nebu, Allat and Ba'alshamin (dated A.D. 130/1) does the Roman form arrive⁽³¹⁵⁾. Hatra, being further east still, might be expected to have adopted it even later, perhaps, at the earliest, in the second half of the first century A.D., or the early second century A.D. Then, most curiously, the outer peristyle was added, at ground level in the old Greek manner, at some subsequent period that cannot as yet be determined.

"Temple of Shah (i) ru" (pls. 59, 101a,b). The temple, also called D, lies in front of the iwan groups, at right angles to them, and to the north of the southern sanctuary gate K. The name of the temple suggested by the excavators is based on an inscription [146] found within it in which two persons ask to be remembered before the goddess ŠHYRW. No confirmatory evidence, however such as a named statue of the goddess, came to light, so the identification is not sure. The spelling of the name of the goddess varies in the texts between ŠHRW and SHYRW.

Safar and Mustafa consider that the original plan of the building was an oblong hall (11.58m. × 7.62m.)⁽³¹⁶⁾. Its arched entrance, 5.35m. high, faces south. In front of the cella stands a portico of rows of columns, four in the front row behind. The central intercolumniation of the front row of columns is wider than the others. The portico is approached by a flight of steps at the front (only), in the Roman manner. An oblong room on the east side of the temple (10.10m. × 5.10m.) has a squarish room adjoining on the south which contains a staircase leading down into an underground room which could have been a tomb. On the west side, a portico in two stories was added. The excavators suggested that the original temple and its portico had had a wooden gabled roof, but that this was replaced by a barrel vault after the western portico was added. Whether such a transformation took place, or whether the vaulting was original, cannot as yet be determined. but the width of the portico, and an apparent division in masonry between the main cella and the oblong eastern room on the south facade, would imply that the original temple was indeed only the width of the columnar portico. It is evident, furthermore, that this structure, in form, is transitional between the largely east Roman design represented in the "MRN" temple and the iwan shrines, with their facade decoration of half-columns and their vaulted halls.

(311) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 344.

(312) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 344; Colledge, 1977: 82, pls, 10b,c.

(313) Al-Salihi, 1973: 13; Safar and, 1974: 344.

(314) Ward Perkins, 1977: 276-283.

(315) Colledge, 1976: 27-29.

(316) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 337-340.

“Temple of Samia” (pl. 102). This shrine also called C, faces the “Shahru” temple. It was called the “temple of Samia” by the excavators because of the discovery of a relief showing an aremd figure with a standard (in Aramaic, SMY’, Samia): this is the only evidence of the deity (or deities) for whom the temple was intended.

The shrine consists of three iwans side by side. The central is the largest and highest; the smaller iwan have two stories, and are connected with an oblong room at the rear. At the far end of the central iwan is an altar 97cm. high, approached by steps from the front. The excavators suggested that this temple, lacking the engaged columns and human masks as decorative elements which apper on the iwans elsewhere in the Bait Alaha , might be an example of the earliest type of iwan shrine at Hatra⁽³¹⁷⁾

The excavators said that two statues were uneartherd here, originally placed on stone wall brackets, which they claim represent king SNTRWQ II and anther king, possibly ‘BD-SMY’⁽³¹⁸⁾ A head of local marble, carved in a rather Roman style, was found on the altar and has been identified by Jocelyn Toynbee as possibly, the Roman emperor Trajan, perhaps placed there by the Hatrenes as a memento of his unsuccessful siege in A.D. 116⁽³¹⁹⁾.

The “square temple” or “temple of Šamaš” (H) (pls. 59, 103). This building is attached to the back of the southern iwan of the main iwan group in the sanctuary. It consists of a square room (11.96m. × 11.75m.) surrounded by a corridor. Both room and passage were roofed with barrel vaults; the roof of the shrine is higher than of the corridor. The temple is connected with the southern iwan by a door. The lintel placed above it has a relief showing the bust of a young god with the rays of the sun around his head⁽³²⁰⁾. On this evidence Safar and Mustafa suggested that this temple was dedicated to the sun god Šamaš;⁽³²¹⁾ but at Hatra itself a radiate bust is also used for labelled representations of MRN and BRMRYN⁽³²²⁾, and at nearby Palmyra there is a similar use of a radiate male figure to show a variety of solar deities⁽³²³⁾, so that this attribution is not certain. A portico attached to the outer lower section of its architrave bears inscription [199] which states that the portico was built by SNTRWQ I (reigning A.D. 176/ 7). This indicates that the temple must have been standing by this period.

Four life-size statues were found in the corridor. One is inscribed with the name of SNTRWQ I [194] and another with that of SNTRWQ II [195]; the excavators suggested that the others might be of NSRW “maria” and king ‘BD-SMY’⁽³²⁴⁾

The “temple of Šamaš” is as yet the only example of the square chamber surrounded by corridors in the religious architecture of Hatra. It belongs, however, to a well-known form usually called the “centralized square”, which apparently originated in Achaemenid architecture and spread in the Parthian world, and which also reached Syria⁽³²⁵⁾.

(317) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 342.

(318) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 342.

(319) Toynbee, 1970: 231-236; *ibid.*, Journal of Roman Studies, 62, 1972, 106-107, pl. V; Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 103, 342.

(320) Now in the Museum of Islamic Art, Berlin; Al-Salihi, 1973: 11.

(321) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 334.

(322) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: pls. 88, 90.

(323) Colledge, 1976: 212, figs. 22-23, pls. 12, 14, 17, 19, 35, 36, 39, 41, 50.

(324) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: pls. 2, 4, 1 and 3 respectively.

(325) Colledge, 1977: 43-45.

(326) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 348.

"The Ablution temple" (I) (pl. 59). This building consists of a rectangular hall standing on a podium; it was probably unroofed. Its entrance faces north and is approached by six steps. Inside, there are benches of stone around three sides. An altar stands at the back. On the west side of the temple is a room containing a stone basin and a well, which made the excavators think it was a place for religious ceremonies including ablutions⁽³²⁶⁾

"The temple of Trinity" (A) (pl. 59). This is so named after three reliefs, found between the south wall of this temple and the outer southern wall of the sanctuary area, which represent the three deities of the main Hatrene divine triad: MRN ("our lord"), MRTN ("our lady") and BRMRYN ("the son of our lords"), of whom MRN and BRMRYN are named on their respective slabs⁽³²⁷⁾. The plan of this temple is similar to that of the "temple of Samia" (C) and the northern and southern iwans (G). Al-Salihi says the name NŠRW "maria" (MRY, "the lord", mentioned in texts dated A.D. 128/ 9, 133 and 138), son of NŠR-YHB "maria", is inscribed on the wall of this temple, and suggests that this temple was constructed or completed by NSRW "maria"⁽³²⁸⁾

"Temple of Allat" (B) (pls. 59, 104a,b). This opens into the court⁽³²⁹⁾. In it was found the life-size statue of one 'BYGYR inscribed and dated A.D. 162 [V], which suggests that the building could have been standing by that year. Al-Salihi states that a vault stone was found in the central iwan with the name of king 'BD-SMY' (reigning A.D. 192/ 3) and proposed that this king completed the shrine⁽³³⁰⁾

The structure consists of three iwans with a row of rooms behind them. The central iwan is wider and higher than the others; it is flanked by two engaged columns. Burnt wood discovered in the entrance to this iwan may be the remains of the wooden door of the iwan⁽³³¹⁾

Some interesting reliefs were found in this shrine. Firstly, the left hand iwan's facade has reliefs representing camels (pl. 104). Secondly, on three sides of the interior of the central iwan is a frieze of leaves and vines with their branches. In the lower part of the frieze and above the foliage is a procession of musicians with their musical instruments; a third frieze is in the middle of the back wall, representing a female seated on the back of a camel carrying a goad in her left hand, and it has the Aramaic words "Nani", "Bel" and "Arab"⁽³³²⁾. Thirdly, a long limestone relief, broken in several parts, most of which have now been restored, shows a king SNTRWQ standing before a goddess; the Aramaic inscriptions below say "SNTRWQ the king" and "SNTRWQ the king, the priest" [VII], but do not specify SNTRWQ I or II (pl. 68). The excavator suggested that this relief was installed after the construction of the building, as it is stated in the report⁽³³³⁾

(d) The dwelling area

The populated area of the city of Hatra, as already mentioned, was considerable, and was estimated as about 200 hectares by Safar and Mustafa⁽³³⁴⁾. The aerial photographs (pl. 72) and a survey map (pl. 73, based on that of Andrae), show that the inhabited area of the city consisted of a number of section or quarters, most of them of irregular form but some semi-rectangular. There are signs of spaces that look like squares, but their purpose is uncertain. The aerial photographs show also that the density of houses was considerable.

(327) Al-Salihi, 1973: 13; Safar and Mustafa, 1974: pls. 88-90; Al-Salihi, 1980: 169.

(328) Al-Salihi, 1980: 169.

(329) Salman, 1974: (p.) d-g.

(330) Al-Salihi, 1980: 169.

(331) Salman, 1974: p. "e"

(332) Salman, 1974: p. "e"

(333) Salman, 1974: p. "e"

(334) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 23. It should be noted that the area of the site of Hatra is given wrongly as about 12 hectares by Al-Wailly, 1968: p. "e"

Excavations have been undertaken in a few parts of the dwelling area and have revealed a large house now as "the house of M'NW" (pl. 105), in the same general area as the smaller shrine VIIIa (pl. 106) south of the Bait Alaha, and in addition a group of houses surrounding shrine XI have been dug (pl. 107). These will be discussed in turn.

"The house of M'NW" (pl. 105). This is so called because the inscriptions found in it include two on the plaster of an outer door jamb in which 'G' and RPŠ^v, the sons of M'NW, ask to be remembered⁽³³⁵⁾. These inscriptions led the excavators to suggest that the house belonged to M'NW and his sons, and they concluded also that the formal nature of the inscriptions might indicate that the house had a religious function. But in fact this style is characteristic of other Hatrene inscriptions, and proves nothing in itself.

The house contains three sections and is entered through a long narrow corridor (no. 22) from the north. There are three rectangular rooms on the west side of the corridor, from which doorways open into rooms nos. 45 and 48. The corridor leads into a courtyard (no. 44). Here two iwans are placed facing each other across it. One (no. 12) is on the north side and the second (no. 46) on the south. Each is flanked by two small rooms, and behind each is a long rectangular room. Along the west side of the courtyard is a portico consisting of five square piers of cut limestone blocks. In the east wall of the courtyard is a gateway leading into a narrow corridor (no. 57) which gives access to three more courtyards, nos. 6, 14 and 26, each having an iwan and north side of the building; this will be discussed with the shrines.

Other houses. Another large house lies to the east of the "house of M'NW" and south of Bait Alaha (pl. 106). Excavations have not uncovered the entire building: so far only a series of rooms with a courtyard (8) and a shrine (II) situated on the east side of the house have been excavated. The excavators, Safar and Mustafa, suggested that this house might have belonged to the royal family of SNTRWQ II or his wife, but provided no evidence⁽³³⁶⁾

To the west of Bait Alaha is a group of six houses similar in plan (pl. 107). The entrance of each leads to a square or rectangular courtyard; opening on this is a series of rooms and usually single iwan, flanked by two rooms.

Houses at Hatra so far unearthed by excavations have certain features in common: a central courtyard with one or two iwans on one or more sides, some rooms, and an entrance consisting of a long narrow corridor. Also characteristic is the association of the houses with a shrine.

There are other examples of domestic architecture dated to the Parthian period, for instance at Aššur and Seleucia on the Tigris. These buildings have a central courtyard with rooms around, as at Aššur (pl. 108) and Seleucia (pl. 109). In the Parthian "palace" of Aššur there is a peristyle courtyard as well as a main courtyard with iwans (C) (pl. 108)⁽³³⁷⁾. The peristyle courtyard has clearly been contributed by Greek tradition⁽³³⁸⁾. Where the iwan has come from is more problematic. But it is the most characteristic architectural element seen in the houses on the Parthian sites just mentioned, always associated with the central courtyard. In Hatra there is a single iwan, as already mentioned, in the group of houses associated with shrine XI (pl. 107), and two iwans, one on each side of the court, in the "house of M'NW" (pl. 105). In Seleucia also two iwans facing one another across a court (pl. 109) were included in a "palace" (or large house), while at Aššur the Parthian "palace" contained four iwans set around a courtyard (pl. 108). The iwan at Hatra was also a principal element in the architecture of the main sanctuary⁽³³⁹⁾.

(335) Safar, 1952; Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 350.

(336) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 352.

(337) Pope, 1938: fig. 106.

(338) Colledge, 1977: 51.

(339) Iwan origins are discussed by Colledge, 1977: 47-48, 63-64.

(e) The small shrines

Thirteen small shrines have been unearthed at Hatra in the dwelling area; some of them actually formed part of the houses⁽³⁴⁰⁾

Shrine I (pl. 110A). This shrine is located near the south wall of the mian sanctuary (Bait Alaha)⁽³⁴¹⁾ It consisted of a transverse hall (12.70m. × 2.30m.); into the back wall opened a small room (or cella) (4.30m. × 4.70m.). The earlier phase of the temple seems to have preceded the construction of the adjoining "house of M'NW, as the floor level was much lower. Subsequently, rooms were added to the front, together with a large iwan (6m. by 7.30m) which became the shrine. This phase was closely connected with the house.

A number of sculptures were unearthed in this shrine, most of them unidentified. The most important was a relief of the god NRGL (Nergal) with an identifying inscription; this led the excavator to suggest that the shrine was dedicated to the worship of this god⁽³⁴²⁾

Shrine II (pl. 110B). This shrine consists of an oblong hall (16.20m. × 5.90m)⁽³⁴³⁾ Its entrance is in the long side. A square cella (5.15m. × 5m.) opens off its back wall, projecting from the south wall, and flanked by two rooms added later with their doorways on the inner side of the shrine.

Among the finds in the shrine was a fragmentary statue which the excavator considered to be 'TR'T' (Atargatis), so that he suggested the shrine was dedicated to this goddess⁽³⁴⁴⁾; the goddess shown is, however, not named.

Shrine III (pl. 110C). This shrine is situated just to the west of the west wall of Bait Alaha. It forms an oblong hall (16.50m. × 7.10m). Its cella (or niche) is set in the back wall (2.55m. × 4.35m.), projecting from its western wall. Its entrance is at the centre of the eastern wall.

Inside the shrine four lifesize statues were unearthed. These statues were placed originally on two shelf-like brackets on either side of the room. One of them was the statue of king 'TLW [21]. A number of Aramaic inscriptions was also found in the shrine; inscriptions [14-28] mention the god B'LŠMYN (Ba'alshamin) which led the excavators to suggest this shrine was dedicated to this god⁽³⁴⁵⁾

Shrine IV (pl. IIIA). This is situated just to the north of shrine III. Both in fact have the same plan. The shrine consisted of a rectangular transverse hall (14.80m. × 5.90m.) with a projecting cella at the back (3.85m. × 3.90m.). On the north side of the shrine is a small room (6.25m. × 4.25m.), added later⁽³⁴⁶⁾

A number of statues, most of them life-size, were discovered here. Four of them are in military costumes and one is said to be a goddess; this encouraged Safar and Mustafa to propose that the latter was the war goddess 'TR'T' (Atargatis)⁽³⁴⁷⁾

Shrine V (pl. IIIB). The shrine is located to the north of the north wall of Bait Alaha and consisted of an oblong hall (12m. × 7.90m.); a niche projects from the back wall (5.90m. × 5.90m.). Three doorways in the eastern wall lead into the hall. The central door is wider than the others and flanked by two rectangular buttresses. On its lintel is a relief representing NSRW with his name inscribed above his head; this made Safar and Mustafa think that the temple was built by NSRW "maria"⁽³⁴⁸⁾, although this is obviously to go far beyond the evidence

(340) Our descriptions and measurements of these shrines are based on those of the excavators, Safar and Mustafa (1974: 350-366).

(341) This shrine is situated in Area II, excavated in the first season of 1951 (Safar, 1952: 48).

(342) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 350, pl. 138; Colledge, 1977: 100, pl. 35.

(343) Shrines II and III were also excavated during the first season in 1951 (Safar, 1952: 48).

(344) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 352, pl. 194.

(345) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 197.

(346) The second season was undertaken in the spring of 1952, when shrines IV and V were uncovered (Sumer. 8: 138).

(347) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 354.

(348) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 356.

A large courtyard lay in front of the temple. A series of iwans stood on its north side, with a single iwan on the south.

A number of statues were unearthed in the temple. Most of them represented members of the royal family, such as princess ŠPRY [36] (dated A.D. 238) and her daughter SMY [37]. Other statues show MRIBW the priestess of ŠR-BI [34] and QYMY as well as gods and goddesses⁽³⁴⁹⁾

The inscriptions on the bases of three statues [34, 35, 38] all refer to a deity called ŠR-BI ("Joy of Bel?"), who has the feminine epithet BILH ("virgin"); the excavator considered that the shrine could have been dedicated to this divinity⁽³⁵⁰⁾

Shrine VI (pl. III C). The shrine is located in the north section of the city, in an area overlooking one of its low-lying districts⁽³⁵¹⁾. It was approached through a large courtyard, where according to the excavators two life-size statues of local marble were unearthed, one apparently of a priest. The main door of the shrine is in the middle of the eastern long side, and has a porch supported by four columns. The shrine itself consists of three parts: in the centre is a rectangular hall whose outer measurements are 13m. × 25.20m., which is flanked by two rooms on each side; their doors open from this central hall. There is a nich at the centre of the back wall and it is flanked by two buttresses⁽³⁵²⁾

Shrine VII (pl. 112 A). The shrine is a rectangular hall (14.25m. × 7.15m.). Its door is flanked by two buttresses opposite a niche at the centre of the back wall. Three statues of Heracles were unearthed here, one of them life-size, which led Safar and Mustafa to attribute the temple to Heracles⁽³⁵³⁾

Shrine VIIIa (pl. 112 B). This shrine, situated outside the south wall of Bait Alaha, consists of an oblong hall (13.50m. × 5.35m.). Its doorway faces east. An arched niche is set into the back wall whose base is 95cm. above floor level. The lintel above the entrance bears an Aramaic inscription [214] stating that the temple was constructed in A.D. 97/ 8 by the tribes TYMW (Taymu) and BL 'QB (Belaqb) who dedicted the temple to NRGL (Nergal) the god.

Shrine VIIIb (pl. 112 C). This shrine is located in the southern part of the courtyard of shrine VIIIa, and consists of three sections. A central hall (14m. × 9.25m.) is flanked by two pairs of rooms. In the central part of the back wall is a niche (3m. × 3m.), flanked by two buttresses, which faces the outer door, which is itself buttressed by two piers. The plan and the interior division is similar to shrine VI.

The excavators reported that a number of statues were unearthed in the temple. Among these were seven figurines of alabaster representing unnamed (sky?) gods, to whom the shrine might have been dedicated.

Shrine IX (pl. 113 A) This shrine is in the southern section of the city⁽³⁵⁴⁾. It stands on a terrace built of stone, 12cm. thick. It consists of a rectangular hall with a courtyard in front of it. The hall measures 19m. × 6.70m. In its back wall is a nich which projects behind. Three doorways led to the hall, of which the central one is the widest and is flanked by two buttresses; it is directly opposite the back wall niche

(349) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 356, pls. 240-3.

(350) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 356.

(351) Shrines VI-VIII were excavated during the 'third season' which started in 1953 (Safar, 1953: 240).

(352) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 358.

(353) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 359.

(354) Excavation took place in shrines IX and X during the 1954 season (Safar, 1955: 3).

The inscriptions which were unearthed in the temple (e.g. [62]) inform us that the temple was restored in A.D. 165. Another inscription [65] is dated A.D. 187, while three Latin inscriptions also unearthed here indicate the presence of a Roman garrison at Hatra to help in the defence of the city against Shapur I, the Sasaian king⁽³⁵⁵⁾ The discovery of five statues of Heracles, one of which had a Latin text on the base, made Safar and Mustafa think that the temple was dedicated to the worship of Heracles⁽³⁵⁶⁾

Shrine X (pl. 113B). This shrine is west of Bait Alaha. It consists of a transverse hall (23.60m. × 7m.), and a niche opening out from the back wall (4m. × 4m.) with a lintel above it. Three doorways led into the hall, the central one being flanked by two buttresses and placed opposite the niche. Two rooms were added later to the southern section of the shrine. The inscription [67] on the lintel of the niche requests good fortune for NSRW "maria" (whose dated mentions fall in A.D. 128/ 9, 133 and 138), who is here called 'PKL' RB' DY 'LH' ("chief priest of the god"), so the shrine must indicate it was restored a number of times⁽³⁵⁷⁾

Two life-size statues were discovered in front of the niche, one of SNTRWQ II the king and the second of WKWR in allegedly royal costume. The inscriptions [70-73] which were unearthed here mention NRGL (Nergal) the god, so that the excavators attributed the shrine to his worship⁽³⁵⁸⁾

Shrine XI (pl. 113C) This shrine, excavated in 1955⁽³⁵⁹⁾ stands in the south-west part of the city and is enclosed by streets on all four sides. It has the customary transverse hall (17.50m. × 6.30m.) with niche (4.62m. × 3m.) projecting from its back wall, The entrance lies in the middle of its south wall and faces the niche.

A life-size limestone statue of king SNTRWQ II was uncovered in the hall. Inscriptions [79, 80] mention the grandsons of a ŠMŠ-BRK, who might possibly have been the same man as the one who was RBYT' ("steward") in A.D. 151 [I, 336], the discoveries of a statue of Heracles and a fragment of the statue of a goddess encouraged Safar and Mustafa to consider that the shrine was dedicated to NRGL (Nergal), a Semitic god who was equated with the western Heracles or Hercules, and the goddess, perhaps his wife⁽³⁶⁰⁾

Shrine XII. This shrine, excavated in 1978⁽³⁶¹⁾, lies to the south of the Bait Alaha. Its plan is similar to those of the shrines already discussed. It consists of a rectangular hall flanked by two rooms; the entrance is in the long side of the eastern wall and faces the back wall niche. Among the finds was inscription [XII] and pottery graffito [X], which both mention the god NBW (Nabu), to whom, therefore, this shrine might possibly have been dedicated, as well as statue base [III], datable c.A.D. 195-205, which gives some indication of the date by which the shrine was standing.

Shrine XIII. This is a shrine situated in the eastern section of the city, among the tombs; it is currently under excavation (pl. 114)⁽³⁶²⁾

These shrines are similar in plan, and also in construction. The lower 2m. or so of the walls are usually built of cut limestone facing, with a rubble and mortar core; above, mudbricks with mortar are used. Shrines IX, XI, XII are built on a limestone platform.

(355) Oates, 1955: 42.

(356) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 362.

(357) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 364.

(358) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 305, 364.

(359) Safar, 1961: 9.

(360) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 366

(361) Postgate and Watson, 1979: 149-150.

(362) This site was visited by the writer in spring 1980.

Each shrine has a central door in one long wall of its transverse hall; sometimes two smaller doors were added flanking the main one (e.g. shrines V, IX, X). Some of the main doors are flanked by a buttress on either side, normally rectangular (VI, VII, VIIIb, X, XI), but occasionally semi-circular on a rectangular base (V). Near the doors of shrines I, IV and V is a base with the statue of a lion on it. The main doorway to shrine VI has a vaulted portico, supported by four columns.

These doorways led into a transverse hall. The largest is VI, measuring 25m. × 13m., and the smallest is I (12.70m. × 2.20m). Benches, 10cm. – 12cm. wide, always surround the interior walls of the transverse halls; their purpose is obscure. Shrines VI and VIIIb had their main hall flanked by two rooms, while in the later period one or two rooms were added to the main hall in shrines II, V and X.

The niche in each shrine is situated opposite its main central door; some of them project from the back wall. The shape differs from one shrine to another: in shrines VII and VIIIb they are rectangular; in shrine V it forms a square. Some of them are vaulted and have an arched entrance, such as V and XI. Generally, these niches are set higher than floor level; in front of each there is normally an altar.

These shrines clearly remained continually in use throughout the later period of Hatra: there are constant repairs and additions, and they end by having their floor levels lower than those of the streets outside. In no case is the deity or deities to whom these sanctuaries were dedicated known for sure. On the evidence found, however, the suggestions already quoted have been put forward, namely that shrines I, VII, IX, IX were dedicated to Heracles (the equivalent of NRGL, Nergal), IV to B'LŠMYN, III and V to 'ŠR-BL, and XII to NBW.

The homogeneity of the plans of these shrines is striking. They belong to the ancient 'broad room' type, already current in Mesopotamia in the third millennium B.C. and still widespread there and further east in the Parthian period⁽³⁶³⁾. As such, these smaller shrines form a notable contrast to the various building forms encountered in the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha). It is also noteworthy that where there are dated texts associated with these small shrines, they precede the period of the (dated) king S (from A.D. 176/ 7 on). Thus shrine VIIIa was built by two tribes in A.D. 98, shrine X was standing by the time of NSRW "maria" (A.D. 120s and 130s), as perhaps V was too, and shrine IX, again subject to tribal maintenance, was restored in A.D. 165; I also seems definitely to have had a lengthy history. If these comparatively early dates are significant, they might suggest (as could the architectural differences just mentioned) that Hatra's last decades saw a greater religious (and perhaps also political) centralization, which led to a particular concentration of resources on the main sanctuary.

(f) Tombs

The map of Hatra drawn by W. Andrae shows about 78 collective tombs within the city wall, with a concentration of burials in the east and south-east (pl. 73). Andrae's tomb show two forms, square and rectangular, with differing interior divisions⁽³⁶⁴⁾.

Recently excavations of a group of 9 tombs in the eastern section of the city took place. Among these were three of particular interest, each square in plan⁽³⁶⁵⁾. One is divided internally into three parts (J11); a doorway on the west side leads into a transverse rectangular chamber, which has two doorways each leading into an oblong room (pls. 115, 116). A second tomb, J3 (pls. 115, 117), was also dug. It consists of two stories. On its ground

(363) Colledge, 1977: 37-38.

(364) Andrae, 1908: I, 77-84, fig. 98.

(365) Al-Salihi, 1972; (English) 17-20, (Arabic) 19-30.

floor is a long corridor flanked by two rooms, with a long room at the back. A staircase in the room on the right side led up to the first floor, which had two long rooms separated by a corridor. Two inscriptions [293, 294] carved in the wall of the ground floor corridor make it evident that the tomb was built by two tribes, TYMW (Tavmu) and BL'QB (Belaqb) by A.D. 108, and also that these tribes did not cremate their dead. This statement provides an also an interesting contrast with the very evident traces of cremation indicated by the ashes found in other Hatrene tombs (along with bones from inhumation). The third square, recently dug structure is one without internal divisions (J6: pls. 115, 118). The excavator, finding no traces of burials but four projecting stone wall barchets, thought that it might not have been a tomb but a religious building; it could, however, be pointed out that at Syrian Palmyra such stone consoles were sometimes included to carry funerary statues within ordinary tombs⁽³⁶⁶⁾ as could have been the case here.

Reasons for the choice of site

Why did Hatra develop where it did? There are a number of factors which may have contributed to the choice of Hatra as the location for a community, and for its rise and development into an important and wealthy city.

(a) Vegetation

Hatra, as we have seen⁽³⁶⁷⁾ possessed the best quality and most abundant supplies of water of its semi-desert region. The water supplies of the neighbourhood were enough to provide a certain amount of vegetation, particularly from November to early summer; even in the summer heat there is much vegetation in the Wadi Tharthar, and varieties suitable for camels in the area around. This vegetation attracts herdsmen, and doubtless attracted them in antiquity also; and it was possibly such nomadic or semi-nomadic visitors to the site who left the layers of ash (from fires ?) and rough mud-brick (from temporary shelters ?) that overlay virgin in the author's soundings⁽³⁶⁸⁾. Thus vegetation could have been the earliest attraction of the site.

(b) Religion

Religion clearly played a role of great importance in Hatrene life: this is reflected in many kinds of evidence, archaeological and epigraphical, from its historical phase

If the name Hatra is derived from the Arabic term "Al-Hadhra" which means "holy place"⁽³⁶⁹⁾ this would indicate its importance as a religious centre, and perhaps from an early period; certainly, it was to become such a centre in the historical period. This is amply demonstrated by the existence of the main sanctuary, the "Bait Alaha", which occupied a significant place both in the city and in near eastern religious building (pl. 73). Firstly, it was set more or less at the centre of the city, so that the main streets converged upon it. Secondly, it was of enormous size, not only for Hatra itself, where it takes up approximately one twelfth of the area within the city walls, but also within the context of the near east, where the great sanctuaries of Bel at Palmyra⁽³⁷⁰⁾, for instance, or, Jupiter at Baalbek⁽³⁷¹⁾, are little more than half its size. Thirdly, all important gods had shrines

(366) Colledge, 1976: 79-80.

(367) See above, p. 91

(368) See above, p. 93-94.

(369) See above, p. 91, n. 123.

(370) Colledge, 1976: fig. 5.

(371) See T. Wiegand, Baalbek, vols. I-III, Berlin and Leipzig, 1921-25; F. Ragette, Baalbek, London 1980.

within the Bait ALaha; these contained statues of gods, kings, and many notables and worshippers⁽³⁷²⁾ Also, other kinds of transaction took place here as well, to judge by the discovery of a pair of scales in the sanctuary north portico⁽³⁷³⁾

Outside the Alaha, furthermore, no fewer than thirteen small shrines have already been unearthed (pl. 73), which, as we have seen, may have been dedicated to the deities NRG (W) L, 'TR 'T', B'(L) ŠM (Y) N, 'SR-BL and NBW⁽³⁷⁴⁾. Some of these shrines, such as VIIIa [214], were constructed by tribes. The existence and the number of these smaller shrines also show the importance of religion in the city.

The range of deities worshipped is a further sign of the richness of Hatrene religious life. This is not the place to discuss Hatrene religion in depth, but we may note that the texts refer to deities of diverse origins, but always apparently Semitic. From the west Semitic area B ('L) ŠM (Y) N and 'TR 'T' have been brought in. The old Babylonian divinities NBW, NRG (W) L and NNY are present, and the component BL of 'SR-BL is presumably the Babylonian title of Marduk BL, used now to describe a god in many near eastern centres, although 'SR-BL seems confined to Hatra. The largest contingent is, however, Arab: these include ŠH (Y) RW, 'LT (Allat) and what seem to be two divinities both called MRN, one of whom is associated with an eagle and is perhaps a god of the heavens, and the other of whom is ŠMS, who forms a triad with MRTN and BRMRYN⁽³⁷⁵⁾. Where a Greek or Roman deity is named, as in the Latin dedication to Hercules⁽³⁷⁶⁾, this is doubtless to be regarded as the equivalent to the appropriate local deity (here, NRG (W) L), as was standard practice throughout the Hellenistic and Parthian east. Also, as we have noted, there was a great frequency of theophoric names⁽³⁷⁷⁾

The inscriptions also illuminate other aspects of Hatrene religious life. Texts in general have a strongly religious bias: a great many, for instance, ask simply that an individual should be remembered by one or more deities. It is also remarkable that the earliest dated text (A.D. 97/ 8) [214] found so far concerns the building of one of the smaller shrines (VIII a) outside the Bait Alaha, by the tribes of the TYMW and BL'QB, who also built a tomb around the same time [293, 294]. Prominent persons, moreover, from the time of NŠRW "maria" onwards, sometimes hold religious positions as well as their other posts; NŠRW "maria" himself, and the king SNTRWQ who was also KMR' ("priest"), are notable examples⁽³⁷⁸⁾. A variety of priesthoods and religious positions also occur in the texts, of differing status and sometimes specified as belonging to particular deities⁽³⁷⁹⁾. Legal texts tend to be put into a divine setting, and one penalty for theft is "the death of the god"⁽³⁸⁰⁾. One funerary text [293] of around A.D. 100 states that a tomb was built by the tribes TYMW and BL 'QB, and that "nobody shall cremate their dead bones", an interesting restriction in view of the fact that in other tombs examples of both cremation and inhumation were encountered⁽³⁸¹⁾, and one that was presumably made on religious grounds.

(372) No royal palace or administrative buildings have been found yet at Hatra. There is the possibility that part of the Bait Alaha was used for meetings and administration. There is a semi-circular building with rows of seats arranged like a steep theatre with a platform facing it, uncovered in 1968 (Salman, 1969: p. 77; Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 27. In this connection it should be remembered that at nearby Dura-Europos little "theatres" were incorporated into some shrines, sometimes doubtless for religious purposes, but once at least for use by the town council (Perkins, 1973: 18, 29).

(373) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 175, pl. 170.

(374) See above, p. 129-131

(375) Drijvers, 1978: 151-186.

(376) Oates, 1955, 40-43.

(377) See above, p. 115-116.

(378) See above, p. 108-112 Note MRY' too may be a religious title: p. 96

(379) See above, p. 108-113

(380) See above, p. 116.

(381) Al-Salihi, 1972: (Arabic) 19-30.

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the 18 dated texts with months given from Hatra were inscribed only at certain times of the year: this can be ascertained from a study of the Hatrene months mentioned in them. What these months were can be fairly clearly established by the use of comparative evidence, in particular from Palmyra, where are a great number of bilingual texts in Aramaic and Greek which enable checks to be made. The 12 months of the year may be tabulated as follows, on the assumption that at Hatra the year began, as in Babylonia, in NYSN (but apparently TŠRY at Palmyra):

Month	Palmyra ⁽³⁸²⁾	Hatra
April	NYSN	NYSN
May	'YR	'YR
June	SYWN	HZYRN
July	QNYN	
August	'B	
September	'LWL	'LWL
October	TŠRY	TŠRY
November	KNWN	KNWN ⁽³⁸³⁾
December	KSLWL	MRHSWN
January	TBT	
February	SBT	ŠBT
March	'DR	'DR

These equivalencies between months are of course only approximate. But from the texts it emerges that at Hatra the periods during which texts were inscribed were the autumn and early winter, in 'LWL, TŠRY, KNWN and MRHSWN, and the spring and early summer, in SBT, 'DR, NYSN, 'YR and HZYRN. None was inscribed in mid-winter (January) or mid-summer (July or August). These dates can be analysed as follows:

Inscription no.	Month	Year
34	'DR	A.D. 236
35	'LWL	A.D. 238
36	TŠRY	A.D. 238
49	TŠRY	
62	MRHSWN	A.D. 165
65	KNWN	A.D. 187
80	MRHSWN	A.D. 238
108	'DR	A.D. 112
131	ŠBT	A.D. 118
272	'YR	A.D. 138
288	NYSN	A.D. 149
293	HZYRN	A.D. 89(?)
294	TŠRY	A.D. 109
336	KNWN	A.D. 151
338	'DR	A.D. 132
I	KNWN	A.D. 151
III	'DR	A.D. 195-205
V	NYSN	A.D. 162

(382) From J.B. Chabot, *Choix d'inscriptions de Palmyre*, Paris, 1922, 13.

(383) Safar and Mustafa considered that KNWN was December and MRHSWN November: 1974: *passim*.

These texts give the following results when analysed by months:

<u>Month</u>	<u>Number of occurrences</u>
NYSN	2
'YR	1
HZYRN	1
'LWL	1
TŠRY	3
MRḤŠWN	2
KNWN	3
ŠBT	1
'DR	4

So 'DR, TŠRY and KNWN emerge as the commonest months, with NYSN and MRḤŠWN close behind. Broadly similar results may be obtained from a study of the inscriptions from the neighbouring site of Palmyra: thus the great temple of Bel there was dedicated on 6 NYSN A.D. 32⁽³⁸⁴⁾, that is, in the spring, and very likely at some spring festival, and numerous other Palmyrene dedications were also made in NYSN. The seasonal character of Hatrene dedications could also have had religious implications.

The life of historical Hatra, therefore, was clearly permeated by religion; and if its name is indeed the Arabic word for "holy place"⁽³⁸⁵⁾, then religion could have been a vital factor in its early growth, as well as playing a significant role in later periods.

(c) The military factor

The location of Hatra in the semi-desert area between the Tigris and the Euphrates, and between the north Mesopotamian hills and the plain, gave it a special strategic importance. The harshness of the surrounding environment, the scarcity of water and indeed of any type of agriculture, were disadvantages which contributed to the lack of success of Roman sieges of Hatra (in A.D. 116 by Trajan, and in A.D. 198 and 200 (?) by Septimius Severus) and of the Sasanian onslaught by Ardashir⁽³⁸⁶⁾

But there were other factors also which led to the repelling of these enemies. By the time Trajan attacked in A.D. 116, Hatra must have possessed walling of great strength, and a good military organization to defend it. It is noteworthy that when Trajan was invading Mesopotamia, he studiously avoided Hatra on the way in, perhaps so as to protect his troops from the possibility of a demoralizing episode, such as they encountered on the way home⁽³⁸⁷⁾. These city walls continued to be developed, in particular by NŠRW "maria"⁽³⁸⁸⁾, until they constituted a truly formidable barrier, consisting of an inner and outer wall, with a ditch in front. So it is understandable that Septimius Severus followed Trajan's example and avoided attacking Hatra when he invaded Mesopotamia, and he too, later, met with disaster before its walls.

(384) Colledge, 1976: 26.

(385) See above, p. 91, n. 123.

(386) See above, p. 102-107.

(387) See p. 87, 102.

(388) See p. 121.

The Hatrene army, too, seems to have been a well organized and powerful machine of war. A number of military posts seem to be mentioned in Hatrene texts, although those we possess appear to belong primarily to the period of Hatra's kings (from c.A.D. 176/ 7 on)⁽³⁸⁹⁾ An important element in the army seems to have been the archers. This is substantiated by the incident when mounted Hatrene archers were sent to Syria to support Niger, the Roman general, in A.D. 193. Dio describes the skill of Hatrene archery and missiles in use at the sieges of Trajan and Septimius Severus⁽³⁹⁰⁾ The excavation in the northern gate of the city wall unearthed a ballista with a large number of its missiles (cf. pl. 93b)⁽³⁹¹⁾

An interesting parallel to the Roman experiences at Hatra is provided by the recent history of the Jazirah. The British domination of Iraq in 1920 was restricted by the tribes of the Jazirah, who attacked a military group passing through the region. They made the site of Hatra their headquarters, and the remoteness of the Jazirah, the difficulty of transport (even with motor vehicles), and, significantly, the lack of water, prevented British attempts to defeat the tribes⁽³⁹²⁾

Hatra, therefore, was clearly a potential military strongpoint, and had definitely become so by the time of Trajan's invasion in A.D. 116. Thereafter, its military position was strengthened even further. How far back into Hatra's earlier history this military significance extended is, however, as yet quite uncertain.

(d) Trade routes and commerce

Evidence for commercial activity can be drawn from two sources. Firstly, a study can be made of the ancient routes of the area to see whether they converge on Hatra or not. Secondly, archaeological evidence from Hatra itself, including inscriptions, can be sifted for further information. These will be taken in turn.

As regards routes, these did indeed for the most part converge on Hatra, which emphasizes the significance of its position in the area. Thus the Tabula Peutingeriana shows two routes leading to Hatra, and gives the names of the stations and distances between them⁽³⁹³⁾ The first route runs from Khabur to Hatra through Sinjar (Singara), and the second from Nuseybin (Nisibis) also to Sinjar but then to the Tigris and so to Hatra⁽³⁹⁴⁾ A. Stein in 1938 plotted the route which linked Sinjar and Hatra running through the foothills and along the lines of springs. He identified Ad Herculem, the last post before Hatra on the Tabula Peutingeriana (although the penultimate one in fact), with Jaddalah⁽³⁹⁵⁾ professor Oates also suggested that a branch connected Tell Ibra Al-Saghiyra (whose ancient name in the Tabula is Vicat, survey no. 209) with Hatra, and he also identified a route linking Hatra with Sa'adiya (no. 35) and Jaddalah (no. 69)⁽³⁹⁶⁾

During the survey undertaken by the author in 1977-78 a direct ancient road was recognized connecting Hatra with Tekrit, which runs beside the west bank of the Wadi Tharthar, passing through Tell Ajri (no. 84) and Tell Ibdah (no. 263). This route had remained in use until recent years. Yaqut mentioned that a citizen of Tekrit gave

(389) See above, p. 112.

(390) Dio Cassius, LXVIII, 31: LXXVI, 10-13.

(391) Salman, 1971: p. "p"; Husain, 1976: 131-134; Baatz, 1977 (a): 141; Baatz, 1977 (b): 597-99. Note that more missiles were found at the eastern gate (pl. 93b).

(392) Al-Tellafary, 1969: 166-67, 350.

(393) This road map of the Roman empire, indicating the main cities and the stations between them, with distances (of varying accuracy) given between places; is known in a medieval copy of an original seemingly datable around A.D. 365 (Cunliffe, 1978: 216).

(394) Miller, 1962: 772; Oates, 1968: 76.

(395) Stein, 1941: 299.

(396) Oates, 1968: 76.

him a description of Hatra, which indicated a knowledge of the existence of the ruins⁽³⁹⁷⁾ Rich, when he stopped at Tekrit, was informed by its citizens that the journey from this town to Hatra took two long days on foot⁽³⁹⁸⁾ The route itself was mentioned by Ross when he left Tekrit and went through the Wadi Tharthar on his journey to Hatra in 1836⁽³⁹⁹⁾

This route seems shorter and easier than the road which follows the Tigris, because the region between the modern town of Baiji and Qala Sharqqat (Aššūr) consists of a series of hills (named Mak-hul, Maki-heel and Khanwqa) which slope slightly to the west, ending in the Wadi Tharthar. Smaller wadis run across this area and down into the Tharthar, causing disruption and difficulties for caravans, particularly during the rainy season. There is also a scarcity of water over a stretch of 85km. This has been emphasized by Ibn Jubair, the Arab traveller: when he described the route from Tekrit to Mosul in A.D. 1280 he did not continue with the west bank of the Tigris but was diverted to pass by the mound of 'Aqr, which is possibly that of Tell Ibdah (no. 263). Ibn Jubair, when travelling in the area, had enough water to last him for two nights and a day⁽⁴⁰⁰⁾

Although not all the ancient routes in the Jazirah passed through Hatra, yet at any rate late in Hatra's history even those which did not must have been within the domain of the city: the reason for several kings calling themselves "king of the Arabs" (or "Arabaya") was surely their control of the area⁽⁴⁰¹⁾ Hatra may have provided facilities for travellers and caravans, such as security and halting stations, and may have collected taxes in return: Hatrene inscription [207] concerns the building of a customs house.

Safar and Mustafa suggest that there was a number of Hatrene merchants and caravan chiefs resident in the city, basing their theory on the costumes shown on a number of statues⁽⁴⁰²⁾ This is clearly an inadequate basis for such a hypothesis. And concerning commercial activity as a whole, the absence of any mention of caravans or finance in the known Hatrene texts is remarkable, and even more so when such neighbouring sites as Dura-Europos or Palmyra are taken into consideration, with their plethora of commercial documentation⁽⁴⁰³⁾ The only relevant text at Hatra is the one already mentioned [207], concerning a customs house. The only other possibly relevant item found so far is the pair of scales discovered in the northern portico of the sanctuary within the complex of Bait Alaha⁽⁴⁰⁴⁾ So the level of commercial activity at Hatra seems to have been much lower than it was in other cities of the region.

(e) Conclusion

How significant were these various factors in the location and growth of Hatra?

A group of advantageous geographical factors was obviously what attracted the earliest nomadic and semi-nomadic visitors and settlers. These factors included comparatively good water, depressions in which rain could collect, the proximity of vegetation especially in the Wadi Tharthar, and a fairly flat area in which to camp or settle. Traces of these early herdsmen and settlers appear to have found in the author's soundings⁽⁴⁰⁵⁾; and above

(397) Yaqut Al-Hamawi, 3/ 58.

(398) Rich, 1836: vol. I, 147.

(399) Ross, 1839: 443-475.

(400) Ibn Jubair 244.

(401) See above, p. 110.

(402) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: pls. 44-46.

(403) See above, p. 97-98.

(404) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 175, pl. 170. This could equally, however, have been used for the payment of temple dues rather than for ordinary trading.

(405) See above, p. 92-94.

these levels these and other soundings have indicated the development of better mud-brick buildings, although it is unknown at what period. This much is surely undeniable. But given the generally semi-desert surroundings, such a settlement could hardly have grown to much unless other factors also began to operate. So it is important to ask here which of these other factors, religious, military or commercial, was involved, and at what period or periods?

Two kinds of evidence may be used: internal and external. Given Hatra's comparative isolation, the external evidence, in the form of references in ancient historians or in inscriptions elsewhere, is less helpful for this site than it is for others of the area; so internal evidence assumes considerable importance.

This internal evidence, however, although abundant for the final century and a half of Hatra's existence, is almost entirely lacking for the pre-historical phases. All that can be done to gain some idea of earlier periods is to study the known period and to try to isolate from that what is likely to have gone before. What does such a study tell us of these earlier phases?

The name of Hatra itself could be helpful, if its meaning could be decided. But as we have seen there are several possible derivations (assuming that it had any meaning at all), from Aramaic "Hetera" ("enclosed camp"), Arabic "Al-Hadhr" ("town"-its present meaning-or "capital"), or Arabic "Al-Hadhra" ("holy place")⁽⁴⁰⁶⁾ So its name at the moment cannot help. Perhaps slightly more indicative, however, are the traces of tribes (TYMW and BL 'QB) who seem partly resident in the city and partly nomadic at the time of the earliest dated inscription [214] (A.D. 97/ 8), and of generally close relations between city and nomad, which suggest that previously Hatra may have been an example of a "dimorphic chiefdom"⁽⁴⁰⁷⁾; the tribes' activity in this text is religious, the building of small shrine VIIIa. We may also note the existence, certainly from around A.D. 100 onwards, of the title MRY' which may have had religious connotations⁽⁴⁰⁸⁾; and in the 120s and 130s A.D., still in the early historical phase of Hatra, NSRW "maria" held one or more chief priesthoods. These slight indications of the importance of religion, when put together with the range of religious posts, and gigantic size of the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha), of historical Hatra, might hint that the religious factor may possibly have operated from a fairly early period. If so, Hatra could have been an Arab tribal religious centre, run by chiefs from the town itself who had some control in the desert; but this is highly speculative.

Trade does not seem to have played a role of great importance in Hatra's or indeed of its maintenance of power. But the military strength of historical Hatra, and the control its kings clearly exercised over the Arabs of the desert region of "Arabaya" around, provokes the question for how long this had been the case, and under what circumstances it had arisen and been preserved. Here the internal evidence only helps us securely from the time of NSRW "maria" on (the 120s and 130s A.D.), for he was seemingly responsible for one of the city walls together with its gates. This wall seems to have been placed in front of an earlier, weaker one to create a double barrier. For earlier periods, as internal material is lacking, external evidence can be brought into the inquiry.

When is it conceivable that Hatra could have become a military power? This would seem unlikely in the Seleucid period, for there are no signs whatsoever of Seleucid influence in any form (apart from the use of the Seleucid calendar, but this was general throughout the near east, and could have been adopted at any time), and the Seleucid king were unlikely to have permitted a potentially hostile Semitic state to have mushroomed

(406) See above, p. 91.

(407) See above, p. 96-98.

(408) See above, p. 96.

militarily within their empire. This, therefore, would make it likely that the loss of Seleucid power over Mesopotamia, over Babylonia around 140 B.C. and over the northern part including Dura-Europos by 113 B.C.,⁽⁴⁰⁹⁾ was possibly a most important factor in the rise of Hatra, just as it was in the rise of other states in the middle east. Anatolia and (after 64 B.C.) in the Syrian desert with Palmyra.

It could be argued that Hatra as a military stronghold was the creation of the Parthian state, made in a vulnerable semi-desert frontier area between the Parthian and the Seleucid or the Roman empires, through which ran important lines of communication, both commercial and military. But it is hard to reconcile this with the independence that the city seems to have enjoyed. For Hatra has so far yielded no inscriptions and no monuments erected by or for the Parthian monarchy. Its inscriptions and monuments concern its own affairs entirely. There is no mention of any relationship with the Parthian state. It seems from the lack of any relationship with the Parthians, together with the titles of "king of the Arabs" or "of Arabaya" adopted by the Hatrene monarchs, that Hatra was in some measure an independent entity in the affairs of north Mesopotamia. This entity would have required wealth, which historical Hatra had in great measure, derived doubtless from its control of the northern region of Mesopotamia, a control which enabled it to tax the area, as the inscription [207] concerning the customs house hints.

This semi-independence did not mean, of course, that Hatra was unaffected by events around. It found itself, after all, in the centre of a frontier zone between the empires of Parthia and Rome, and was, therefore, presumably susceptible to pressure from either side, and to periodic involvement in hostilities⁽⁴¹⁰⁾ But the barrenness of the region around, the "Arabaya" that had certainly come under its control by the period of its king, when combined with good military organization within Hatra itself, whenever that came about, ensured that its comparatively independent position between these powers could long be maintained.

So if the religious factor played an important role in the rise of Hatra, so, too, it would seem, did the military; but here again, from what period cannot yet be established.

Conclusion

The new evidence for the of Hatra has illuminated several aspects of its history and culture.

Soundings taken to virgin soil have revealed that the site seems to have begun as a nomad encampment, which developed very slowly over a long period into a flourishing city, partly because of advantageous geographical factors. A boost to this growth may have been given by the decline and fall of the Seleucid empire. Historical Hatra seems to have emerged around A.D. 100 as an Arab state with strong religious and military tendencies, maintaining a comparative independence through the remoteness of its position from the then centres of power, Parthian and Roman. The relationship between the city and its surrounding area might possibly have constituted an example of the "dimorphic chieftdom" Trade never seems to have been a very significant factor in its history. About the 120s and 130s A.D. NSRW "maria" ringed the city with a powerful wall and gates, perhaps improving on its previous defences which similarly followed contour lines. Texts recently discovered have thrown additional light on the administration of historical Hatra, with its many religious posts, its military officials, its kingship (from at least as early as A.D. 176/ / on), and its royal functionaries. Inscriptions have also revealed something of Hatrene society and law So much new light has been shed on shed on the richness of the essentially Arab culture of Hatra.

(409) See above, p. 98.

(410) On Roman frontier policy, see Oates, 1968; Luttwak, 1976.

CHAPTER 4: IMPORTANT INDIVIDUAL SITES OF THE JAZIRAH, II: KHIRBET JADDALAH

Location	143
The site	143
The excavation	143
(a) The outer enclosure	144
(b) The inner building	146
Architecture	150
History	153

Location

The site with which we are concerned here is that of Khirbet Jaddalah, (site survey no. 68, cf. pl. 20b). It is in the district of Jaddalah, on the north-east fringe of the Jazirah, some 22km. south-west of the modern town of Qaiyara, and 51km. north-east of Hatra via the motorway (although only 35km. by a dirt road through the village of Sa'adiya Gharbi (no. 35)⁽⁴¹¹⁾ It is one of several important mounds in its immediate vicinity, all ranged along the banks of the Wadi Jaddalah and all with the element Jaddalah in their name: Khirbet Jaddalah (no. 69), 'Unuq Jaddalah (no. 69; pls. 8, 10, 20b, 21a) and Jaddalah 'Uliya (no. 70; pls. 8, 10)⁽⁴¹²⁾

The main water supply for the Jaddalah district is located just to the north-east of Khirbet Jaddalah (no. 68; pls. 8, 10, 119b); there are other springs scattered along the bed of the Wadi Jaddalah. This factor, coupled with the availability of pasture, may have made Jaddalah a very important point in the communication lines of north Jazirah. E.E.D. Oates suggested that Jaddalah was an important junction for routes from Hatra (no. 1) Qala Sharqat (Aššur) (no. 78) and south Mesopotamia⁽⁴¹³⁾. The recent survey confirmed that Jaddalah was a focal point for routes; from Khirbet Jaddalah (no. 68) one main route led north through a series of staging posts set near water sources in foothill areas (e.g. nos. 71, 74, 49 and 50) to Tell 'Afar (no. 144) and finally Sinjar (no. 229; pl. 53).

The site

Khirbet Jaddalah, before excavation, comprised a chain of mounds in a square, 105m × 105m., (pls. 120, 121), with a gap on the east side where, about 8m. above the water course, five square limestone column bases of east Roman Attic type (pl. 120b), each 40cm. high, were standing, near a number of fallen column drums with their limestone footings, similar to those from the so-called temple of MRN (E) at Hatra (pl. 99)⁽⁴¹⁴⁾ In the centre of the enclosure was a mound measuring 35m. × 40m. (pl. 120). As A. Stein observed, the visible structures had been built on virgin soil, and so a stratigraphic sounding seemed unnecessary⁽⁴¹⁵⁾

The site was clearly one of importance; and its architectural echoes of Hatra suggested a later Parthian date. A. Stein suggested that the building was a temple of Heracles (Hercules)⁽⁴¹⁶⁾ Extensive clearance was judged appropriate, both to test this theory and, in general, to gain from the site what new light it might offer on Parthian-period settlement in the Jazirah.

The excavation

Digging took place partly in the outer enclosure, and partly in the inner building (pl. 122). The results are described here in the order of excavation.

(411) There is a further site in Upper Jazirah also known by the name Jaddalah, in the foothills of Jebel Sinjar. It was mentioned by Yaqut Al-Hamawi (vol. 3, p. 63) and Ibn Hawqal (p. 93) as a pleasant village, with a Christian population, two staging posts from Mosul on the caravan route to Nuseybin (Nisibis).

(412) On this Wadi, see above, p. 26, pl. 3.

(413) Oates, 1968: 76, 79; cf. Stein, 1941: 299-316, and above, p. 86-87.

(414) The site was registered by S.O.A.H. as: A.S.I., p. 248, no. 253; File no. 253/ 35.

(415) Stein, 1941: 299-316.

(416) Stein, 1941: 308, 313.

(a) The outer enclosure

The areas selected for excavation were the north-east section of the enclosure (called Area I), so as to establish the relationship between the colonnade and the rooms on its flanks (which proved to have been added later), and the north-west section (called Area II), so as to investigate the fortifications (pl. 122).

Room 1 (entrance) (pl. 122). Digging began in Area I. In the north-east corner a long rectangular passage was unearthed, 9m. × 2m., running north-south, which must have formed an entrance to the site. The lower part of its walls were of cut limestone blocks faced with gypsum mortar, while the upper parts were of mudbrick (each 40cm. × 40cm. × 12cm). The discovery of a door socket at the north end of the passage adds further confirmation that there was an entrance at this point. There are double arrow-slits, divided by a central post into two parts, facing outwards from the west wall of the passage, and a single arrow-slit from the east wall; each is 60cm. wide within, and 20cm. wide on the outside (10cm. for the single), and they are set 1.20m. above the floor. The double arrow-slit floors slope down internally towards the passage, and are covered with asphalt. Doubtless they were angled in this way so as to allow the archers to watch or shoot upwards towards the west end of the hill, where the ground rises to a height somewhat greater than that of the rest of the site. The asphalt covering was possibly meant to protect the aperture against damage from rain water. These measures for defence indicate the importance of this passage. Its floor consisted of a thick layer of clay, with a deep stratum of ash covering it, possibly an indication of destruction by fire. Rooms 30 and 31 opened on to entrance passage, which suggests they were used as guard rooms.

Tower A (pls. 121a, 122, 123). The excavation then moved to Area II (the fortifications). In the north-west corner of the enclosure a large rectangular tower (A) was unearthed, measuring 9.60m. on the north side, 6.60m. on the east, 11.60m. on the west and 7m. on the south. The tower is built largely of mudbrick, but the corners, which were curved, were constructed with limestone masonry, as were its lowest courses (pl. 123). It was found to be hollow, and might have served as a magazine.

Tower B (pl. 122) A second large tower (B), 6.80m, 8.20m. wide, was built close to Tower A on the north wall. Its lower courses were of limestone and its upper sections of mudbrick.

Buttresses c (pl. 122). Two smaller solid buttresses (c), 1.95m. × 1.95m., were also discovered, both of blocks of limestone and mortar.

Buttresses d (pls. 122, 124a). It was next decided to investigate the west section of the enclosure from a point beyond Tower A. Three solid buttresses (d) were found, each 2.05m. × 1.60m., built of mudbrick and faced with limestone and mortar. The remains of a fallen arch came to light, suggesting that the upper portions of the buttresses terminated in a system of arcading between each two buttresses. There were single and double arrow-slits between each two buttresses; each is 1m. high, 80cm. wide on the inside, and 4cm.-6cm. wide on the outside.

Tower E (pl. 122). This stood beyond the buttresses (d); it was 9.70m. long and 8m. wide, of mudbrick with limestone blocks forming its lowest courses.

Buttresses f (pls. 122, 124b). Another three buttresses (f), each 1.60m. × 1.60m., were also unearthed; they were of mudbrick but were not faced with limestone and mortar like buttresses (d) (pl. 124a). Traces of arcading in rubble were found, however, and between the buttresses were arrow-slits similar to those of (d).

Tower G (pl. 122). This was also uncovered in this section. It measured 9.70m × 7.40m., and was similar to Tower E.

Buttresses h (pl. 122). Two buttresses (h), 1.50m. × 1.50m., were unearthed, but there was no evidence concerning whether the spaces between them were arched.

Tower I (pl. 122). This tower, 9.60m. × 7m., was uncovered, except for a part of its south section.

Thus the face of the west wall was completely cleared (pls. 125, 126). Its length was 91m.; its features included towers, buttresses and arcading, and it was constructed partly of mudbrick, and partly of limestone (whether as cut blocks or rubble) and mortar.

Ditch. In front of the west wall debris was cleared, together with a series of small mounds. Their arrangement suggested that the wall might once have been protected by a ditch

On the basis of what was discovered in these excavations, together with observations of unexcavated mounds, it is possible to make a theoretical reconstruction of the remainder of the plan of the enclosure fortifications (pl. 122).

After this investigation of the outside of the fortifications system, it was next determined to dig its inner side. Excavations were carried out in the north-west corner near Tower A.

Room 2 (pl. 122) was unearthed here. It was square, 4.70m. × 4.70m., and 3m. high; its upper walls were damaged, particularly the north and east sections where the plan was clear only to a height of 1m. above the floor. The lower part of the walls was of cut limestone, and the upper of mudbrick. The floor was of clay, mixed with ash. The room entrance, on the east side, was 1m. wide and opened on to the courtyard. Two arrowslits are sited in its west wall, each 60cm. wide within and 10cm. wide on the outside and set 1.20m. above the floor; the distance between them is 60cm. with one facing left and the other right.

Room 3 (pls. 122, 127). This, measuring 6.70m. × 4.70m. and with walls still 4.30m. high, adjoined Tower A at the north-west corner. Of two doorways found in it, one in the east wall opened into the courtyard while the other led into room 4 (inside Tower A) (pl. 127). There are two arrow-slits in its west wall, and a single one in its north wall.

Room 4 (pls. 122, 127a). This is inside Tower A. Only its doorway was excavated, 1m. wide, 1.70m. deep, and 1.85m. high. It had a vault of mud bricks, each 40cm. × 40cm. × 12cm., which still survives. A section 2.70m. long was dug on the left side of the doorway; a stratum of ash 20cm. thick lay over the floor of the entrance. For the purposes of making a plan, the thicknesses of the walls of this room were estimated from other comparable excavated walls.

Room 5 (pl. 122). A sounding measuring 4.70m. × 1.50m. was made in its east section; the walls were found to go down to a depth of 2m. A doorway was discovered in this section, 1m. in width. Further soundings in the north-west and south-west corners established its dimensions: 4.70m. × 4.70m.

Room 6 (pl. 122). This, adjoining Tower E, was also excavated to a depth of 2m.; a sounding was made in its east part. An entrance was found at a depth of 3m., again 1m. wide. This room was also square and measured 4.70m. × 4.70m.

Rooms 7,8 (pl. 122). Soundings were carried out here. In room 7 the east, west and extensively damaged north wall were 4.70m. long.

Room 9 (pl. 122). This was the only part excavated in the north section of the enclosure. It was again square, 4.70m. × 4.70m., with walls standing to a height of 3m. - 3.50m.

Summary. To sum up the results of these excavations of the outer enclosure, a series of square rooms was found to be ranged along the inner faces of the walls: these measured 4.70m. × 4.70m., except for room 3 (4.70m. × 6.70m). Arrow-slits were arranged to provide cross-fire. Buttresses and towers improved the wall defences, and external arcading may have strengthened them further. The lower parts of the defences were of limestone, mortar and mudbrick; what the upper portions were like is as yet a matter of guesswork (pl. 126). No remains of any staircases were found in the excavated area, and how access to the upper parts was provided is unknown.

(b) The inner building

The excavations were subsequently moved to the mound at the centre of the site (pl. 127b).

Room 10 (pls. 122, 128, 129). This turned out to be rectangular, 13.35m. × 4.20m. There was ash and rubble 2m. deep right across it. A sounding 6.60m. × 4.20m. was made in the west section of the room; at a depth of 4.50m. a floor was unearthed, consisting of a mixture of clay, ash and sand. The walls of the room, like those of the rooms on the inner face of the defensive wall, had the lower courses built of limestone blocks and mortar up to a height of 1m.; above this there was mudbrick. There were two buttresses, 1.50m. square, on the east side of the room and three rectangular ones on the west wall, which projected through the wall into the portico on the other side. They were all built of limestone blocks to the full height of the room; the wall between them was of mudbrick. A staircase had been constructed against the south wall of the room; it was supported by an arch, 1.50m. wide. The staircase had 13 steps, each 65cm. wide and 25cm. high. It gave access to room 12 and 13 on the first floor. The height of room 10 was equal to that of the two superimposed stories in the flanking rooms 11, 12 and 13. Along the upper part of the north wall were the remains of what appeared to be the lowest course of a barrel vault. Below the staircase 7 floor levels were uncovered, with virgin soil at a depth of 40cm. Most of these floors consisted of ash and smooth grey clay. The wall below the staircase was blackened as a result, probably, of fire. Five doorways provided access to room 10: two in the east wall, one in the south wall and two in the west wall. The opening in the north-east corner was some 4m. wide, while the remaining doorways were 1m. wide. The arched doorway in the central part of the east wall of room 10 (pl. 129a) was 2.85m. high and flanked by two of the buttresses of cut limestone and mortar just mentioned. The doorway in the west wall is near the south-west corner. The door near the north-west corner led to room 11a, while a further doorway gave access to a short corridor which led to the ground floor room 12a. One staircase, as we have seen, built against the south wall, provided access to the upper rooms 12 and 13; at the north end of the west wall there are no remains to show how access was gained to the upper floor of the room in the north-west corner, although a staircase should have been expected (and has been indicated on the plan, pl. 128).

Rooms 11, 11a (pls. 122, 128). These two superimposed rooms were at the north end of room 10. The upper, room 11, was excavated down to floor level. It measured 5.35m. × 2.80m. Its walls, coated with gypsum plaster, stood to a height of 2m. The remains of vaulting were observed 1.45m. above the floor, indicating a rather low room, intended perhaps for storage rather than habitation. The remains of a window survived in the north wall: its upper portion were destroyed, but its internal width was 45cm., and external width 20cm. In these dimensions the window was similar in construction to the window found in room 18, and both of these resembled windows at Hatra⁽⁴¹⁷⁾. A layer of ash and bones was found in the room, about 2cm. to 10cm. thick. Traces of a considerable conflagration showed in the blackening of the walls. There is no evidence to indicate how the room was approached, but has been supposed for the purposes of the plan (pl. 128) that it was by a (demolished?) staircase beside the doorway. As for room 11a (below room 11), its doorway was revealed in the north-west part of room

(417) Andrae, 1908: vol. I, 19, Abb. 31.

10. For reasons of safety the excavation was not carried forward for more than 1m. inside this doorway, but the room could have been on the ground floor.

Rooms 12, 12a. (pls. 122, 128). To the south-west of room 10 is a section two stories high, the upper storey (rooms 12 and 13) being approached by the staircase built against the south wall of room 10, as already mentioned. Room 12 was cleared: its south wall was badly damaged but the north wall stood to a height of 1.35m. and on its plaster surface a number of graffiti were scratched (no. 28, pls. 172-3). Room 12a. beneath room 12, was not excavated.

Rooms 13, 13a (pls. 122, 128). Room 13, 3.65m. × 2.10m., had the remains of the lowest courses of a vaulted ceiling at a height of 1.60m. above the floor. Room 13a was on the ground floor, immediately beneath room 13; it was investigated from two directions. Its doorway was clearly visible; the approach passage was cleared for some 3m. and proved to be a corridor 1m. wide with a vaulted roof. This passage also gave access to room 12a. Room 13a was also dug down from the floor of room 13; part of its vaulted roof had collapsed.

West portico (J) (pls. 122, 128, 130). Excavation continued along the whole western section of the building, which was 32m. long and consisted of a portico (J), 12.90m. × 2.70m., placed between rooms 11 and 12. Against the east wall of the portico were three buttresses which formed part of another three sunk into the mudbrick west wall of room 10. They were built of fine cut limestone and mortar; each measured 90cm. × 1m., and each is crowned with a carved capital. Three free-standing piers were aligned opposite these buttresses; their presence presumably shows that the buttresses and piers together held up the arched supports of a barrel vaulted roof over the portico. The piers divided the portico into three parts. The central section was the largest, being 4.10m. wide; the openings either side were 2.40m. wide. Unidentified marks were carved on the faces of the piers and buttresses, similar to some found at Hatra. On the left side of the portico was a doorway 1m. wide giving access to room 10. A limestone lintel, with an Aramaic inscription [XX], originally spanned this doorway. A tall arched niche, 1m. deep, of cut limestone and mortar, was built into the wall on the left side of the doorway. The niche seems later to have been closed off with a curtain-like mudbrick wall. The north and south walls of the portico had arches built into the walls against rooms 11 and 12; these were supported by buttresses. The portico area was not excavated to floor level but only to a depth of 2m., except for a small area in front of the doorway into room 10, where a sounding revealed floor level at a depth of 6m.

North portico (K) (pls. 122, 128, 130b, 131a). Excavation was next carried out on the north and south sides of the building, to establish its outline. Enough evidence was collected to show that the layout consisted of pillared porticoes, similar to those of the west section. Thus in the north portico (K) the pillars and buttresses were again built of limestone and the rest of the wall of mudbrick. The central opening of the portico was 4.20m. while the side openings were 2.20m. wide. The only oddity in the north portico was the lack of a doorway into the building.

Room 14 (pls. 122, 128), adjoining the north portico (K), was rectangular, measuring 5.35m. × 3m. Its northern wall was badly damaged, but its foundations survived.

South portico (L) (pls. 122, 128, 131b). Excavation in the southern section of the building produced a portico with the same plan as those of the north and west; the measurements were also identical. In the north wall was a doorway 90cm. wide, giving access to room 24. An arched niche was located on the east side of the doorway. Above the door was a window 57cm. high, with an external width of 13cm.

Room 15 (pls. 122, 128). This was a rectangular room, 5.30m. × 3.70m., in the eastern section of the building; its doorway was 2.85m. wide and faced east. A limestone buttress was built on its left side; this was 1.25 m. wide, and projected 2.30 m. from the outer south face. This room was dug to a depth of 2m. – 3m.

Room 16 (pls. 122, 128), to the east, was rectangular, 7.20m. × 8.85m. There were two doorways on the north side, one leading to room 17; another one, on its south side, gave access to room 19. The debris in room 16 was sand only. This, together with the size, and the lack of any evidence of roofing suggest that room 16 may in fact have been a courtyard, open to the sky.

Room 17 (pls. 122, 128). This rectangular room, 4.45m. × 3.85m., was excavated to a depth of 2 m.; a sounding, 2.50m. × 1.60m., was made in its south section. The inner face of the room was plastered with gypsum. The remains of a vault were discovered in the south-east corner. The only intact pottery from the site, a pear-shaped amphora, was found in the debris beside the doorway «53» (pls. 209, 210).

Room 18 (pls. 122, 128), in the southern part of the east section of the building, measured 2.45m. × 2.05m. Its walls stand 4.80m. high on the east side, and 5.05m. on the south. The south part of the room contained a doorway 86cm. wide in its upper section and 91cm. in its lower; its height was 1.80m. A small window, 55cm. high, was set in the upper part of the wall in this section. A large arched doorway, 2m. wide, occupied part of the south wall. In the west wall was an arched doorway consisting of two limestone blocks with a stone lintel bearing a relief placed over them. The relief (pls. 132a, 133), 60cm. long and 32cm. wide, in the centre of the lintel, was carved with an extraordinary group of symbols also seen at Hatra⁽⁴¹⁸⁾; a painting of the same subject occurred in Palmyra⁽⁴¹⁹⁾. The central motif is an eye, apparently transfixed by a dagger, and attacked on the left by a snake and a scorpion and on the right by a long-necked and long-legged bird, identified as a bustard⁽⁴²⁰⁾. The scorpion is stinging it with its tail, the snake seems about to bite and the bird appears to be pecking at it. This onslaught on the eye by the knife and these three creatures suggests that the subject of the relief is the "evil eye", attacked so as to prevent its ill effects⁽⁴²¹⁾. A window was set in the east wall, 2m. above the floor; it looked into room 19 (pls. 132b, 134a). It is 1.30m. high, 60cm. wide, 1.5m. deep and is similar in shape both to the window in room 11 and to those in Hatrene buildings, as already mentioned. The interior walls of the room were covered with gypsum mortar.

Room 19 (pls. 122, 128, 134a) was rectangular, 3.80m. × 4.30m. It was excavated to a depth of 2.90m., and then soundings were made in the east and west parts of the room, which revealed its floor at a depth of 2m. The upper part of the west wall of the room was very roughly built of mudbrick (pl. 134a), while a part of the south and north walls was constructed of cut limestone and mortar. In the upper parts of both north and south walls were arched remains, suggesting that the room had a vaulted ceiling for at least part of its length, but the existence of the window in room 18 is an indication that the rest of this area may have been open. The north, south and east walls in this room contained a doorway 1m. wide. Excavation revealed that the east doorway had originally been 3m. wide, but had been reduced with cut limestone blocks by 2m. to become 1m. in width like the others. The debris in this room consisted of ash, mudbrick, rubble and pieces of stucco together with sand.

(418) Safar and Mustafa, 1974. 391.

(419) Colledge, 1976: fig. 48.

(420) Kindly identified by Mr. M.P. Walters of the British Museum Natural History section, in his letter to the writer dated 11 March 1980.

(421) Colledge, 1976: fig. 48.

Room 20 (pls. 122, 128, 134b, 135-138). Excavations were next conducted in the south part of the east section of the building. Room 20 seemed to extend eastward and then southward, forming an L-shape and ending in an outer doorway. The other walls of this area on the north and east were also uncovered. Here a complex passage of an elaborate right-angled (that is, L-shaped or "dog-leg") entrance was revealed. Its outer doorway was the main entrance to the inner building (pls. 134b, 135a); this was 1.10m. wide and made up of two limestone blocks, each 70cm. long and 65cm. wide, with an inscribed limestone lintel [XXI] placed across them. The L-shaped entry is also to be seen in the gates of the city wall of Hatra, datable to the period of NŞRW "maria" (A.D. 120s and 130s) [IX]⁽⁴²²⁾ So room 20 was clearly a fortified entrance. In support of this supposition is the fact that its east wall contains three arrow-slits facing towards the open area between room 20 and the outer walls of the site; other arrow-slits are also directed from adjacent rooms so as to cover movement within this area.

A staircase, starting from the entrance to room 18, winds around the western and southern side of room 20 (pls. 135b, 136a, b). The bottom step was 1.60m. long; then the upper ones were 42cm. wide and 20cm. high. The southern flight is carried over a gypsum arched niche, which had a floor 10cm. above the floor of the passage and in which was an opening, a window or an arrow-slit; later, it was filled in with mudbrick and mortar in a curtain-like manner (pls. 135b, 137a). A shallow circular hole was dug in the floor of the passage in front of the arch, 54cm. in diameter and 45cm. deep, the purpose of which is unclear. Above the western flight of the staircase was a small niche at distance of 2.24m. from the floor, it was 75cm. in height, 68cm. in width and 59cm. in depth (pls. 135b, 137b, 138). A statue base of limestone, 60cm. square, was found on the floor of the passage near the archway which supported the steps. From its dimensions it could have been set within the small niche. The interior of this niche was decorated with painted figures; two show a certain 'GY (named above) who as other evidence indicates, was the founder of this building (paintings 31-2, [XXIII-XXIV], pls. 176-7, 179).

East portico (pls. 122, 128, 139a,b). Excavations indicated that rooms 15-20 were a later addition to the building, so no remains of the east portico have survived on this side except for the limestone buttresses positioned as on the other three sides but incorporated into the walls of the later structures.

Room 21 (pls. 122, 128). This, 3.10m. × 5.50m., was rectangular; it was dug to a depth of 2m., and then a sounding 5m. × 2m. was made on the north side. The walls survive to a height of 5m., and were plastered with gypsum mortar. A layer of ash was found on top of the floor, below other debris. In the north wall of the room were three arrow-slits, 1.20m. above the floor and directed towards the entrance (room 20). The doorway of this room was 3m. high.

Room 22 (pls. 122, 128), small and rectangular, was excavated to a depth of 2m. only. The greater part of its vaulted ceiling was still intact. An arrow-slit which can be seen in the west wall of the passage (room 20) was in fact only partly located in this room.

Rooms 23, 24, 25, 26, 28 (pls. 122, 128) were excavated to a depth of 1.50m. to 2.50m. to establish the plan of this section; but no small finds or special features were revealed.

Room 29 (pl. 128), in the east section of the building, was rectangular, being 1.65m. × 3.47m. Its entrance was L-shaped, 80cm. wide on the outside and 68cm. wide on the inside, and 1.70m. in length. The remains of the walls stand 1.90m. high.

Rooms 30-37 (pl. 122). These rooms were investigated; their east walls had disappeared, except for those in rooms 33 and 34. The walls were constructed of cut limestone and mortar. Their doorways faced west, where the courtyard of the building was located. Rooms 30 and 31, which opened on to the entrance passage called room 1, could have been guard rooms.

(422) See above, p. 121

The colonnade (pls. 122, 128, 140, 141a). This consisted of eight square limestone bases, each 70cm. square. Five of them are still in position. Each intercolumniation measures 3.15m., except for the central one, which is wider. Each base supported a column of circular limestone drums 45cm. in diameter and 41cm.-50cm. high. Some of the drums are lying in the bed of the wadi. The column bases stood on a limestone foundation 80cm. thick. This colonnade appears to belong to an early period of construction, possibly to the same time as the original squaish inner building. The colonnade was at some point blocked up with limestone rubble and mortar. At the moment it is not possible to determine whether the complex of rooms 15-19 and the entrance room 20 on the east side of the building are contemporary with the blocking up of the colonnade. That the two sections were for a while separate is clearly shown in the archaeological record by the masonry of a wall which joined them, clearly differentiated from that of rooms 15-20 and the material used to block up the colonnade. So this wall was later than these other constructions.

The colonnade rooms 30-36 (pl. 122). The archaeological evidence indicated that the rooms on either side of the colonnade were a later addition to the colonnade itself, and formed part of the defences described earlier. To the north of the colonnade rooms 30-33 opened on to or near the passage (called room 1) which gave access to the outer entrance to the site; rooms 30 and 31 might possibly have been guard rooms.

Architecture

The site of Khirbet Jaddalah presents us with many tantalizing problems. The excavation produced a plan, and showed that the site underwent extensive alteration and expansion during its occupation which could radically changed its character. One particularly baffling problem is that of the purpose, or purposes, of the site structures.

Several Aramaic inscriptions, found on the site, give some help, but pose further questions [XX-XXIV]. The name of the founder, and date of (original?) construction, are revealed by two limestone lintel texts, placed over doorways. The first [XX] was over the west doorway of room 10 (and so associated with the first phase of the building), and the second [XXI] over the outer doorway of the entrance passage room 20 (and so associated with the second phase); both, however, record the same fact, namely that building was constructed in A.D. 141/ 2 by 'GY the son of 'B'⁴²³. In these texts the building is described by the term BYRT': this is unfortunately not as helpful as it might seem, as the word may be interpreted either as "shrine" (or "palace"), as in contemporary Palmyrene Aramaic⁽⁴²⁴⁾ or as "fort" or "castle", as in Assyrian⁽⁴²⁵⁾.

First phase (pls. 122, 128, 142, 143). It is clear from the excavation that the building at the centre of the site, together with the colonnade, were the first structures to be erected. With this phase of the central building is associated lintel text [XX] placed over the west door of room 10 and dated A.D. 141/ 2. Rooms 15-20 and 29, which occupy the ground between the main block and the colonnade were a later addition; if these later structures were removed, what would be left is a square building with a rectangular room at each corner, and with a portico on each side (pl. 142). In room 18, the doorway which was at the centre of the east side of the building was most likely the main entrance, as it was aligned with central intercolumniation in the colonnade, which itself, like the porticos, had a central opening wider than those on either side.

(423) The name 'GY does not appear in known Hatrene inscriptions, but 'B' occurs frequently there [5, 104, 140, 176, 188, 225, 288]. The figure of 'GY, who is named above his head, was painted in the small niche in the west wall of the passage called room 20 (paintings nos. 31-32, pls. 176-9, [XXIII, XXIV]).

(424) Personal communications from Professor J.B. Segal and Dr. S. Brock.

(425) C.A.D., 1965: 261.

At each corner of the original building, symmetrically arranged, was a rectangular tower containing a room (pls. 142, 143). Between these were porticos, of which there are extensive remains on the north, south and west sides: that originally on the east was largely removed to make way for rooms 15-20. These remains include, in each case, three square piers of limestone blocks which could have supported a portico linking each of the towers. The arrangement of these groups is symmetrical, with side piers set closer than the central. On two sides (the west and south) two more closely placed piers flanked an entry into the building itself; on the north excavation revealed no sign of an entrance, while that on the east had been largely removed so that rooms 15-20 could be built. Behind each pier was a limestone buttress, aligned with it, set into the wall behind. Piers and buttresses were definitely aligned on the north and south sides, and probably originally on the east and west as well. Furthermore, the two central columns of the colonnade were also aligned with two piers on the west side of the building, and doubtless originally with two on the east also.

This kind of portico, its attachment to a main structure, and the interior arrangement of rooms have not yet been found elsewhere. But the siting of the corner tower has distant parallels elsewhere in mid-Parthian period mudbrick buildings at Shahr-i Qumis (Iran) and Saksanakhyr (Bactria). The Shahr-i Qumis building was a long rectangular structure, 43m. in length and 24m. in width, with an oblong tower, with a room inside, at each corner, while half-way along each long side wall there was a further tower, again containing a single room⁽⁴²⁶⁾ A wall divided the interior of the building into two parts. The south-east an open court. The north-west was a squarish dwelling area with three rectangular rooms in the centre surrounded by narrow corridors. The north-west section, in overall plan, bears some resemblance to the portion of the Jaddalah structure surrounding room 10; in addition, both the Shahr-i Qumis north-west portion and the Jaddalah building were squarish and had the distinctive feature of long rectangular towers with internal rooms at each corner. The Shahr-i Qumis excavators drew a comparison between it and a strikingly similar building revealed at Saksanakhyr in Bactria, datable to either the first century B.C. or the first century A.D.⁽⁴²⁷⁾ They identified these buildings as large private houses.⁽⁴²⁸⁾

Other architectural features of the first phase at Khirbet Jaddalah were paralleled at contemporary Hatra. Some building methods were similar, such as the technique of erecting walls with cut limestone and mortar in the lower portions and mudbrick in the upper. The colonnade, an import from east Roman architecture, and the capitals of the piers of the porticos, were also like some seen at Hatra. Most of the Jaddalah doorways were placed near a corner, a feature also seen in Hatrene houses and in the east gate of the city wall⁽⁴²⁹⁾

Second phase (pls. 122, 128, 144). The later reworking of, and additions to, Khirbet Jaddalah changed the character of the site. The portico on the east side was blocked up completely, the ground between it and the colonnade was also closed, and a new complex of structures (rooms 15-20, 29) was inserted, some of which were provided with arrow-slits. The arrangement of the chambers or passageways within these new buildings shows a complicated zig-zag route through rooms 16, 19, 20 and 18, of which the latter three were defended by arrow-slits.

(426) Hansman and Stronach, 1970: 142-155; *ibid.*, 1974: 8-22; Colledge, 1977: fig. 25B.

(247) Hansman and Stronach, 1970: 142; Colledge, 1977: fig. 25D; Herrmann, 1977: 35

(428) Colledge, 1977: 56, fig. 25D calls it a "fortified residence"

(429) See above, p. 120-121.

The date of this transformation of the central building is unclear. Over the outer doorway lintel of room 20 was an Aramaic inscription [XXI] stating that the building (BYRT) was built by 'GY' the son of 'B' in A.D. 141⁴³⁰. This, confusingly, is precisely the same information as is given in [XX], inscribed over the lintel of room 10 and so on an original part of the building, the only difference lies in an increased number of persons being mentioned in [XXI]. How it came about that foundation texts of the same date occur on lintels over doorways of the first and second phases is not clear. Perhaps the date was a scribal error, perhaps the stone was re-used, or a similar text re-inscribed. However it happened, the text can not be used to date this second phase.

At roughly the same time as the central building was transformed the substantial outer enclosure was built, consisting of a "curtain" wall heavily defended with massive towers, buttresses and internal chambers; and the colonnade was blocked up. Arrow-slits were incorporated, designed to provide close-fire; some were double (pl. 144a,b), so that two men could stand behind them together, able to fire both to the right and to the left. Between each pair of arrow-slits was a buttress; the spaces between these buttresses were arched. This arcade ran the length of the wall; perhaps the upper sections were designed for defensive purposes, but this is speculation. Thus the buildings of the first phase, whatever their original purpose, were replaced by a massive and intricate defensive structure.

Again, many architectural features of this phase were similar to those of Hatra in this period. The L-shaped passage (room 20) at Jaddalah is similar to that in the Hatra city wall gates (pls. 86, 90)⁽⁴³⁰⁾. The enclosure towers were generally similar, except that they were not completely rectangular (as at Hatra), having curved corners. Arrow-slits were used at Jaddalah more than at Hatra, where in the city gates arrow-slits are known only in the rooms flanking the inner entrance of the northern gate. On the other hand the forms of arrow-slits, particularly the double ones, differ at both sites. At Hatra the arrow-slits have one opening in the interior leading to two apertures outside, while at Jaddalah it is opposite there being two angled apertures in the interior wall and one outside. So the roles of the archers were clearly different: at Hatra one archer used the slit, while at Jaddalah two did. These architectural elements show that Hatrene influence was fairly pervasive here.

Third phase (pls. 122, 128). This consisted of the erection of a wall linking rooms 15-20 with the already blocked up colonnade.

What have these various architectural features of Khirbet Jaddalah, and the other finds made there, to contribute to central structure, BYRT, used in texts [XX] and [XXI] could, it will be recalled, mean "shrine" or "fort". The architecture of the first phase, to which the term refers, reflects this ambiguity. The original structure is unique in plan, although with distant parallels, perhaps, in mid-Parthian period fortified dwellings; it is certainly unlike any known shrine or temple at Hatra, with the buildings of which its architectural techniques have much in common. There are, however, some slight signs that the original Jaddalah structure might have been a shrine. The colonnaded front facade occurred at Hatra in shrines D ("of Shah (i) ru") and E ("of MRN")⁽⁴³¹⁾, and an "evil eye" relief also in the latter (as well as in a tomb at Palmyra)⁽⁴³²⁾. Furthermore, another Aramaic inscription [XXII] from the site, although damaged, contains the word (Q) DM GDYL ("before GDYL"). The preposition QDM occurs at Hatra commonly before names of divinities, if this were parallel, GDYL might be a divine name, which, to judge by its form, could in fact be an ancient version of the modern Jaddalah. It also accords with the name of an Arab tribe mentioned by early Arab writers. Thus there are very slight indications that the building might have been a shrine, although not enough to justify A. Stein's claim that it was a temple of Hercules. Moreover, whatever the function of the original structure at Khirbet Jaddalah, it is plain that in its second and third phases it became a large and well defended fort.

(430) See p. 120-121

(431) See p. p. 124-125

(432) See p. 148

History

The foundation date of A.D. 141/ 2 for Khirbet Jaddalah ([XX, XXI]) places it soon after the disastrous Anatolian incursion of the Alani tribesmen in A.D. 135-6, shortly after the death of the Roman emperor Hadrian in A.D. 138 and not long before the accession of the Parthian king Vologases III (or IV) about A.D. 148. In its own vicinity the original inner building was contemporary with the reconstruction of the wall of the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha) at Hatra in A.D. 138 [272], and with the fortified site of Qbr Ibn Naif (no. 70), some 12km. north of Jaddalah, dated to A.D. 138⁽⁴³³⁾. It is as yet too soon to establish if the construction was part of a pattern of building in the area.

Concerning the question whether Jaddalah was under the control of Hatra, or whether, for instance its founder 'GY was a tribal vassal of the Hatrene state, there is as yet no evidence. But the occurrence at Hatra of administrative titles mentioning "the Arabs", namely RB' ("chief"), RBYT' ("steward") or MLK' ("king") D (Y) 'RB ("of the Arabs") (or D (Y) 'RBY' "of Arabaya"), in texts of which datable examples belong to the period of the Hatrene king (from at least A.D. 176/ 7 on)⁽⁴³⁴⁾ surely indicates that the whole region, to the Khabur valley, had by then come under the power of Hatra, as early Arab historians stated⁽⁴³⁵⁾.

At Hatra itself, the building of new small shrines in the dwelling area, some of which are recorded as having been constructed by tribes, such as VIII a (in A.D. 98) and IX (restored in A.D. 165), by tribes, such as V and one or two others of which (X, and V?) were standing by the time of NSRW "maria" (in the A.D. 120s and 130s), seems to have ceased in the period of the (dated) king (from A.D. 176/ 7 on)⁽⁴³⁶⁾. This could have been due to an increase in the central power of the kingdom, leading to a more centralized system of worship. So if Khirbet Jaddalah had been at the outset primarily a religious building, it might have lost its divine function as a part of this process, and so been available for conversion into a fort, in response to different needs.

The thick layer of ash found lying immediately above floor level over most parts of the site, and the smoke-blackened walls of rooms 10 and 11 in the inner building, suggest that the history of Khirbet Jaddalah ended with a fire. This could have been a result of warfare, for instance during the invasions of Septimius Severus in A.D. 198 and 200 (?), of Ardashir about A.D. 227, or, in A.D. 241, of the Sasanian Shapur I, the destroyer of Hatra.



(433) Safar, 1961: 42

(434) See above, p. 104-105, 109-110

(435) See above, p. 104.

(436) See above, p. 129-132.

CHAPTER 5: GRAFFITI AND PAINTINGS FROM HATRA AND KHIRBET JADDALAH

Introduction	157
Catalogue	157
(a) Graffiti	157
(i) Riding, hunting and associated scenes	157
(ii) Religious scenes (?)	159
(iii) Male and female figures in various poses	160
(b) Paintings	161
Discussion	162
(a) Graffiti	162
(i) Distribution and quality	162
(ii) Iconography	163
(b) Paintings	164
(i) Distribution and quality	164
(ii) Iconography	165

Introduction

Both graffiti (by which incised designs are meant here) and paintings (whether monochrome sketches or fully executed polychrome frescoes) have been found at Hatra⁽⁴³⁷⁾ and Khirbet Jaddalah. One fragmentary fresco in several colours from Hatra has been published⁽⁴³⁸⁾. In this chapter are collected a number of unpublished graffiti and monochrome sketches from both Hatra and Khirbet Jaddalah; examples from both sites are treated together, as they are stylistically similar, and they are arranged according to subject matter. All these examples, as architectural and other indications show, date from the last century and a half of Hatra's history; where any more precise indications of date are present, these are mentioned in the individual case.

The texts which sometimes accompany graffiti and paintings are given in Appendix 1.

Catalogue

(a) Graffiti

(i) Riding, hunting and associated scenes

No. 1. Man riding a camel (pl. 145).

He holds a bow in his left hand. The camel's back is covered with a blanket (?).

Provenance: room 3, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.20m. above the floor (pl. 90).

No. 2. Head and torso of a hunter (pl. 146).

He aims an arrow towards a lion (?).

Provenance: room 3, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.60m. above the floor (pl. 90).

No. 3. Two male figures (pl. 147).

These are crudely drawn. A horseman holds a bow and arrow; behind him stands a stylized human figure.

Provenance: room 5, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.20m. above the floor (pl. 90).

No. 4. A horseman (pl. 148).

The man rides a galloping horse, to the flank of which is attached a quiver filled with arrows. The heads of man and horse are missing.

Provenance: room 3, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.30m. above the floor (pl. 90).

No. 5. A horseman (pl. 149).

The man's head is damaged. He seems to aim a bow and arrow.

Provenance: room 5, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.50m. above the floor.

No. 6. A man riding a donkey (pl. 150).

He wears a helmet or (royal?) tiara decorated with an eagle. He holds a bow, with which he is shooting at a gazelle; one of the arrows has already struck the victim.

Provenance: room 3, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.20 m. above the floor (pl. 90).

No. 7. A horseman with deer and rabbits (pl. 151).

The upper part of the horseman is missing. Two deer, one with its head turned backwards, run away from him, while two rabbits run towards him.

Provenance: room 3, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.38m. above the floor (pl. 90).

(437) I should like to express my thanks to the excavator, Mr. M.S. Abdual for allowing me to study the graffiti found in the eastern gate of the city wall of Hatra. Two Hatrene graffiti are published by Safar and Mustafa, 1974: pls. 196, and pl. p. 202.

(438) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 206-207, pl. 196.

No. 8. Horseman and lion (pl. 152).

A man rides a galloping horse. In front of him is a lion in an attacking posture. In the field, above the horseman's head, is a stylized leaf or tree (?).

Provenance: room 5, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.05m. above the floor (pl. 90).

No. 9. A man hunting two animals (pl. 153).

He stands with one of his legs resting on a rock-like object. In front of him he holds out a long rectangular object incised with horizontal lines. A circle drawn by his left leg might indicate a shield. One of the animals shown is a gazelle; the other is difficult to identify.

Provenance: room 5, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.60m. above the floor (pl. 90).

No. 10. Figures, birds and animals (pls. 154, 155) [XVII].

A number of figures and objects are scattered across the field. In the upper part three double triangles are visible, with the upper part of a fourth on the bottom left; these might represent tents. Two small figures wearing pointed headgear appear in the upper part; one is perhaps meant to be shown as with the tent (?). Above one of these small figures is a large bearded head with a long nose in left profile. In the centre appears a bird, possibly an eagle, at rest, in front of which is a figure standing with a bird above its head. Below there is the upper part of a further figure. On the right a gazelle is shown at rest. To the right again is part of a frontal figure, with an object vaguely resembling the double triangles. On the bottom left is part of another figure, while on the bottom right are two horsemen firing arrows from bows.

Provenance: room 9, house of M'NW, Hatra, 1.30m. above the floor (pl. 105).

No. 11. Horsemen attacking a lion (pls. 156, 157) [XVIII].

Two almost entire horsemen, and part of a third, are seen firing arrows from bows at a lion. To the top left is a standing figure stretching out his left hand, apparently bearded and nude; this might be identifiable with Hercules (or Heracles, who is often represented at Hatra), particularly in view of the fact that the divine name NRGL (that is, of Hercules' Semitic equivalent) occurs at least twice in the many scratched texts on this wall.

Provenance: room 6, house of M'NW, Hatra, 1.20m. above the floor (pl. 105).

No. 12. A horseman and other figures (pls. 158, 159) [XIX].

At the top is a galloping horseman with a bow; behind him stands a bird, possibly an eagle. Below him are shown other birds and a small niche or aedicula. To the left an apparently female figure stands on a high base within an arched. At the bottom right is another figure, also perhaps standing on a pedestal.

Provenance: Room 9, house of M'NW, Hatra, 1.25m. above the floor (pl. 105).

No. 13. A horseman and various animals (pl. 160).

All the animals are running. The horseman, perhaps with a bow, is at the bottom left. Above him, on the left, a rabbit with short ears runs leftwards (while the rest move to our right). To the right of this a fragmentary human appears strike at what seems to be a lion; beyond this is a stag. Below the lion is a horse without a rider but with saddle cloth and what might be tasselled ornaments. Below the stag is what appears to be wild member of the cattle (?) family.

Provenance: room 5, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.25m. above the floor (pl. 90).

No. 14. A horseman with deer, goats (?) and a dog (?) (pl. 161) [XVI].

The horseman appears at the top, in the centre, apparently stretching out both arms and on a standing (or walking) horse. Below, to the right, are two large horned deer leaping towards the right, one of them male. Facing them are more deer, or goats (?), with their heads and long necks drawn differently from those of the deer; they seem to be walking. To the right is shown a dog (?). The unhurried attitude of the horseman's mount

might suggest he is not a hunter but a herdsman, and that the animals shown are domesticated.

Provenance: room 3, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.10m. above the floor (pl. 90).

The horseman appears at the top, in the centre, apparently stretching out both arms and on a standing (or walking) horse. Below, to the right, are two large horned deer leaping towards the right, one of them male. Facing them are more deer, or goats (?), with their heads and long necks drawn differently from those of the deer; they seem to be walking. To the right is shown a dog (?). The unhurried attitude of the horseman's mount might suggest he is not a hunter but a herdsman, and that the animals shown are domesticated.

No. 15. Standing archer (pl. 162a).

The archer stands frontally, wearing a long tunic. The decorative circles on his right leg recall trouser ornament on Hatrene statuary and suggest he, too, is meant to be shown trousered.

Provenance: room 5, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.40m. above the floor (pl. 90).

No. 16. Rabbit (?) and two birds (pl. 162b).

At the top is the head of an animal, possibly a rabbit. Below are two similar birds standing in right profile, perhaps partridges.

Provenance: room 3, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.08m. above the floor (pl. 90).

No. 17. Two birds (pl. 163) [XI].

The birds are roughly incised in left profile. The associated inscriptions suggest that the one on our left is a partridge and the other a pigeon.

Provenance: room 5, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.10m. above the floor (pl. 90).

(ii) Religious scenes (?)

No. 18. Female figure and standard (pl. 164).

She stands frontally, with arms outstretched; her right hand touches the top of a standard, of a religious kind seen elsewhere in Hatrene art. She has a tripartite coiffure. Her long dress has many incised folds. The figure might possibly represent the goddess Victory personified (Nike), not uncommon in Hatrene art, but perhaps here in an unusual wingless form, as no wings are visible.

Provenance: room 1, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.60m. above the floor (pl. 90).

No. 19. Eagle in a niche (pl. 165).

The niche rises from two pilasters, and has rectangular framing above. In the field an eagle stands in left profile on a high pedestal, holding a branch in its beak; its body is decorated with incised lines. Before it is a little altar, from the top of which rise flames. Behind it is a (religious) standard, on top of which stands an eagle (?), again in left profile.

Provenance: room 3, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.20m. above the floor (pl. 90).

No. 20. Eagle with spread wings (pl. 166).

The bird, frontal but with head turned leftward, stands on what seems to be a (religious) standard, with some Aramaic letters on it. In front of it, to our left, is an altar from which flames rise.

Provenance: room 3, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.50m. above the floor (pl. 90).

No. 21. Eagle with spread wings (pls. 167, 168a).

It stands in right profile, but with both wings shown. Body and wings are decorated with incisions that might represent feathers.

Provenance: room 12, Khirbet Jaddalah, 1m. above the floor (pls. 122, 128).

No. 22. Four birds (pl. 168b).

These are crudely sketched, all in left profile.

- (a) (top left) Bird in flight, holding an object in its beak.
- (b) (top right) Head, unidentifiable.
- (c) (bottom left) Wren?
- (d) (bottom right) Eagle or large hawk, holding a piece of branch in its beak.

Provenance: room 20, Khirbet Jaddalah, 1m. above the floor.

Date: this room was rebuilt in the sites's second phase; the first phase is dated to A.D. 141/ 2.

(iii) Male and female figures in various poses.

No. 23. Male figure reclining on a couch (pl. 169a).

He is shown frontally in a knee-length tunic, with three pillows under his left arm. He holds a leaf vertically in his right hand. The couch leg shown has two decorative bulges.

Provenance: room 1, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.70m. above the floor (pl. 90).

No. 24. Male figure reclining on a couch (pl. 169b).

He is shown frontally, in a knee-length tunic, resting on three pillows placed under his left forearm. The two couch legs shown each have two decorative bulges.

Provenance: room 3, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.90m. above the floor (pl. 90).

No. 25. Seated (?) figure (pl. 170a).

This figure, perhaps male, is shown apparently seated in a three-quarters view to our right, with legs apart and holding what looks like a musical instrument.

Provenance: room 3, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.05m. above the floor (pl. 90).

No. 26. Male bearded head in left profile (pl. 170b).

This combination of curled hair with straight-haired moustache and beard is common in representation of Hatrene nobility (Safar and Mustafa, 1974: pls. 4, 32, 39, 47, 55-58, 60-63, 199, 200, 212, 216) and deities (ibid., pls. 225, 257). The profile view, however, is unusual for a representation on a plane surface, and the costume, as shown, distantly recalls the Roman military cuirass.

Provenance: room 3, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.60m. above the floor (pl. 90).

No. 27. Two men fighting (pl. 171) [XIII].

The look towards each other; their torsos are frontal, their legs in three-quarters view and their heads in symmetrically opposed inward-looking profile. The man on our left is not very fully sketched, the other, on our right, seems to hold a shield in his right hand and a spear in his left. Aramaic texts between them refer to victory.

Provenance: room 5, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.30m. above the floor (pl. 90).

No. 28. Three female (?) heads (pls. 172, 173).

These are frontal.

Provenance: room 12, Khirbet Jaddalah, 1m. above the floor (pls. 122, 128).

Date: this room was built in the first phase of the site, dated A.D. 141/ 2 [XX], so these could date from then on until A.D. 241.

(b) Paintings

No. 29. Male figure reclining on a couch (pl. 174).

The scene is painted in red. The male figure is bareheaded, and wears the usual Hatrene knee-length tunic and trousers; his left elbow rests on a tall cushion. His left hand is placed against his chest; his right holds some object. The couch with its thick mattress and turned legs is shown in considerable detail. To the right of the couch is a (religious) standard. The fact that this scene was painted on the right hand side of the "eagle" niche of the Hatra eastern city gate, adjoining the "eagle" relief and accompanying text of the RBYT' called ŠMŠ-BRK dated to A.D. 151 [I, cf. 336], could suggest that this is contemporary with the latter, and might even represent ŠMŠ-BRK himself (see above, p. 101, 109).

Provenance: the right hand side (from the spectator's viewpoint) of the "eagle" niche, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.30m. above the floor (pl. 90).

Date: c.A.D. 151? (see above).

No. 30. Standing male figure (pl. 175) (XV).

This is painted in red. The figure stands frontally with legs wide apart on high base, wearing a knee-length tunic (?) ornamented with irregular dots. In his left hand he holds a stick or club (?) over his left shoulder, while with his right he is possibly casting incense on to a fire altar beside him. An Aramaic inscription above his head originally stated the name of the subject, but this is now lost.

Provenance: The niche, eastern gate, city wall, Hatra, 1.30m. above the floor (pl. 90).

No. 31. Goddess above a standing male (pls. 176-178) [XXIII].

This is one of a pair of paintings in black, each showing apparently the same two figures one above the other, almost exactly symmetrically opposed on either side of niche in the first phase wall (datable to A.D. 141/ 2 [XX]) of room 20 in the central building of Khirbet Jaddalah (see no. 32). The centre of the niche may have held a statue. This pair of figures is on the left (from the spectator's viewpoint). In the lower register is a bearded, bareheaded male figure (pl. 177), standing frontally with his right arm across his body and his left raised (in a gesture of religious reverence, although the right hand is elsewhere shown performing this function, so depicted here for purposes of symmetry?). He wears either a long coat over a black tunic, or a knee-length tunic with a broad central black stripe; a decoration of three dots appears on his right shoulder. But his head is painted his name: 'GY presumably the founder of the building [XXIII]. Above him is a female figure (pl. 178), standing (pl. 178), standing three-quarters to our right, in a dress flared at the ankles and ornamented with groups of three dots like those on 'GY's' shoulder; whether these dots were symbolic or purely decorative is unknown, but the fact that they also appear on the dress of 'GY, a mortal, favours a decorative purpose. From the waist two long, tassell-like objects fly back; they could be the ends of a waistband, or possibly the lower parts of wings. Her right arm apparently pointed forwards. Behind her are three large star-like rosettes, possibly symbolic. The figure recalls the bronze statue of Victory (Nike) personified found at Hatra (Al-Salihi, 1980: 180, 181, figs. 39, 40) although the lack of wings creates an iconographical difficulty, as Nike is normally winged.

Provenance: first-phase wall niche, room 20, Khirbet Jaddalah (pls. 122, 128, 137b, 138).

Date: probably c. A.D. 141.

No. 32. Goddess above a standing male (pl. 179) [XXIV].

This is the second of a pair of two superimposed figures in black set on either side of the first-phase wall niche (A.D. 141/ 2) in room 20, Khirbet Jaddalah (see no. 31). This is on the spectator's right. In the lower register only the head of the originally full-length male figure survives; it is closely similar to the figure opposite, and like it has the name 'GY painted beside the head (cf. pl. 177). Above there is a female figure, similar to the

one in no. 31 but in a symmetrically opposite pose. In this case the arms and both hands remain, stretched towards out left, holding up what could be either a snake (possibly with two tails), two snakes (cf. Safar and Mustafa, 1974: pl. 191), or else a fillet or wreath, a common attribute of the goddess Nike (Victory personified). Parts of the head also survive, but they are not very clear. The dress has same groups of three dots as that of no. 31 (pl. 178); it has a pair of tassell-like objects flying out behind it, again either the ends of the waistband or possibly the lower edges of wings. In the field are five star-like rosettes, again perhaps symbolic.

Provenance: first-phase wall-niche, room 20, Khirbet Jaddalah (pls. 122, 128, 137b, 138).

No. 33. Two female (?) figures (pl. 180).

These were painted in black, each placed symmetrically opposite the other in one front face of the pilasters flanking the niche in the first-phase wall (datable to A.D. 141/ 2 [XX]) of room 20 in the central building of Khirbet Jaddalah (see nos 31-32). One is extremely badly damaged. Of the second (on our left), the upper part remains, with the details of the face damaged (pl. 180). The head covering recalls a female hairstyle at Hatra (Safar and Mustafa, 1974: pls. 108, 225, 226); otherwise, it might be a helmet, again of a kind represented at Hatra (cf. *ibid.*, pls. 149, 150). The left arm is held at the side.

Provenance: niche in first-phase wall, room 20, Khirbet Jaddalah (pls. 122, 128, 137b, 138).

Date: probably c.A.D. 141.

Discussion

The content of these graffiti and paintings and their accompanying texts, where present, raises numbers of important problems. The main purpose of this chapter has been, however, to present this new evidence; so comment will be limited.

(a) Graffiti

(i) Distribution and quality

A particular interest of the graffiti lies in the fact that they clearly represent a less formal level of culture than the sculptures and carved inscriptions emanating from the higher ranks of wealth and officialdom. This is evident from both their distribution and quality.

The richest collections of graffiti were those on the walls of Hatra. Those of the eastern gate were particularly varied, betraying a great interest in animals and hunting (nos. 1-9, 13-17), and a considerable awareness of certain aspects of religion, with a goddess (?) and religious standard (no. 18) and several depictions of an eagle, one of the chief deities of Hatra (nos. 19-21), with a few other male figures including two reclining on couches (nos. 23-24), one seated (no. 25) and a bearded head executed, unusually, in profile instead of the normal frontal view (no. 26); two men fighting, also shown here (no. 27), could give a clue to who did these designs here in rooms of gateway in Hatra's fortifications—doubtless soldiers, whiling away their times of inactivity. Those on the walls of the private house of M'NW (nos. 10-12) were again on the themes of birds, animals and horsemen; here, however, one scene contained some unusual double triangular motifs, perhaps meant to be understood as tents. Khirbet Jaddalah produced the fewest, with four bird's heads (no. 22) and three female (?) heads (no. 28); but this might have been accidental.

Quality is not easy to discuss, given the generally low level of skill all too evident. The least unskilful, however, are probably those of the house of M'NW, with their spirited horsemen and animals shown with more competence and greater detail than elsewhere (nos. 10-12). This would be understandable, as the house was a large and presumably wealthy one, creating a comparatively sophisticated environment.

(ii) Iconography

The graffiti are executed in the style labelled "Parthian" for convenience⁽⁴³⁹⁾. Comparable examples have been found at Dura-Europos⁽⁴⁴⁰⁾, and further west still at Khirbet Abu Duhur, near Palmyra in the centre of the Syrian desert⁽⁴⁴¹⁾. As at these other sites, the Hatrene sketches echo certain of the preoccupations of the inhabitants.

Hunting scenes. The fact that well over half the Hatrene graffiti included here are on themes more or less connected with hunting is not surprising. At Hatra itself an official called a NHŠRPT ("master of the hunt") is recorded [112]⁽⁴⁴²⁾. The early Arab historian Yaqut mentioned a Sasanian ruler of Tekrit as being in the Badiyah (that is, the Jazirah) for hunting⁽⁴⁴³⁾. Indeed, until a few years ago the Jazirah area was renowned for the abundance of its game⁽⁴⁴⁴⁾.

The hunters themselves, where their costume is visible, seem usually to wear the tunic and trousers normal at Hatra. They are often bareheaded, although one (no. 6) has a high headdress that might be the royal tiara, seen in a number of Hatrene sculptures⁽⁴⁴⁵⁾.

Most of the hunters conform in their poses to the frontality that was normal in later "Parthian" art⁽⁴⁴⁶⁾. Where possible, the full figure faces the front; if shown mounted, however, on an animal that is shown in profile moving to one side, then at least the head, and often the torso also, of the human figure will nevertheless be turned frontally (nos. 1, 6, 10-15). There are, however, an unusually high number of human figures with their heads or complete bodies in profile (nos. 3 (?), 8, 9, 10); this was not normal in prevailing "Parthian" iconography, and as these examples include some of the least skilful, the explanation might simply be that their executants were ignorant of current conventions. The weapon that the hunters are mostly shown using is the compound bow commonly represented in "Parthian" art, with the quiver often appearing also (nos. 1-3, 5 (?), 6, 10-12, 13 (?), 15). Many hunters appear mounted, customarily on horses (nos. 3-5, 7, 8, 10-14), occasionally on a camel (no. 1) or donkey (no. 6, where, interestingly, the rider wears a royal (?) headdress). Both these mounts, and the other animals shown, the lions (nos. 2 (?), 8, 11, 13), cattle (no. 13?), deer (nos. 7, 13, 14), gazelles (nos. 6, 9, 10), goats (no. 14?), dog (no. 14?), rabbits (nos. 7, 13, 16) and birds (nos. 10, 12, 16, 17) all appear in profile. The tassels on the horses' manes in no. 12 are strikingly reminiscent of modern mane decorations still found in the Jazirah. In no. 8 there is a leaf above the head of the horseman; this is of a type often associated with the goddess Nike (Victory personified), and so might have been included here to symbolize the horseman's victory over the animal. In another (no. 11), the inclusion of a figure possibly representing the god NRGL might be intended to indicate that he was protecting the hunters shown in the scene.

Hunting scenes are not represented in the known formal art of Hatra (the sculpture and polychrome wall painting). So these constitute an interesting addition to the repertoire of Hatrene art. Figures of this general type, however, occur in the informal graffiti on walls at nearby Dura-Europos, where horsemen, many of them probably military were sketched in the first half of the third century A.D.⁽⁴⁴⁷⁾

(439) Colledge, 1977: 138-144.

(440) Rostovtzeff, 1936.

(441) Colledge, 1976: fig. 30.

(442) See above, p. 112.

(443) Yaqut Al-Hamawi: vol. 2, p. 399.

(444) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 6.

(445) E.g. *ibid.*, pl. 197.

(446) For comparisons with "Parthian" art, see Colledge, 1977: *passim*.

(447) Rostovtzeff, 1936: figs. 22, 23; Crosby, 1936: fig. 11.

Religious scenes (nos. 18-22). Those graffiti which appear to have a religious subject are few in number and limited in repertoire. One portrays a female figure resting her right hand on a (religious) standard (no. 18); her pose, as if in flight, recalls that of the frequently represented personified victory (Nike)⁽⁴⁴⁸⁾, a figure also seemingly portrayed in the Khirbet Jaddalah monochrome paintings (nos. 31-32). The remainder appear to depict eagles (nos. 19-22), the bird which was worshipped in Hatra, and referred to in inscriptions [74, 79, 88, 155]. One is shown in a niche with a burning altar before it and a (religious) standard behind (no. 19); it appears to peck at three spirals, perhaps stylized branches. Another eagle is also accompanied by an altar and standard (no. 20).

The content of these graffiti recurs in formal Hatrene religious art. Nike, the eagle, religious standard, altar and aedicula-shaped frame for a divine subject are all part of the normal repertoire⁽⁴⁴⁹⁾

Other subjects (nos. 23-28). A number of apparently secular subjects seem not belong to the two popular categories just discussed. These comprise male and female figures in various poses. The male figures reclining on couches (nos. 23, 24) repeat a motif known in other examples at Hatra⁽⁴⁵⁰⁾, and common in "Parthian" art⁽⁴⁵¹⁾. Perhaps the fact that they are shown reclining indicates a certain importance, as could be the case in the other Hatrene instances just quoted. One (no. 28) is too damaged for the subject to be clear. But the other three are all in some way unusual. If a figure (no. 25) is indeed shown full-length with a musical instrument, this is not as a frontal bust⁽⁴⁵²⁾. Secondly, there is the depiction of the bust of a Hatrene bearded male in the uncommon profile view seen on some of the hunting graffiti (nos. 3(?), 8, 9, 10). Thirdly, there is a scene of two men fighting (no. 27), again in profile, a theme unknown in Hatrene official art⁽⁴⁵³⁾. So here the repertoire coincides only partly with that of Hatrene sculpture.

Overall, therefore, the graffiti offer scenes and motifs of three males reclining on couches, which are also to be found in formal Hatrene art. There are others, such as the animated horsemen of the hunting scenes, and indeed the hunting scenes themselves, which are paralleled in the graffiti of Dura-Europos, and so formed part of an unofficial regional repertoire, but which are absent from Hatrene formal work⁽⁴⁵⁴⁾. Thirdly there are some altogether unparalleled. The existence of these various categories of motif throws interesting light on the extent to which those who executed these graffiti were aware of more formal art.

(b) Paintings

(i) Distribution and quality

Although the five monochrome sketches catalogued above are so few, they nevertheless make a considerable contribution to knowledge of Hatrene wall-painting, previously represented by the one published polychrome fresco, depicting a female head⁽⁴⁵⁵⁾

(448) E.g. Safar and Mustafa, 1974: pl. 237; Colledge, 1977: pl. 23.

(449) See Safar and Mustafa, 1974: passim.

(450) See note 449 above, and monochrome painting no. 29 (pl. 174).

(451) Cf. Colledge, 1976: 136; Colledge, 1977: 131. These figures (nos. 23, 24) do not conform precisely to palmyrene examples.

(452) E.g. Safar and Mustafa, 1974: pl. 127.

(453) But cf. the "cult bank" with a scene of Heracles fighting, Safar and Mustafa, 1974: pl. 290.

(454) Note also, for instance, what rabbits, shown in Hatrene hunting graffiti but in Hatrene formal art, appear in the dado of the painted Tomb of the Three Brothers at Palmyra in Syria: Colledge, 1976: 160, pl. 115 (c.A.D. 160-191).

(455) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 206-207, pl. 196.

Their distribution is clearly significant: in each case, they were placed on a niche in an entrance hall. Thus the two monochromes in red at Hatra were both painted on the "eagle" nich in the hall of the city's eastern gate (nos. 29, 30); they could be datable to c.A.D. 151. The three monochrome sketches at Khirbet Jaddalah were all placed on a nich set in a first-phase wall in room 2Q, which although altered later had almost certainly functioned as an entrance hall in the first phase of the inner building (nos. 31-33); they are probably to be dated c.A.D. 141, and are all in black. Furthermore, in each case adjoining texts suggest that the figures shown were persons of importance. Thus at Hatra the proximity of [I] might indicate that the reclining man is ŠMS-BRK, the RBYT in A.D. 151, while at Khirbet Jaddalah the 'GY named above each male head [XXIII, XXIV] is surely the founder of the first-phase building known from [XX, XXI] (dated A.D. 141/ 2).

The quality of the sketches is also revealing. They are all competently executed, far more so than even the most skilful of the graffiti. So their executants must have been trained professional painters.

(ii) Iconography

The paintings, like the graffiti, are in the style called "Parthian". Other later Parthian-period examples have been found at sites in Mesopotamia, at Dura-Europos, especially, and at Palmyra in the Syrian desert⁽⁴⁵⁶⁾.

The scenes and figures shown can all be paralleled both in Hatrene sculpture and elsewhere in the "Parthian" cultural milieu. Thus the male reclining on a couch recurs among the graffiti (nos. 23, 24) and Hatrene reliefs⁽⁴⁵⁷⁾, and is common elsewhere⁽⁴⁵⁸⁾; this pose, with both legs outstretched, corresponds to the second in use at Palmyra⁽⁴⁵⁹⁾. The standing frontal male, casting incense on to an altar beside him (no. 30, and perhaps originally also 31, 32), was also from the standard repertoire, at Hatra⁽⁴⁶⁰⁾ and elsewhere⁽⁴⁶¹⁾. The Parthian dress of these males, the knee-length tunic and trousers (and perhaps also coat, no. 31) was normal wear, both at Hatra and outside⁽⁴⁶²⁾. The personification of the goddess Victory (Nike), probably to be recognized in nos. 31 and 32, was another standard figure, perhaps present in graffiti no. 18, certainly in Hatrene sculpture⁽⁴⁶³⁾ and popular elsewhere. The goddesses (?) of no. 33 seem to have an unusual hairstyle but nevertheless one that can perhaps be paralleled at Hatra⁽⁴⁶⁴⁾; so they, too, were probably taken from the Hatrene repertoire. The fact that all these figures seem to have been selected from the standard "Parthian" repertoire complements the impression give by the quality of these sketches, namely that their painters were trained in the tradition of "Parthian" art.



(456) Colledge, 1977: 119-121.

(457) Safar and Mustafa, 1974: pls. 93, 229, 237.

(458) Colledge, 1977: 131.

(459) Colledge, 1976: 136.

(460) E.g. Safar and Mustafa, 1974: pl. 139.

(461) Colledge, 1977: 130.

(462) Colledge, 1977: 133-134.

(463) E.g. Safar and Mustafa, 1974: pls. 139, 237.

(464) E.g. *ibid.*, pls. 149-50.

CHAPTER 6: POTTERY FROM HATRA AND KHIRBET JADDALAH

Introduction	169
Catalogue of pottery	169
(a) Early material from soundings at Hatra (1-11)	169
(b) Unglazed decorated wares from later periods at	
Hatra (c.A.D. 100-241)	169
(i) Amphora type (12-14)	171
(ii) Jug type (15-18)	171
(iii) Jar type (19-21)	172
(iv) Rhyton type (22)	172
(c) Undecorated wares from later periods at	
Hatra (c.A.D. 100-241)	173
(i) Amphora type (23-28)	173
(ii) Jug type (29-43)	174
(iii) Jar type (44)	176
(i.) Bowls (45-48)	176
(d) Lamps from later periods at Hatra (c.A.D. 100-241) (49-52)	177
(e) Pottery from Khirbet Jaddalah (c.A.D. 141-241)	177
(i) Amphora type (53-57)	177
(ii) Jug type (58)	178
(iii) Jar type (59-66)	178
(iv) Bowls (67-70)	179
(f) Parthian-period pottery from the Jazirah (71-85)	180
Discussion	181
(a) The wares from Hatra and Khirbet Jaddalah in light	
of comparative material from elsewhere in Mesopotamia	181
(i) Early pottery from Hatra	181
(ii) Later pottery from Hatra (c.A.D. 100-241)	182
(iii) Pottery from Khirbet Jaddalah (c.A.D. 141-241)	185
(b) Conclusion	186

Introduction

There has until now been no proper publication of pottery from Hatra, only references to it⁽⁴⁵⁶⁾. The purpose of this chapter is to go some way towards remedying this by presenting a selection of typical examples from Hatra, and all the significant finds from Khirbet Jaddalah.

The pottery from Hatra comes from excavations undertaken between 1951 and 1955, and then again in 1976. Deep soundings were made both during the first period of excavation, and during the writer's excavations in 1976: these have provided a few samples of material from earlier periods. Most of the pottery found at Hatra, however, comes from its upper levels, which represent the occupation levels immediately preceding the destruction of the city by the Sasanians in A.D. 241. Most of it, furthermore, came from the small shrines and the houses associated with them. Some pieces were found in the sanctuary (Bait Alaha), but mostly discovered in the small shrines, mostly roughly made with flat bases and a single handle (designed particularly to take water from wells?), but as these were found, in some quantities, in an undatable context, a well being capable of remaining in use long after the fall of Hatra, they have been omitted from this collection.

The little pottery from Khirbet Jaddalah was discovered during the writer's excavations in 1977-78, both in the inner building (constructed in A.D. 141/ 2 [XX]) and in the second-phase rooms of the outer enclosure. So it should all date between A.D. 141 and the fall of Hatra in A.D. 241.

The catalogue is arranged chronologically, geographically and typologically within each shape, where are both glazed and unglazed examples, the glazed are given first.

Catalogue

(a) Early material from sounding at Hatra

«1» Part of a jar rim (pl. 181).

Part of the neck survives.

Material: Level IV, on floor 9 immediately above virgin soil, Sounding I (see p. 92-93, pls 60-61).

Ref. no.: Sounding I-12.

«2» Part of a jar rim with the neck (pl. 181).

Material: brown clay, coated with a buff slip.

Provenance: Level IV, on floor 9 immediately above virgin soil, Sounding I (see p. 92-93, pl. 62b).

Ref. no.: Sounding I-13.

«3» Part of a projecting rim (pl. 181).

Material: buff clay, with a brown slip.

Provenance: Level IV, on floor 9 immediately above virgin soil, Sounding I (see p. 92-93, 62b).

Ref. no.: Sounding I-11.

«4» Part of a rim and neck (pl. 182).

Material: reddish clay, with a brown slip.

Provenance: Level II, floor 2, Sounding I (see p. 92-93, pls. 61b, 62).

Ref. no.: Sounding I-2.

(465) Oates, 1959; Oates, 1968; Keall, 1981: 62, 102.

«5» Part of a jar rim (pl. 182).

This has a short, incised neck.

Material: buff clay.

Provenance: Level IIA, floor 2, Sounding I (see p. 92-93, pls. 61b, 62).

Ref. no.: Sounding I-4

«6» Part of a grooved jar rim (pl. 182)

Material: reddish clay with a brown slip.

Provenance: Level IIA, floor 2, Sounding I (see p. 92-93, pls. 61b, 62).

Ref. no.: Sounding I-3.

«7» Roughly made flattish base (pl. 182).

Material: brown clay.

Provenance: Level II, floor 2, Sounding I (see p. 92-93, pls. 61b, 62)

Ref. no.: Sounding I-8.

«8» Short-necked jar (pls. 183, 184).

This is complete. It is decorated with an incised horizontal line around its shoulder. It was repaired in antiquity with asphalt and mortar.

Dimensions: rim diam. 15cm., base diam. 8m., height 38cm.

Material: Brown clay, with bright brown slip.

Provenance: Level IIA, floor 2, Sounding I (see p. 92-93, pls. 61b, 62).

Ref. no.: Sounding I-9.

«9» Tall amphora (pl. 185).

This has a narrow mouth, straight neck, wide oval body and a narrow ring base.

Dimensions: ht. 15.4cm., rim diam. 3cm.

Material: buff clay.

Provenance: the sounding by the northern wall around the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha).

Ref. no.: HT12-404; IM 73087.

«10» Oval jug (pl. 185).

This has short wide neck with grooved rim, and a narrow base.

Dimensions: ht. 24cm., rim diam. 9.8cm.

Material: buff clay.

Provenance: a sounding in the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha).

Ref. no.: HT10-324.

«11» Jar with short grooved neck and rounded base (pl. 186).

Dimensions: ht. 23.2cm., rim diam 10cm:

Material: brown clay.

Provenance: the sounding in the south of the enclosure of the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha), floor II.

Ref. no.: HT10-329; IM 73055.

(b) Unglazed decorated wares from later periods at Hatra (c.A.D. 100-241)

(i) Amphora type

«12» Pear-shaped amphora with short neck (pl. 187).

This has a plain rim and rounded base. The body is decorated with vertical lines of impressed crescents.

Dimensions: ht. 5.5cm., rim diam. 3.5cm.

Material: bright buff clay.

Provenance: the area around Shrine XI (pl. 107).

Ref. no.: HT5-4

«13» Long-necked amphora (pl. 187).

One of the handles is now missing. Its long flaring neck was decorated with applied pellets and incised stripes of clay.

Dimensions: ht. 11.8cm., rim diam. 3.5cm.

Material: brown clay.

Provenance: the floor of house room 38 by Shrine XI (pl. 107).

Ref. no.: IM 73094.

«14» Pear-shaped amphora with a ring base (pl. 187).

The rim, neck and two handles are missing. Wavy lines are incised on the remains of the neck, and horizontal lines on the shoulder. The body was decorated with incised lozenged in groups.

Dimensions: ht. 25cm., base diam. 13cm.

Material: brown clay.

Provenance: Hatra.

Ref. no.: HT-21.

(ii) Jug type

«15» Wide-mouthed jug (pl. 188).

This has a slightly flared neck and flat base. Wavy lines are incised around the neck and shoulder. On the body are kinds of decoration: a group of vertical lozenges, divided by intersection lines and containing impressed circular motifs; these are flanked by two vertical rows of crescents.

Dimensions: ht. 9cm., rim diam. 5cm.

Material: dark buff clay.

Provenance: Shrine VII (pls. 73, 112A).

Ref. no.: HT5-44: IM 56681.

«16» Jug with a moulded rim (pl. 188).

Its lower part is missing. It has an incurving neck with incised decoration in wavy and parallel lines. Incised and impressed decoration on the body consists of groups of angled lozenges with circles inside, flanked by vertical lines of irregular impressed marks, recalling the ornament of «14».

Dimensions: ht. 8.2cm.

Material: reddish clay, with signs of burning inside and outside.

Ref. no.: HT1-159.

«17» Strap-handled jug (pl. 189).

Its lower part is missing. The neck is ornamented with ridges and incised grooves. On the shoulder are applied bosses, and impressed and incised decoration. The body decorated with recurrent patterns of four impressed circles within an incised lozenge. The strap-handle has an applied zigzag of clay.

Dimensions: ht. 24cm., rim diam. 12.6cm.

Material: brown clay.

Ref. no.: HT4-171.

«18» Pear-shaped jug with a flat rim (pl. 190).

The neck is decorated with applied bosses and figures of a goddess (?), together with incised horizontal and zigzag lines. On the shoulder is an impressed triangular motif. On the body is a series of incised lozenges each enclosing a circle, recalling (14-17). The handle is ornamented with parallel lines of impressed circles with a row of incised lines between, and the moulded head of a goat or deer.

Dimensions: ht. 19cm., rim diam 7cm.

Material: brown clay.

Provenance: the floor of Shrine XII (pl. 73).

Ref. no.: none.

(iii) Jar type

«19» Small jar with ringed base (pl. 191).

The rim and most of the neck are missing. The lower part of the neck remains, with incised horizontal lines. The shoulder was decorated with impressed and incised motifs. The body was ornamented with incised lozenges enclosing circles, slightly different in arrangement from the lozenge patterns on «14-18».

Dimensions: ht. 8.2cm., base 4.3cm.

Material: reddish clay.

Provenance: room 6, to the north of Shrine IX (pls. 73, 113 A).

Ref. no.: HT4-25.

«20» Globular jar (pl. 191).

The neck is straight-sided, and deeply grooved. The body is decorated with a pattern composed of vertical lines impressed crescents and groups of lozenges with impressed circles arranged in a chevron pattern.

Dimensions: ht. 23cm., rim diam. 9cm.

Material: reddish clay.

Provenance: the area around Shrine XI (pls. 73, 107).

Ref. no.: HT5-14; IM 63436.

«21» Fragment of a jar (?) with Aramaic inscription (pl. 192) [X].

This is a fragment of a large vessel, perhaps a jar, decorated with applied bosses and a human face, impressed circles and crescents, and lozenges enclosing circles arranged in a pattern recalling those of «14-20». The fragment contains an Aramaic inscription [X] which includes the name of 'QB [ŠM]': this could be the same person as the 'QBŠM' who erected a statue to ŠMŠ'QB in the month of 'DR, between A.D. 195 and 205 [111].

Material: buff to brown clay.

Provenance: the floor of Shrine XII (pl. 73).

Ref. no.: none.

(iv) Rhyton type

«22» Rhyton (pl. 193).

This has a rounded projecting rim. The side of the neck is decorated with grooves; on the shoulder are applied bosses.

Dimensions: ht 9cm., rim diam. 3.5cm.

Material: brown clay.

Provenance: Shrine I (pls. 73, 110 A).

Ref. no.: HT7-56; IM 56728.

(c) Undecorated wares from later periods at Hatra (c.A.D. 100-241)

(i) Amphora type

«23» Amphora with narrow rim and neck (pl. 194).

Dimensions: ht. 13cm., rim diam. 3cm.

Material: buff clay, with a bright greenish glaze.

Provenance: house room 56 in the area of Shrine XI (pls. 73, 107).

Ref. no.: HT5-8.

«24» Wide-bodied amphora with ring base (pl. 194).

This has a flat rim and a bulging, deeply grooved neck.

Dimensions: ht. 147cm., rim 2.3cm.

Material: buff clay, with a brown slip.

Provenance: house room 30, in the area of Shrine XI (pls. 73, 107).

Ref. no.: HT5-10.

«25» Small wide-bodied amphora with ring base (pl. 195).

The rim is missing. It has a narrow neck and wide body.

Dimensions: ht. 12.8cm., base diam. 4.5cm.

Material: buff clay.

Provenance: Shrine VIIIa (pls. 73, 112b).

Ref. no.: IM 58111.

«26» Oval amphora with short neck (pl. 195).

This has bevelled rim and flat base. There are incised lines on the lower part of the neck and on the shoulder.

Dimension: ht. 23.1cm., rim diam. 9.4cm.

Material: buff clay.

Provenance: floor II, Shrine I (pls. 73, 110A).

Ref. no.: HT10-322; IM 73050.

«27» Amphora with ring base (pl. 196).

This has a narrow mouth and short narrow neck. There are incised lines encircling the neck and shoulder.

Dimensions: ht. 21cm., rim diam. 4cm.

Material: buff clay.

Provenance: S.O.A.H. excavation Area I (pl. 73) Safar, 1952: (English section) 107, Level 3.

Ref. no.: HT-63, IM 56687.

«28» Oval-bodied amphora (pl. 197).

This has a beaded rim, short grooved neck and narrow base; the handles are missing.

Dimensions: ht. 14.5cm., rim diam. 6.7cm.

Material: buff clay

Provenance: the upper floor of Shrine VIIIa, near the north-east corner (pls. 73, 112B).

Ref. no.: HT4-82.

(ii) Jug type

«29» Small oval-bodied jug with flat base (pl. 198).

This has an outcurved rim and tall neck.

Dimensions: ht. 8.5cm., rim diam. 3cm.

Material: buff clay, with greenish-blue glaze.

Provenance: the investigation of the inside of the east section of the wall of the main sanctuary (Bait Aalah) (pl. 59).

Ref. no.: HT14-485; IM 73959.

«30» Small oval-bodied jug with flat ring base (pl. 198).

Dimensions: ht. 10.5cm., rim diam. 3.7cm.

Material: buff clay, with greenish-blue glaze.

Provenance: the investigation of the east section of the wall of the main sanctuary (Bait Aalah) (pl. 59).

Ref. no.: HT14-484; IM 73949.

«31» Oval jug with beaded rim (pl. 199).

This has a bulbous neck and narrow base.

Dimensions: ht. 13.8cm., rim diam. 2.9cm.

Material: reddish-buff clay.

Provenance: house room 32, area of Shrine XI (pls. 73, 107).

Ref. no.: HT5-11.

«32» Wide-bodied jug (pl. 199).

This has an incised line around the shoulder, and a ring base.

Dimension: ht. 15cm., rim diam. 2.5cm.

Material: buff clay, with dark brown slip.

Provenance: house room 48, area of Shrine XI (pls. 73, 107).

Ref. no.: HT5-6.

«33» Oval-bodied jug with flared rim and narrow ring base (pl. 200).

Material: brown clay.

Provenance: Shrine XII (pl. 73).

Ref. no.: HT5-2.

«34» Oval-bodied jug with flared rim and narrow ring base (pl. 200).

Dimensions: ht. 18cm., rim diam. 5cm.

Material: dark brown clay.

Provenance: Shrine XII (pl. 73).

Ref. no.: HT5-1; IM 59304.

«35» Oval-bodied jug with flared neck and ring base (pl. 200).

Dimensions: ht. 16cm., rim diam. 5cm.

Material: brown clay.

Provenance: house room 46, Shrine XI (pls. 73, 107).

Ref. no.: HT5-5.

«36» Tall oval jug with narrow ring base (pl. 200).

This has a flared rim and slightly bulbous neck

Dimensions: ht. 15.6cm., rim diam. 4.7cm.

Material: brown clay.

Provenance: Shrine VIIIa (pls. 73, 112B).

Ref. no.: HT4-28; IM 58110.

«37» Tall oval jug (pl. 200).

The handle is missing. This has an outcurving rim and slightly bulbous neck; on the shoulder are two encircling incised lines. It has a ring base.

Dimensions: ht. 16.6cm., rim diam. 4.8cm.

Material: reddish clay.

Provenance: outside the back wall of Shrine VII (pls. 73, 112A).

Ref. no.: HT4-81.

«38» Oval-bodied jug with ring base (pl. 201).

This has a grooved rim and bands incised on the neck and shoulder.

Dimensions: ht. 30.7cm., rim diam. 12.1cm.

Material: reddish clay.

Provenance: floor II, Shrine I (pls. 73, 110B).

Ref. no.: HT10-323.

«39» Tall oval jug with narrow ring base (pl. 201).

The rim and upper neck are missing; the neck is narrow and straight-sided.

Dimensions: ht. 14cm., base diam. 1.5cm.

Material: brown clay.

Provenance: above the floor in house room 34. S.O.A.H. excavation area 4 (Safar, 1952: (English section) 13).

Ref. no.: HT2-55.

«40» Wide-bodied jug with ring base (pl. 202).

This has the handle missing. The rim is flat and bevelled; the wide short neck is decorated with grooves.

Dimensions: ht. 14.9cm., rim diam. 6.6cm.

Material: brown clay.

Provenance: the investigation of the eastern section of the wall of the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha), near the south-east corner (pl. 59).

Ref. no.: HT10-324; IM 73052.

«41» Oval-bodied jug with beaded rim and narrow base (pl. 203).

The cylindrical neck has a decoration of grooves.

Dimensions: ht. 30.7cm., rim diam. 12.1cm.

Material: buff clay.

Provenance: floor II, Shrine I (pl. 73, 110B).

Ref. no.: HT10-323.

«42» Pear-shaped jug with ring base (pl. 204).

The handle is missing.

Dimension: ht. 13.2cm., rim diam. 3.4cm.

Material: buff clay, with a dark brown slip.

Provenance: house room 6 to the north of Shrine IX (pl. 113A).

Ref. no.: HT4-24.

«43» Tall oval-bodied jug with flared neck and ring base (pl. 205).

Material: buff clay, with brown slip.

Provenance: the floor of Shrine XII (pl. 73).

Ref. no.: HT5-2.

(iii) Jar type.

«44» Small jar with ring base (pl. 206).

The rim is missing.

Dimensions: ht. 7.4cm., rim diam. 4.5cm.

Material: bright buff clay, with a bright yellowish glaze both inside and outside.

Provenance: 1.25m. above the floor of house room 6 in the area of Shrine XI (pls. 73, 107).

Ref. no.: HT4-26.

(iv) Bowls

«45» Small shallow bowl (pl. 207).

Dimensions: ht. 3.7cm., rim diam. 10.3cm.

Material: buff clay, with a bright greenish glaze on the rim.

Provenance: inside the window of house room 45, in the area of Shrine XI (pls. 73, 107).

Ref. no.: HT5-17.

«46» Small shallow bowl with rounded base (pl. 207).

Dimensions: ht. 5.5cm., rim diam. 14cm.

Material: buff clay, with a yellowish glaze on the rim.

Provenance: in house room 21, in the area of Shrine XI (pls. 73, 107).

Ref. no. HT5-7; IM 59301.

«47» Bowl with ring base (pl. 207).

Four incised lines encircle it under its glaze.

Dimensions: ht. 7.8cm., rim diam. 20cm.

Material: buff clay, with a blue-green glaze.

Provenance: the investigation on the south side of the inner section of the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha) (pl. 59).

Ref. no.: HT10-336; IM 73058.

«48» Deep bowl with grooved rim and flat base (pl. 207).

Dimensions: ht. 14cm., rim diam. 23cm.

Material: buff clay.

Provenance: the floor of house room 41, in the area of Shrine XI (pls. 73, 107).

Ref. no.: HT5-16; IM 59302.

(d) Lamps from later periods at Hatra (c.A.D. 100–241)

«49» Lamp with handle, ring mouth and ring base (pl. 208).

Around the mouth it has leaf decoration, and an ornament of straight and crossed lines on the handle.

Dimensions: 1.9.7cm., ht. 5.2cm., ht. 5.2cm. rim diam. 2.6cm

Material: grey clay with red slip, and additional red paint.

Provenance: under the pavement of room 10 in the northern iwan of the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha) (pl. 59).

Ref. no.: HT14-472; IM 73944.

«50» Lamp with handle (pl. 208).

This has leaf decoration on the upper part.

Dimensions: 1.9.7cm., ht. 2.8cm., rim diam. 3cm.

Material: reddish clay.

Provenance: the investigation of the western courtyard of iwan groups in the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha) (pl. 59).

Ref. no.: HT14-479.

«51» Lamp with handle (pl. 208).

This is blackened with smoke inside.

Dimensions: 1.13.5cm., ht. 7.5cm.,

Material: reddish clay.

Provenance: house room 40, area of Shrine XI (pls. 73, 107).

Ref. no.: HT5-20; IM 59306.

«52» Loamp with handle and ring mouth (pl. 208).

Dimensions: 1.12cm., ht. 8cm.

Material: reddish clay.

Provenance: the floor of house room 35, area of Shrine XI (pls. 73, 107).

Ref. no.: HT5-38; IM 63437.

(e) Pottery from Khirbet Jaddalah (A.D. 141–241)

(i) Amphora type

«53» Pear-shaped amphora with short neck and rounded base (pls. 209, 210).

Dimensions: ht. 45cm., rim diam. 13cm.

Material: reddish clay.

Provenance: the debris in room 17 (pls. 122, 128).

Ref. no.: Jaddalah 1-15.

«54» Upper part of an amphora (pls. 211, 212).

The handles are missing.

Material: brown clay.

Provenance: west section of the outer wall, near Tower A (pl. 122).

Ref. no.: Jaddalah 1-14.

«55» Moulded rim of an amphora (pls. 211, 212)

This has a pronounced ridge running round the neck 3cm. below the lip.

Material: buff clay.

Provenance: floor of the entrance to room 4 (pl. 122).

Ref. no.: Jaddalah 1-11.

«56» Part of the rim and neck of an amphora (pls. 211, 213).

The rim is grooved, and the neck very short.

Material: reddish clay, with a buff slip.

Provenance: the the floor of room 1 (pl. 122).

Ref. no.: Jaddalah 1-5.

«57» Part of the neck of an amphora (pls. 211, 213).

Material: reddish clay, with a brown slip

Provenance: the floor of room 3 (pl. 122).

Ref. no.: Jaddalah 1-9.

(ii) Jug type

«58» Part of the rim and neck of a jug with grooved rim (pls. 211, 214).

Material: dark brown clay.

Provenance: the floor of entrance room 1 (pl. 122).

Ref. no.: Jaddalah 1-6.

(iii) Jar type.

«59» Upper part of a jar (pls. 211, 215).

This has a grooved rim, and a short neck.

Material: buff clay, with a greenish-blue glaze.

Provenance: the floor of entrance room 1 (pl. 122).

Ref. no.: Jaddalah 1-2.

«60» Part of the rim and neck of a jar (pls. 211, 215).

This has a grooved rim, and bands of incised lines around the shoulder.

Material: brown clay.

Provenance: entrance room 1 (pl. 122).

Ref. no.: Jaddalah 1-1.

«61» Upper part of a jar with grooved rim (pls. 211, 215).

This is without a neck, but with a band of lines incised around the shoulder.

Material: dark brown clay.

Provenance: the floor of entrance room 1 (pl. 122).

Ref. no.: Jaddalah 1-3.

«62» Neck of a jar with grooved rim (pls. 211, 216).

Material: brown clay, with a buff slip.

Provenance: the floor of entrance room 1 (pl. 122).

Ref. no.: Jaddalah 1-4.

«63» Upper part of a jar with a wide grooved rim (pls. 211, 216).

This has a short neck.

Material: reddish clay, with a buff slip.

Provenance: the floor 3, near its western wall (pl. 122).

Ref. no.: Jaddalah 1-10.

«64» Part of a jar rim (pls. 211, 217).

This has incised wavy and horizontal lines round the neck.

Material: reddish clay, with a buff slip.

Provenance: entrance room 1 (pl. 122).

Ref. no.: Jaddalah 1-7.

«65» Fragment of a jar (pls. 211, 218).

The body is decorated with a painted band of reddish colour.

Material: reddish clay, with a buff slip.

Provenance: the floor of room 34 (pl. 122).

Ref. no.: Jaddalah 1-16.

«66» Fragmentary jar with rounded base (pls. 211, 219).

On the body are bands of parallel incised lines.

Material: reddish clay, with a buff slip.

Provenance: the floor of the entrance to room 4 inside Tower A (pl. 122).

Ref. no.: Jaddalah 1-10.

(iv) Bowls.

«67» Fragmentary bowl (pls. 211, 220).

Material: brown clay, with a greenish glaze.

Provenance: near the entrance of room 4 in Tower A (pl. 122).

Ref. no.: Jaddalah 1-12.

«68» Fragment of a bowl (pls. 211, 220).

Material: buff clay, with a green-blue glaze.

Provenance: the floor of the entrance to room 4 in Tower A (pl. 122).

Ref. no.: Jaddalah 1-13.

«69» Fragment of a bowl (pls. 211, 220).

Material: yellowish buff clay, with a bright green glaze.

Provenance: the floor of room 34 (pl. 122).

Ref. no.: Jaddalah 1-17.

«70» Fragment of a bowl with a ring base (pls. 211, 220).

Material: buff clay, with a bright green glaze.

Provenance: room 34 (pl. 122).

Ref. no.: Jaddalah 1-18.

(f) Parthian-period pottery from the Jazirah.

«71» Deeply grooved amphora rim (pl. 221).

Material: buff clay.

Provenance: surface find, Tell Twaim (no. 121, pl. 12).

«72» Rim fragment (pl. 221).

Material: buff clay with brown slip.

Provenance: surface find, Tell Al-Harim (no. 96, pl. 11).

«73» Rim fragment (pl. 221).

Material: buff clay with brown slip.

Provenance: surface find, Tell Al-Harim (no. 96, pl. 11).

«74» Rim fragment (pl. 221).

Material: buff clay with dark brown slip.

Provenance: surface find, Tell Al-Harim (no. 96, pl. 11).

«75» Rim fragment (pl. 221).

Material: buff clay.

Provenance: surface find, Tell Al-Harim (no. 96, pl. 11).

«76» Rim fragment (pl. 221).

Material: reddish clay with buff slip.

Provenance: surface find, Qal'a Jabbar (no. 90, pls. 10, 30-34).

«77» Rim fragment (pl. 221).

Material: reddish clay with buff slip.

Provenance: surface find, Qal'a Jabbar (no. 90, pls. 10, 30-34).

«78» Rim fragment (pl. 221).

Material: reddish clay with buff slip.

Provenance: surface find, Qal'a Jabbar (no. 90, pls. 10, 30-34).

«79» Rim fragment (pl. 221).

Material: reddish clay with buff slip.

Provenance: surface find, Qal'a Jabbar (no. 90, pls. 10, 30-34).

«80» Fragment with incised zigzags (pl. 222).

Material: reddish clay.

Provenance: surface find, Khirbet Taha (no. 106, pl. 12).

«81» Fragment with incised zigzags (pl. 222)

Material: brown clay with buff slip.

Provenance: surface find, Khirbet Jaddalah (no. 68, pl. 211).

«82» Fragment with incised decoration (pl. 222).

Material: brown clay.

Provenance: surface find, Tulul Al-Maymoon (no. 7, pls. 9, 18).

«83» Fragment with incised decoration (pl. 222).

Material: brown clay.

Provenance: surface find, Tulul Al-Maymoon (no. 7, pls. 9, 18).

«84» Fragment with incised decoration (pl. 222).

Material: buff clay.

Provenance: surface find, Tell Dibshiya (no. 4, pls. 9, 17 d).

«85» Fragment with incised decoration (pl. 222).

Material: buff clay.

Provenance: surface find, Tell Dibshiya, (no. 4, pls. 9, 17 d).

Discussion

(a) The wares from Hatra and Khirbet Jaddalah in the light of comparative material from elsewhere in Mesopotamia.

Some preliminary observations on the material catalogued above will be offered here.

The important excavated Mesopotamian sites with Hellenistic and Parthian occupation levels are the following: Ain Sinu (Oates, D. and J., 1959: 221-235).

Aššur (Andrae, 1931)

Choche (Ricciardi, 1969).

Dura-Europos (Toll, 1943).

Kish (Harden, 1934).

Nimrud (Oates, D. and J., 1958: 124-157).

Nineveh (Thompson and Hutchinson, 1929).

Seleucia on the Tigris (Debevoise, 1934).

Tell Abu Thar (Madhloom, 1959).

Tell Aswad (Al-Fitiyan and Abdullah, 1979).

Tell Heidar (Abdu Al-Rahman, 1979).

Tell Mahuz (Ponzi, 1968).

In the following discussion the material from Hatra will be discussed separately from that found at Khirbet Jaddalah.

(i) Early pottery from Hatra

This material «1-11» all comes from deep, or fairly deep, soundings, and seems to belong roughly to three different periods.

The earliest «1-3» were all discovered on floor 9, immediately above virgin soil, in the author's Sounding I. Of these «1» and «2» were roughly made, but «3» was smoother, of buff clay with a brown slip. Unfortunately their date is a mystery, as no datable finds emerged with them, and no closely comparable wares are known.

Somewhat later than these, but still as yet impossible to date, are «4-8», from Level II, floor 2, again of Sounding I. These were again somewhat crudely made, with «8» luckily being entire (and of additional interest as having been repaired in antiquity). «6» was noteworthy for the grooved ornament around its neck. As with the items from the earlier floor 9, no obviously comparable material is known; it is interesting to note that these wares

do not have close parallels among the wares from the six carefully excavated occupation level at Hellenistic Nimrud⁽⁴⁶⁶⁾

Probably later again are «9-11» from the S.O.A.H. sounding in the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha); as the excavation records show, they seem to date to the early phases of the standing buildings here, which belong to the historical period of Hatra (c.A.D. 100-241)⁽⁴⁶⁷⁾.

Thus the pottery from the soundings at Hatra provides some of the data necessary for the construction of a pottery sequence; but the material is limited in quantity and yet obscure in date. It differs in type from the wares of later periods at Hatra.

(ii) Later pottery from Hatra (c.A.D. 100-241).

Quantity. The amount of pottery discovered at Hatra was comparatively small, certainly for an ancient city of its size. If this has not been an accident of excavation, then perhaps some special factors were operating: the treeless semi-desert environment would provide little combustible material for kilns, and its nomad inhabitants, as today, could have preferred light and easily portable containers and vessels of wood and skin, which would have left no archaeological record. As the Hatrenes were so close in many ways to the desert dwellers⁽⁴⁶⁸⁾, they could have preserved this custom to some degree; it is also noteworthy that every excavated house had its own wells, so that water would not have needed to be transported far or kept for long.

Provenances. Roughly two-thirds of the pottery at Hatra was found in shrines, and the remainder in or around houses. Decorated items were discovered in both contexts, but in considerable quantities in shrines, in one of which (XII) an inscribed and decorated fragment «21» came to light. If, again, this disproportion is not accidental, it could suggest that pottery was used particularly for religious ceremonial purposes.

Shapes. These seem to have been comparatively limited in number, and ancient; they can all be paralleled elsewhere in contemporary wares⁽⁴⁶⁹⁾

The two-handled amphora, whether glazed «23» or more often unglazed «12-14, 24-28», was fairly popular. This form was of Greek origin⁽⁴⁷⁰⁾. The shape of «23» was anticipated in a Hellenistic example at Nimrud, and paralleled at Dura-Europos and Tell Abu Ghab⁽⁴⁷¹⁾; the latter also provided a parallel for «24»⁽⁴⁷²⁾.

The one-handled jug, again whether glazed «29-30» or unglazed «15-18, 31-43», was even more popular. This again was very likely of Greek derivation from the oinochoe⁽⁴⁷³⁾. Like the amphora, it could be given applied or incised decoration «15-18». Similarly also, some of the Hatrene varieties can be paralleled elsewhere in Mesopotamia. Thus «33, 34, 37» find parallels at Ain Sinu to the north⁽⁴⁷⁴⁾, and «37» at Tell Aswad as well⁽⁴⁷⁵⁾

(466) Oates, D. and J., 1958: 125-132, 135.

(467) As a distant parallel for «10», cf. the piece from Ctesiphon (Choche), Ricciardi, 1969: fig. 146, no. 10

(468) See above, p. 96-98.

(469) Cf. Colledge, 1977: 112-4.

(470) R.M. Cook, Greek Painted Pottery, London, 1960, 220-224.

(471) Nimrud: Oates, 1959: fig. 92; Dura-Europos: Toll, 1943: 23; Tell Abu Ghab: Faraj, 1979: 573.

(472) Faraj, 1979: 571.

(473) R.M. Cook, Greek Painted Pottery, London, 1960, 226-9; Colledge, 1977: 113.

(474) Oates, 1959: fig. 21, nos. 34, 35, 34 respectively.

(475) Al-Fitiyan and Abdulla, 1979: no. 118.

Correspondences can be noted between «31-33, 35, 36, 42» and wares at Seleucia on the Tigris⁽⁴⁷⁶⁾, and between «40» and an item at Ctesiphon (Choche)⁽⁴⁷⁷⁾. So the Hatrene jugs constituted varieties of a widespread and popular type.

The handleless jar, glazed «44» or unglazed but with incised or applied ornament «19, 20, 21 (?)», was less common. This was an ancient form, with no obvious Hellenic influence. One fragment «21», if from a jar, is of particular interest as it bears an inscription. Again, the shape was a common one in contemporary Mesopotamia, which can be paralleled for instance at Seleucia on the Tigris⁽⁴⁷⁸⁾.

The rarer form of the rhyton is known in only one Hatrene example «22». This is unglazed, but with grooves and applied bosses as ornament; it was found in a shrine (I). The form can be traced back to the Achaemenian period⁽⁴⁷⁹⁾.

The bowl a not uncommon form at Hatra, often glazed «45-47», sometimes not «48». Most came from houses. The shape was an ancient and very widespread one, but the Hatrene types could have undergone some Hellenization⁽⁴⁸⁰⁾.

The terracotta lamps, whether decorated «49-50» or plain «51-52», that were found in the main sanctuary «49-50» or houses «51-52» of Hatra again belonged to a genre widespread in the Hellenistic and Parthian east, but were of a distinct type⁽⁴⁸¹⁾. All were of reddish clay except for «49», unusually elaborately decorated with leaves and lines and made of grey clay with both a red slip and additional red paint.

Materials. These may be discussed under the heading of clay, slip and glaze.

Most of the items from Hatra were of buff clay. Examples of the amphora «13-14», jug «17-18, 33-36, 39, 40» and the rare rhyton «22» occurred in brown clay, and of the jug «16, 37, 38» jar «19-20» and particularly of the lamp «50-52» in reddish, while the rare grey was employed only for the decorated lamp «49».

Occasionally, utensils were given a coloured slip: brown for an amphora «24» and three jugs «32, 42, 43» (in each case over buff clay) and the rare red for the best decorated lamp «49».

Glazes were sometimes applied, in monochrome. A jar «44» had a rare yellow glaze, while an amphora «23» and a bowl «46» sported the commoner green two jugs «29, 30» and a bowl «47» the popular green-blue. Such glazes became a common feature of pottery ornament from the later Hellenistic period onwards throughout Mesopotamia and the western half of Iran, with blue-green predominating⁽⁴⁸²⁾. The kinds of green found at Hatra echoed those of late Hellenistic Nimrud⁽⁴⁸³⁾, and of contemporary Ain Sinu⁽⁴⁸⁴⁾, and so of the north

Mesopotamian area. Those of southern Mesopotamia were somewhat different, both in colour, with turquoise at Ctesiphon (Choche)⁽⁴⁸⁵⁾, yellowish-green and blue at Abu Thar⁽⁴⁸⁶⁾, yellowish and green at Kish⁽⁴⁸⁷⁾, light and

(476) Debevoise, 1934: figs. 115, 115, 139, 135, 151, 108 respectively; for «42» cf. *ibid.*, fig. 277; for «32», cf. Madhloom, 1959: figs. 1, (Tell Abu Thar).

(477) Ricciardi, 1969: 146, no. 10.

(478) Debevoise, 1934: figs. 63, 74.

(479) Colledge, 1977: 113.

(480) Parallels: Ain Sinu: Oates, D. and J., 1959: pl. LVI; Seleucia: Debevoise, 1934: fig. 193; Choche: Ricciardi, 1969: fig. 177; Tell Aswad: Al-Fitiyan and Abdullah, 1979: pl. 63, fig. 131.

(481) Cp. e.g. Colledge 1976: pl. 132.

(482) Cf. Colledge, 1977: 113.

(483) Oates, 1958: 125.

(484) Oates, D. and J., 1959: 146.

(485) Ricciardi, 1969: figs. 155-158.

(486) Madhloom, 1959: figs. 1-4, 6, 11, 14, 17, 21, 23.

(487) Harden, 1934: catalogue nos. 1-8, pl. 128.

deep green at Tell Heider⁽⁴⁸⁸⁾, and blue and yellowish white at Tell Aswad⁽⁴⁸⁹⁾, and in usage, with some polychrome glaze occurring in the Diyala region⁽⁴⁹⁰⁾. It may or may not be significant that at a large number of sites both in north Mesopotamia, such as Dura-Europos⁽⁴⁹¹⁾, Aššur, Kakzu, Nuzi, and in the south, such as Seleucia, Abu Skheir and Babylon, the majority of these glazed vessels were found in graves.

Incised and applied decoration. In many instances ornament of these kinds was applied, as was the case with contemporary wares in other parts of Mesopotamia.

Among the types of incised or impressed decoration, the commonest was the groove that ran round the pot, on the neck, body or both, and often multiplied. Also fairly frequent were the crescent, often repeated and superimposed in vertical lines «12, 15, 16, 20, 21», the large circle «12, 17-18, 21» and the wavy line or zigzag «14, 16-18», a motif also found in the Jazirah «80, 84». Less common were the triangle «18, 20» and blob «17». Perhaps the most striking, however, was the stamped lozenge, usually enclosing one circle «14-16, 18-21», but once enclosing four «17». Also remarkable were those pots on which several of these motifs were combined «12, 14-21». There were regional parallels for these kinds of ornament, with Dura-Europos, for example, providing some for «15-16, 18»⁽⁴⁹²⁾, and Ain Sinu for «16, 20»⁽⁴⁹³⁾. Indeed, the parallels at Ain Sinu seem particularly close, perhaps as a result of manufacturing or commercial links.

Applied decoration or relief was less common, but was again of types seen elsewhere in contemporary Mesopotamia. Some were abstract, such as the zigzag «on a handle» «17», the stripe «22» and the boss «21-22». Some were representational, such as the head of a goat or deer on the handle of «18», the human head on «18, 21» and the leaves in relief on the lamps «49-50». One was quite exceptional: the inscription [X], added in barbotine on «21».

Outside parallels. Within the Jazirah, and so fairly close to Hatra itself, a number of sites can be demonstrated to have been using wares similar to those of Hatra. This may be seen from the selection of typical examples catalogued above «71-85». Thus the amphora fragment in buff clay «71» from site no. 121 echoes «12» from Hatra; and the rim fragments from site no. 96 «72-75» are also similar in shape to many Hatrene examples. The incised decoration of zigzags, grooves, crescents and other motifs on «80-85» can again be paralleled in Hatrene ornament, on «12-21». sites nos. 68 (Khirbet Jaddalah, «53-70») and 90 (Qal'a Jabbar, «76-79») had wares sharing common characteristics that differed somewhat from those of Hatra.

Further afield, as we have just seen, correspondences can be found between Hatrene wares and those from other sites of north Mesopotamia. Amphora «23» recalls others from Hellenistic Nimrud and contemporary Dura-Europos in its shape; jugs «33-34, 37» are reminiscent of some from contemporary Ain Sinu. The Hatrene green glaze is similar to one at Hellenistic Nimrud and contemporary Ain Sinu. As regards the incised and stamped ornament, Dura-Europos and Ain Sinu again provide parallels. As regards the wares of southern Mesopotamia, the correspondences become in general more distant; so the Hatrene kinds evidently belong to wares of north Mesopotamian type.

(488) Abd Al-Rahman, 1979: 82, 84, nos. 1, 14, 16, 23, 29 etc.

(489) Al-Fitiyan and Abdullah, 1979: 112.

(490) Keall, 1981: 62, 102, who also says the green glaze is of Mesopotamian origin.

(491) Ponzi, 1968: 298.

(492) Toll, 1943: figs. 9, 22 and 4 respectively.

(493) Oates, 1959: figs. 49, 50.

(iii) Pottery from Khirbet Jaddalah (c.A.D. 141–241).

Quantity. As at Hatra, the amount of pottery found was small, perhaps for the same reasons, such as that many containers were made of perishable wood or skin.

Provenances. Nearly all the pottery came from the floors of rooms; there seems to be no particular significance in these findspots.

Shapes. Four of the popular, ancient forms also seen at Hatra occurred here.

The two-handled amphora, a shape of Greek origin was represented by five examples, three in reddish clay «53, 56–57», one in buff «55» and one in brown «54»; none was glazed, but «56» had a buff slip and «57» a brown one.

The one-handled jug, a form very common at Hatra, occurred here in only one example «58», in brown clay «as often at Hatra».

The handleless jar was represented by several examples, as at Hatra, with one glazed (over buff clay) «59», and the rest in brown «60–62» or reddish «63–66» clay, often with a buff slip «62–66».

The bowl was as frequently found here as at Hatra, mostly in buff clay «68–70», occasionally in brown «67», and always glazed, with green «67, 69–70» or green-blue «68».

Conspicuous by its absence was the lamp, a form common at Hatra «49–52» and at other middle eastern sites.

Materials. The types of clay reversed the order of popularity at Hatra: thus reddish was the commonest «53, 56–57, 63–66», brown the next most frequently found «54, 58, 60–62, 67», and buff the least favoured «55, 59, 68–70».

A buff slip was applied to half a dozen pieces «56, 62–66», over reddish clay except for «62» (brown); «57» had a brown slip, again over reddish clay, whereas at Hatra it was used on buff wares «24, 32, 43–34».

A green-blue glaze was used for some items, as at Hatra: a jar «59» and a bowl «68»; similarly, a green glaze was employed for three bowls «67, 69–70». In every case (as at Hatra) the glaze was applied over buff clay, except for bowl «67» (brown).

Incised and applied decoration. No items were found with this ornament, in contrast with Hatra, where «12–22» have it.

Outside parallels. Shapes and glazes have much in common with those of Hatra. But the absence of the lamp shape, and of incised and applied decoration, if not accidental, could indicate a different ceramic milieu. And a different milieu is also suggested even more plainly by the common occurrence of a buff slip, perhaps absent from Hatra, and a preference for reddish and brown clay rather than the buff favoured at Hatra. In this connection it is interesting to note that another east Jazirah site, Qal'a Jabber (no. 90), has yielded sherds with the combination of reddish clay and buff slip seen at Khirbet Jaddalah but not, on present evidence, at Hatra «76–79». This site is roughly as far south-east of the major east Jazirah conurbation of Aššur as Khirbet Jaddalah «no. 68» is to the north-west of it; and what is more, the latter was linked to Aššur by a significant route (pls. 10, 53). Could this indicate that the pottery of the east Jazirah, while belonging essentially to the contemporary north Mesopotamian type, formed a branch of it distinct from that of Hatra, possibly with its main centre at the ancient town of Qal'a Sharqat (Aššur)? In this case, it would not have been impossible for the pottery of Khirbet Jaddalah, which is unlikely to have produced its own, to have been imported from the latter, and this could explain the apparent differences from the wares of Hatra.

(b) Conclusion

The pottery catalogued and discussed above has thrown a certain amount of light on the culture of the Jazirah. If the scarcity of ceramic finds in excavations at Hatra and Khirbet Jaddalah is significant, it could indicate preference for containers of perishable wood and skin, understandable among desert dwellers. The shapes found, the amphora, jug, jar, rhyton, bowl and lamp, were all common in the contemporary Parthian world, as were the slips and the rare yellow and common green and green-blue glazes. At Hatra, the difficulty of finding parallels for the scanty pottery from the deep soundings, and so from its earlier periods, is particularly frustrating. In later periods, if the fact that two-thirds of the pottery was found in shrines is not accidental, it could mean that these wares were used particularly for religious purposes, at Hatra at least. Hatrene wares not infrequently had incised and applied decoration (and in one case an inscription was added in barbotine), whose motifs can be paralleled in the contemporary fabrics of Dura-Europos and particularly Ain Sinu (on the road north, pl. 53), with which there might have been close manufacturing or commercial links. In general, Hatrene pottery, with its preference for buff clay, was of north Mesopotamian type. So was that of Khirbet Jaddalah; but a different emphasis in clays (with preferences for reddish and brown), in slips (with a liking for buff) and in the apparent absence of lamps and of incised and applied ornament suggests a slightly different ceramic milieu. The discovery of sherds similarly of reddish clay with a buff slip at the site of Qal'a Jabbar (no. 90), and so strongly reminiscent of those of Khirbet Jaddalah, might indicate the existence of an east Jazirah branch of the north Mesopotamian pottery, perhaps with its centre at Qala Sharqat (Aššur).



CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

The Jazirah area of Iraq became of considerable importance in the Hellenistic, Parthian and Sasanian periods, from around 300 B.C. until A.D. 600; in particular, it saw the rise to prominence of the great Arab city of Hatra, destroyed by the Sasanians in A.D. 241. For this reason the Jazirah has attracted considerable scholarly attention this century. The present study has sought to throw new light on its many problems through the presentation of fresh evidence, much of it collected in the field, and through the examination of geographical factors and early Islamic records.

Concerning the Jazirah as a whole, the site survey produced some interesting results. Size and density of settlement were clearly determined by the combination of two main factors. The first of these was the availability of water, especially in the form of rainfall; water was most plentiful, and rainfall regular, in the north part of the Jazirah. The second was the fertility of the soil, again richest in the north. Thus the greatest number and largest size of settlements were to be found in Upper (that is, north) Jazirah, within the zone of regular rainfall and better soil; they were fewest and smallest in the more southerly West and Lower Jazirah, where rainfall is scanty and irregular, springs scarce and the land semi-desert. This distribution of settlement is much the same today. The periods during which the Jazirah was occupied in antiquity were also interesting. Up to the end of the Assyrian empire in 612 B.C. it was a flourishing area with many inhabited settlements. After that virtually every site was abandoned, and in the ensuing Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenian eras no more than half a dozen have shown signs of habitation. In the Hellenistic period, from around 300 B.C., a tentative reoccupation began, with some 25 sites inhabited (on present evidence). This process accelerated in the Parthian era, when 145 known sites were re-used or newly settled, bringing the level of occupation to roughly what it had been in Assyrian days. Certain sites developed into large urban centres; chief among these were Hatra (no. 1), Qala Sharqat (Aššur) (no. 78) and Tell 'Ajri (no. 84), with lesser ones at Tell Tamri (no. 85) and Tulul Sukariyat (no. 88). Around each of them, except for Qala Sharqat (Aššur) (no. 78), grew up a number of smaller settlements; these also spread along the Wadi Tharthar, which passed close to Hatra. To the north, a series of large rectangular structures appeared to line a route (nos. 49, 50, 68, 71, 74 (b)); two were dated by inscriptions, with one (no. 71) standing by A.D. 137, and another (no. 68) founded in A.D. 141/2 [XX, XXI]. The route along which they stood was clearly one of importance; it was probably in fact the prime route through the Jazirah at this time, a continuation of the main road running north from southern Mesopotamia which passed through the eastern Jazirah, off which ran branch routes to Hatra and Qal'a Sharqat (Aššur) which likely rejoined it at Jaddalah (nos. 68, 69), and then continued north and west through Tell 'Afar (no. 144) and Ain Sinu (no. 208) to Sinjar (Singara) (no. 229). Around the time of the destruction of Hatra in A.D. 241 a number of these sites were apparently abandoned. But in the succeeding Sasanian era the Jazirah continued to flourish, with up to 160 known sites inhabited, particularly around Tekrit (no. 259), now a town of importance, between the two rivers Zab, and around Tell 'Afar (no. 144); there were, however, seemingly no large urban centres in the Jazirah now, except for Sinjar (no. 229) to the north. This overall pattern of settlement, with a considerable density up to the end of the Assyrian era, large-scale abandonment thereafter, some growth in the Hellenistic period and an efflorescence in the Parthian and Sasanian eras, was paralleled elsewhere in Mesopotamia.

By far the greatest urban centre of the Jazirah in the Parthian and very earliest Sasanian periods was the city of Hatra. Soundings taken very earliest Sasanian periods was the city of Hatra. Soundings taken down to virgin soil appeared to indicate that it began as an encampment for nomads living in the semi-desert around, presumably attracted by the presence of reasonably good water here, together with some pasturage for their animals. Slowly it became a town; its growth may have been boosted by the collapse of the Seleucid empire, which was finally extinguished in 64 B.C. Other factors may have come into play, contributing to its rise. One of these could have been religion, to judge by the number and size of shrines and the variety of religious posts in historical Hatra. Another could have been the strategic position in which Hatra eventually found itself between the empires of Parthia and Rome; the Hatrenes may well have realized that by strengthening themselves militarily they could play a significant role in contemporary power politics, and this was reflected in the strong city defences and its

establishment of control over the desert Arabs. Commerce, by contrast, seems not to have been important: not one inscription refers directly to commercial activities. At this stage, with the close connections between city and desert dwellers evident from many texts, Hatra may have been an example of the "dimorphic chiefdom." The best known, historical, era of Hatra opens around A.D. 100, with numerous texts, many of them dated, normally in the then international language of Aramaic but sometimes in Greek or Latin; these make it clear that the population both of the city and of the desert around was essentially Arab. The political structure of Hatra during the first six decades of the second century A.D. emerges somewhat dimly from the texts. A leading position may have been that of "lord" (MRȲ); certainly one such, NŠRW, mentioned in dated texts of A.D. 128/9, 133 and 138, held the titles of "chief patrician" and "chief priest" of a god or gods, was responsible for the erection of important structures in the shrines and gates of the city, and was the father of the future "king" (MLK') SNTRWQ I. Around the mid-second century A.D. occur dated references to the frequently mentioned posts of "chief" (RB') and "steward" (RBYT'). In A.D. 176/7 comes the first dated reference to a "king", SNTRWQ I; from then on Hatra was evidently ruled by monarchs supported by an array of royal officials such as the army chiefs, confidant, tutor and sacrificer. At the same time religious posts also apparently proliferated, with perhaps a word for "priest" (KMR'), and other officials such as stewards of certain gods, an accountant, and singers. So power at Hatra obviously became strongly centralized. The inscriptions also revealed a number of Hatrene family trees besides that of the monarchs, including some of architects and sculptors. Other aspects of historical Hatra were also clarified. An important key to the reasons for the largely circular layout of the city was found to be the local topography: the city walls mainly followed a particular contour line, many large towers within and outside the walls were sited carefully so that their tops would be visible from one another, and the walls enclosed depressions in which rain water could gather. In the eastern gate, two monochrome paintings in red, one perhaps showing the "steward" ŠMS-BRK reclining (and if so, datable c.A.D. 151) and another a standing male casting incense on to an altar, belong to the standard local repertoire and were presumably executed by professionals. By contrast, graffiti both here and in the private house of M'NW were clearly amateur; so the fact that they show religious scenes and a reclining male also seen in the official repertoire, horsemen and hunting known only from the equally unofficial graffiti of Dura-Europos, and fighters and other profile figures as yet unparalleled elsewhere, is of special interest. Hatrene pottery was of a north Mesopotamian type, and its shapes, the amphora, jug, jar, rhyton, bowl and lamp, its slips, and its glazes, the rare yellow and common green and green-blue, were all of kinds seen elsewhere in the cotemporary Parthian world; of some particular interest, however, was the fact that its fabrics seemed somewhat different from those of Khirbet Jaddalah to the north, and that its incised and applied ornament appeared to find close parallels particularly at Ain Sinu, still further north. All this came to a sudden end in A.D. 241, with the destruction of Hatra at the hands of the Sasanians.

Probably interconnected with Hatra was the site of Khirbet Jaddalah (no. 68) on the main route north. Aramaic texts [XX, XXI] establish that the inner building was founded in A.D. 141/2 by 'GY the son of 'B'. The square limestone structure, with a frontal colonnade and a portico on each side, was described in the foundation texts as a BYRT', a word which may be interpreted either as "shrine" (or "palace"), or "fort"; as the plan is unique, and finds were few, it is not yet clear which meaning was intended, although the presence of the colonnade and of an "evil eye" relief inside might hint at an originally religious function. The relationship of the building with Hatra is obscure; the founder's name is not known at Hatra, but the script, and many features of the architecture, were clearly Hatrene. Whatever the structure's original purpose, it then entered a second phase in which it seems to have been converted into a fort, if not already used as such: the inner building was made more easily defensible, and surrounded by a strong outer enclosure wall, with many towers and surrounded by a strong outer enclosure wall, with many towers and buttresses. An Aramaic text from the site [XXII] contains the words (QD)M GDYL. The second might be an ancient version of the modern Jaddalah. Three black monochrome paintings were all executed on a niche set in a first-phase wall, and so should be datable c.A.D. 141/2. The standing male (labelled) figure of 'GY, presumably the founder, is set amongst goddesses; the figures are from the standard Hatrene repertoire, and were presumably done by professionals. This site too yielded some graffiti,

executed by amateurs, showing birds and standing frontal (female?) figures; the general style is Hatrene. The scanty pottery from Khirbet Jaddalah was of north Mesopotamian type, like the Hatrene, and its forms, the amphora, jug, jar and bowl, were normal Parthian-period ones of the area; but slight differences in fabric, and an absence of incised and applied decoration, imply a different ceramic milieu, possibly with its centre at Qala Sharqat (Aššur). Ash on floors and smoke-blackened walls suggest that the site ended its days in a conflagration; when this occurred is unknown, but it could well have been linked to events at Hatra.

Thus the new evidence from the Jazirah, and from its sites of Hatra and Khirbet Jaddalah, has illuminated many aspects of its history and culture.

APPENDIX 1: ARAMAIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM HATRA AND THE JAZIRAH

Introduction	195
Inscriptions	195
(a) Unpublished inscriptions	195
(i) Hatra (no. 1) [I-XIX]	195
(ii) Khirbet Jaddalah (no. 68) [XX-XXIV]	204
(b) Published inscriptions to which reference was made in the text	
(i) Hatra (no. 1) [1-341]	206
(ii) Wadi Hauran [WH 1-8]	213
(iii) Sa'adiya (no. 35)	213
(iv) Qbr Ibn Naif (no. 71)	214
(v) 'Ibra Al-Saghiya (no. 209)	214

Introduction

As regards unpublished inscriptions, both text and translation are given. For published inscriptions, only those to which reference was made in the text are included, and only a translation is provided.

Inscription numbers are designated by square brackets [], as throughout. Within each text and translation, square brackets are used to indicate lacunae, while round brackets signify explanatory matter. For a selection of letter forms, see pl. 223.

Inscriptions

(a) Unpublished inscriptions

My thanks go to M.S. Abdulla for permission to publish the texts from the eastern gate and Shrine XII, to H. Al-Najafi for permission to include [VII], and to S.O.A.H. for permission to reproduce photographs of three unpublished texts.

(i) Hatra [I-XIX]

[I] (pls. 90, 92 b, 224). This is on a limestone slab, the upper part of which has the relief of an eagle, found in the "eagle" niche of the eastern gate, Hatra.

1. BYRḤ KNWṆ Ḍ IIII 100 20 20 20 III BMLK' DY
2. 'LH' 'STBẈ ŠMṢBRḲ RBYT.
3. WḤTRY' QŠYŠ' W D (R) D (R) Q' W'RḄY'
4. KLHWṆ WKWḶ DY 'MṚ BHTR' WḤKYṆ PSQ
5. DYKWḶ DLGNẈ BLGẈ MṆ ML' HDYṆ
6. WLGẈ MṆ ŠWR' BRY' 'YṆ GBR'
7. HẈ GWY' LQTYḶ BMWT' DY
8. 'LH' W' YṆ GBR' HẈ BRY BRY'
9. LRGYM

1. In the month KNWṆ OF (the year) 463⁽¹⁾ (A.D. 151) at the council of
2. the god⁽²⁾ ŠMṢ-BRḲ⁽³⁾ there agreed steward,⁽⁴⁾
3. among the Hatrenes, old⁽⁵⁾ and young,⁽⁶⁾ and 'RBY'⁽⁷⁾
4. all of them,⁽⁸⁾ and all who dwell⁽⁹⁾ in Hatra, and thus⁽¹⁰⁾ (they) decreed:⁽¹¹⁾
5. that anyone who will steal inside this store⁽¹²⁾
6. and inside the outer wall, if he is a man
7. of the community,⁽¹³⁾ he shall be killed⁽¹⁴⁾ by the death of
8. the god,⁽¹⁵⁾ and if he is a foreigner,⁽¹⁶⁾
9. he shall be stoned.⁽¹⁷⁾

The whole text of [I] is repeated in [336] from the northern city gate of Hatra.

1. The letter D was used before the year number in the inscription of Sa'adiya (no. 3) see below, p. 213-214. which is dated A.D. 125, and in [243, 336]. text is dated KNWṆ (November) A.D. 151.
2. This is the first known text from Hatra to start with this phrase.
3. The name ŠMṢ-BRḲ occurs again in the (later) text [79].
4. RBYT', means "steward": for the post, see above, p. 109.
5. QŠYŠ' here means "old" (Segal, 1967: 16; Al-Salihi, 1978: 70); cf. above, p. 108.

6. DRDQ' (?) as in [336].
7. 'RBY' in [336] means the geographical area of Arabaya (see p. 104, n. 207), and so in this text, as the context is one of groups of people issuing a decree, it must refer to the Arab tribes of the desert.
8. [336] inserts: "and all who come in and go out of Hatra"
9. This possibly means the citizens (dwellers) of Hatra.
10. As in [336].
11. As in [336].
12. ML' in [336] was translated as "documents" by Al-Salihi (1978); but Professor J.B. Segal prefers "store", as here (personal communication).
13. Also in [336]. This word BRY' ("external") is still used in Iraq in the form Barany, meaning "foreigner" or "stranger"
14. Cf. LRGYM in line 9.
15. The same form is found in inscription [II].
16. Literally "external": see above, on line 13. For contrast, cf. DLBR WLGW [79].
17. RGYM also occurs in [281], again meaning "stoning"

[II] (pls. 90, 92b, 225, 226). This is engraved on a limestone slab (possibly added after the original construction) which made up part of the left hand side of the "eagle" niche in the eastern gate in the city wall of Hatra (in which [I], dated A.D. 151, was found).

1. BMLT ŠMŠHRY [T]
2. W HPYZ^W QŠŠ^W WHT []
3. KLHWN HKYN PSQW []
4. ŠLHY 'NŠ D LZBYN LKP []
5. WLKS^R_D WLGŠ' MN HR^D [']
6. 'GL' DY BYT 'LH'
7. MNTLT DY NSYBW 'G^R_D
8. BRYHWN MN BYT 'LH'
9. W 'YN LZBY MN HWN KP'
10. 'W KS^R_D 'W GS'
11. 'W GS' 'LG^R_D MN HWN
12. 'GLT' LMWT MWT'
13. 'LH'

1. By order⁽¹⁾ of ŠMŠ-HRY [T]⁽²⁾
2. and HPYZW⁽³⁾ (the) QŠŠ⁽⁴⁾ (and) the Hat[renes,]
3. all of them, thus they decreed:⁽⁵⁾
4. any ŠLHY⁽⁶⁾ person⁽⁷⁾ who shall carry⁽⁸⁾ a stone⁽⁹⁾ (?)
5. and straw⁽¹⁰⁾ and mortar⁽¹¹⁾ from edge ((HD['])⁽¹²⁾
6. (in, of, from?) the circuit⁽¹³⁾ belonging to the house⁽¹⁴⁾ of the god
7. on the grounds⁽¹⁵⁾ that (these) were taken⁽¹⁶⁾ for a reward⁽¹⁷⁾
8. outside them⁽¹⁸⁾ from the house of the god,
9. and if he sells⁽¹⁹⁾ from here stone (?)
10. or straw or mortar⁽²⁰⁾
11. or mortar for a reward⁽²¹⁾ (to be derived) from them,
12. quickly (?) let him die the death
13. (of) the god.

1. $\check{M}L\check{T}$ is found with this sense only here at Hatra.
2. $\check{S}M\check{S}$ - $HRYT$ is a common personal name at Hatra [10, 94, 119].
3. $HPYZW$ is a personal name known at Hatra in the form $H'P'Z'W$ [59, 118, 121, 126].
4. This term, which essentially means "old", is unlikely to have this basic sense here: it is more likely to be a title, "elder" (or even "councillor"). On the development of this title, see Segal, 1967, 7; cf. [I, 232, 290, 336] and above, p. 108.
5. Cf. [I], line 4.
6. Professor J.B. Segal (in a personal communication) said that $\check{S}L\check{H}Y$ in Hebrew, means "ends", while in Syriac it gives the appropriate sense. Dr. S. Brock (in a letter of 12.2. 1981) suggested that $\check{S}L\check{H}Y$ might be a (tribal?) gentilic name.
7. ' $\check{N}\check{S}$ means "ordinary people"; cf. [79, 293].
8. The root of this word is not ZBN but $ZBY(N)$, as in line 9.
9. The letter ' is missing at the end of this word.
10. $K\check{S}^R$ here cannot mean "camp", as possibly $K\check{S}RY$ does in [58], nor does it seem connected with the Syriac $Q\check{S}R$ ("fuller"), although K instead of Q before \check{S} is frequent in Aramaic. Cf. [98, 104].
11. The Assyrian $gu\check{s}su$ means "plaster" (Thompson, 1936: 148), as does $juss$ in Arabic.
12. $H\check{D}$, as in Arabic, means "edge" or "limit" (or "single").
13. ' GL ' in line 6 means "waggon" (and has the same form in Arabic). Cf. line 12.
14. Very likely BYT ' LH ' here refers to the main sanctuary, as in [107]; it is also called "temple of $\check{S}M\check{S}$ ($\check{S}ama\check{s}$) [272].
15. The form of the word here, according to Professor J.B. Segal, is interesting: cf. Syriac $MTWL$ or $MTWLT$, Mandaic $MINTUL$, and Orientalia Suecana, 14/15, 79-81.
16. $N\check{S}YBW$: cf. Arabic $N\check{S}B$ "will take" in the sense of "steal"
17. ' GR ', as in Arabic, means "wages"
18. This has the same form in Arabic.
19. This has the same meaning as in line 4 (note 8), and presumably should have the same spelling.
20. ' $W G\check{S}$ ' is probably a careless repetition from the preceding line.
21. As in line ⁽⁷⁾
22. ' GLT ' (sic) here in line 12 is puzzling. It is strange that the root ' GL ' should have a sense different from that in line 6, but the context demands this. It might be interpreted as the adverb "quickly" (which makes good sense); but this would hardly have the feminine emphatic ending. Dr. S. Brock reported that he could not think of any other suitable explanation, although just conceivably it might be taken as ' GLT ': "immediately come; (let him die...)"

[III] (pls. 73, 227). This is inscribed on the limestone base of a statue found in Shrine XII, Hatra.

1. SLM' Dy $\check{S}M\check{S}$ ' QB
2. KMR' BR ' DY , DY
3. QYM , LH ' $QB\check{S}M'$
4. BR ' $H\check{T}H$ ' $L H\check{Y}HY$
5. W ' $L H\check{Y}$ ' $BNYHY$ DY
6. KMR' W ' $L H\check{Y}$ ' MN
7. DY RHM LH KLH
8. B ' DR D 5 100 I 5 I

1. The image of $\check{S}M\check{S}$ -' QB ⁽¹⁾
2. the priest, son of ' DY , ⁽²⁾ which
3. erected to him ' QYM ' ⁽³⁾
4. son of his sister, for his life

- 5 and for the life of his sons of
- 6 the priest, and for the life of whoever
- 7 was dear to him, all of them,
- 8 in 'DR of (the year) 506 (or 507 or 516: A.D. 195, 196 or 205).⁽⁴⁾
1. This name also occurs in [10, 147, 152, 156, 161, 187, 204-206, 291].
2. The letters here are best divided into 'DY DY. 'DY is a common personal name [46, 56, 57, 216, 217, cf. 58].
3. The name appears in [27].
4. 'DR is roughly March. The year numbers after 500 seem incorrectly written: they are I 5 I, which could be interpreted either as a wrongly written 10 (+) 5 (+) 1, or 5 (+) 1 (+) 1 in the wrong order, or even as an incorrectly inserted 1 (not in fact to be counted) (+) 5 (+) 1, giving possible Seleucid era year totals of 516, 507 or 506, the equivalents of A.D. 205, 196 OR 195.

[IV] (pls. 59, 228-229). This was inscribed on the limestone base of a life-size statue of king SNṬRWQ I, found in the central iwan of Temple A ("of the Trinity") in the main sanctuary at Hatra (excavation no. HT 19-774). For the temple, cf. above, p. 126.

1. ṢLM' DY SNṬRQ
2. MLK' DY 'RB BR
3. NṢRW' MRY' 'BY'
4. RB' 'PKL' RB'
5. D ṢMṢ' 'LH' DY
6. 'QYM LH 'WYD' 'LT
7. RBYT' DY MRN'

1. The image of SNṬRWQ,⁽¹⁾
2. king of the 'RB,⁽²⁾ son
3. (of) NṢRW' the lord, chief
4. patrician,⁽³⁾ chief priest⁽⁴⁾
5. of ṢMṢ' the god, which
6. installed to him 'WYD-'LT,⁽⁵⁾
7. steward⁽⁶⁾ of (the shrine of the god) MRN.

A guideline for the date is given by the existence of a dated text of king SNṬRWQ I: [82], dated A.D. 176/7.

1. The name SNṬRWQ is here written without the W usual elsewhere.
2. This title also appeared on [193-194, 196-199, 231]; cf. above, p. 110.
3. The word 'BY' could be a title: see above, p. 108.
4. As in [IX, 67]; cf. above, p. 108.
5. This name also occurs in [230].
6. See above, p. 108-109.

[V] (pls. 59, 230-231). This is inscribed on the limestone base of a life-size statue found in the central iwan of building B in the main sanctuary at Hatra (excavation no. HT20-821).

1. ṢLM' DY 'BYGW(Y)R(D) BR
2. ṢMṢYHB 'BDṬBT' []
3. WRḤYM 'LH' W'NṢ'
4. DY 'QYM LH 'QBṢMṢ'
5. BR MR(D)Y(W) BYRḤ NYSN D ṢNT
6. III 100 20 20 20 10 III
7. ṢMṢYHB GLP DKYR

1. The image of 'BYGYR,⁽¹⁾ son
2. (of) ŠMS-YHB,⁽²⁾ the benefactor⁽³⁾
3. and the beloved (of) the god and the people⁽⁴⁾
4. which set up to him 'QB-ŠMS,⁽⁵⁾
5. son (of) MR(D)Y(W),⁽⁶⁾ in the month NYSN⁽⁷⁾ of the year
6. 473 (A.D. 162).
7. May ŠMS-YHB the scuptor be remembered.

1. Cf. for the name [107, 245, 301]. In Sumer, 30, 1979: p."d", the name is read 'BYGWD.
2. Cf. for the nmae [221, 232, 237].
3. Cf [107]. Note that in Iraq today it is the practice to use precisely the same term of someone who has died, either orally or on gravestones.
4. Cf [VII].
5. Cf [62].
6. Cf [278].
7. Cf.above, p. 135-136.

[VI] (pls. 59, 232-233). This is inscribed on a limestone statue base from Temple A ("of the Trinity") in the main sanctuarry, Hatra (excavation no. HT 19-429). For the temple, cf. above, p. 127.

1. [] SNT IIII 100 20 20
2. [ŠLM' DY] NŠRW MRY'
3. [BR NŠR] YHYHB MRY'
4. [] BR 'BDTBT'
5. L'HL' W L'NS' DY
6. 'QYM LH 'Q[WB]N'
7. BR TT'

1. [In the]⁽¹⁾ year 440⁽²⁾ (A.D. 128/9)
2. [the image of]⁽³⁾ NŠRW the lord,⁽⁴⁾
3. [son of]⁽⁵⁾ NŠR-]YHB the lord,
4. [] the benefactor⁽⁶⁾
5. to the god⁽⁷⁾ and to the people, which
6. installed to him 'Q[WB]N',⁽⁸⁾
7. son of TT'.⁽⁹⁾

1. The beginning is missing, but it perhaps started with the month: cf. [34-36, 82, 243] etc.
2. 440 (A.D. 128/9): this is the earliest dated inscription of NŠRW the lord (see pl. 67).
3. This line, by analogy with many others, could have begun:
"The image of ..."
4. MRY': for the title or post, see above, p. 108.
5. For genealogy of NŠRW the lord, see pl. 67.
6. This is a previously unknown title for NŠRW MRY': cf. [V].
7. This is a previously unknown title for NŠRW MRY': cf. [V].
8. For a name with this element, cf. 'QBN [49] and 'QWB-ŠMS [62].
9. This name appears here for the first time in Hatra; it might possibly be the Roman Titus.

[VII] (pls. 59, 68, 234). This inscription was carved on a limestone relief found in building B in the main main sancturay at Hatra (excavation no. HT20-826). The discovery was reported in Sumer, 30, 1974: p."e"

1. SNṬRWQ MLK' SNṬRWQ MLK' KMR'
 1. SNṬRWQ the king. SNṬRWQ the king, the priest.

It is not certain if the SNṬRWQ concerned is I or II, but in any case the title KMR' ("priest") is here associated with a king for the first time at Hatra: see above, p. 111.

[VIII] (pls. 90, 234). This was inscribed in the wall of the main hall of the eastern city gate of Hatra.

1. DKYR QŠBRMRYN BR NBW BN' D BYT' QDM MRN NŠR'
 2. LṬB W LŠNPYR
 1. May QŠBRMRYN⁽¹⁾ be remembered, son of (?) NBWBN'⁽²⁾ the builder of the house (shrine) before MRN NŠR'⁽³⁾
 2. with favour and with kindness.

1. QŠBRMYN is probably a personal name.
 2. The division of words and the meaning here are not certain. If BR is taken separately, to mean "son of", then NBW might well be a personal rather than the divine name, as in [211], where NBW BN', "NBW the builder", could be identical with this person. Otherwise, BRNBW could be understood as a personal name, as in [212]; in this case, BR ("son of") could have been omitted before it.
 3. The deity MRN NŠR', whose name means "our lord the (divine) eagle", was clearly an important one at Hatra, as it is mentioned elsewhere; cf. [79].

[IX] (pls. 90, 235-236). This is inscribed on the lintel of the inner doorway of eastern city gate of Hatra (no excavation number).

1. [] NŠRW 'BY' RB' 'PKL' R[B'] DY ŠMŠ 'LH' [Q]ŠYS' []
 2. [] ŠWR' D [Y] KP' LHWH HW'
 3. [] ŠMŠ 'LH' LM (?) []
 4. [] ŠMHWN W'QBH D [N]ŠRW [MR] Y'
 5. [N] Š[RY] HN DKYR L'LM [] MTY(W)SM(?S?)

1. [] NŠRW, chief patrician, chief priest of ŠMŠ the god, elder,⁽¹⁾
 2. [] the wall of the arch (?),⁽²⁾ to his
 3. [] ŠMŠ the god LM (?) []
 4. [] ŠMHWN and who was the successor of NŠRW the lord,
 5. [son of N]SR-YHB.⁽³⁾ To be remembered for eternity [(?)...]

This inscription is of great importance, as the lintel on which it was placed formed part of the eastern city gate, and so this structure may be dated from it to the time of NŠRW the lord (A.D. 120s and 130s: see pl. 67). For the gate, see above, p. 121-122.

1. The titles of NŠRW are as is [IV] (q.v.), except for QŠYS', for which see above, p. 108, and [II], line 2.
 2. KP' may also appear in [II], 4; cf. KPY' [140].
 3. For the genealogy of NŠRW the lord, see pl. 67.

[X] (pls. 73, 192, 237). This text was added (in barbotine) to the jar (?) fragment «21», found on the floor of Shrine XII (no number).

1. DKYR 'QB [ŠM' (?)
 2. QDM NBW W SH [RW]
 3. MRT [N (?)

1. To be remembered 'QB [ŠM' (?)⁽¹⁾
2. before (the god) NBW' and (the god) ŠHRW'
3. MRT [N (?)⁽²⁾

1. In Shrine XII statue base [III] was also found, dated to A.D. 195, 196 or 205; it was erected by 'QBŠM', who could be the person concerned here.
2. MRT [] could be MRT ('lady') as in [XII], or the name of the goddess MRTN ('our lady').

[XI] (pls. 90, 163). This text is incised on the plastered wall of the inner hall of eastern city gate of Hatra, in association with the graffito of two birds (no. 17).

1. 'BDSMY' ḤW'
2. MNHZZ GYZ(N)B(Y)
3. N(L)RḤM
4. '
5. HL(D)
6. DM LHGL

1. 'BDSMY' has⁽¹⁾
2. two (?) messenger birds (?)⁽²⁾
3. (?)⁽³⁾
4. (?)
5. permitted⁽⁴⁾
6. blood to the partridge

1. ḤW' is normally used of the possession of animals.
2. The element ZGYL, "messenger bird" in Arabic, might be present here.
3. The element RḤM might be present here.
4. This would be in a religious sense, as in Arabic. Cf. above, p. 116.

[XII] (pls. 73, 237). This text is inscribed on a limestone block in Shrine XII, Hatra

1. MRT MŠLḤ' ŠMY"
2. DY NBW 'LH'

1. The lady MŠLḤ'⁽¹⁾ heard by.
2. from NBW the god.

1. Professor J.B. Segal commented that this word might contain the element ŠLḤ', "armed"

[XIII] (pls. 90, 171). This is incised on plaster in association with the graffito of a fighting scene (no. 27) in room 5 of the eastern city gate of Hatra.

(to the right)

1. DKYR DKYR

(to the left)

1. N(Y)LYD 'Ḥ(S)R(D)'
2. BHḤŠ' Š'YN BLYLY' ŠW' HYN'D(R)
3. Ḥ SWYY KŠ'

(to the right)

1. To be remembered, to be remembered

(to the left)

1. N(Y)LD (is born ?) one (?) on day 7 (?) victory (or: victorious ?) five (?)
2. at the fifth hour in the night ŠW' now D(R)
3. (?)

[XIV] (pls. 90, 92b, 238-239). This text is painted in red inside the top of the "eagle" niche of the eastern city gate of Hatra.

(in one hand)

1. K Z (?) W (?) R (?) Y HB (?) BR ZN []
2. PLH' DMLK' LTB QDM NYŠ'
3. D GND' D 'BWL' WMN D RHM LH
(in a different and larger hand)
4. DKYR 'WYD'ŠR BR []
5. BR 'STNQ LTB
6. QDM MRN

(in one hand)

1. K Z (?) W (?) R (?) N (?) Y HB (?). son of ZN []
2. the workman, of the king, with favour before the (religious) standard
3. of the (deity) fortune⁽¹⁾ of the gate⁽²⁾ and whoever was dear to him. (in a different and larger hand)
4. To be remembered 'WYD'ŠR.⁽³⁾ son of []
5. son of 'STNQ,⁽⁴⁾ with favour
6. before (the god) MRN.

1. D GND'. cf. [58, 97].
2. D 'BWL': cf. (272, 297) where 'BWL' appears: this word means "city gate" in Assyrian, as it could do here.
3. This name is mentioned in [XXI, 204, 227].
4. Cf [56].

[XV] (pls. 90, 175). This text was painted in red beside a red-painted standing male figure (no. 30) in the niche of the eastern city gate, Hatra.

1. ŠLM' 'YZ (?)
1. Image of 'YZ (?).⁽¹⁾
1. Cf. the name 'YNY mentioned in [269].

[XVI] (pls. 90, 161). This text is incised on a wall in association with the graffito perhaps of a herdsman (no. 14) in room 3 of the eastern city gate of Hatra.

(in one hand)

1. ŠMŠ' Š ŠSL DYBW R(I)Y(I)D(I)
2. WŠQL
(in a different hand)
3. DKYR QN YRBW DKR'

(in one hand)

1. ŠMŠ Š ŠSL wolf destroyed (or: 3?)
2. WŠQL
(in a different hand)
3. To be remembered QN (or: has ?) Keeps sheep.

[XVII] (pls. 105, 154–155). This text is incised on a plastered wall in association with various graffiti (no. 10) on a wall of room 9 in the private house of M'NW at Hatra.

1. WHKMH
2. WBYT MP' BR MRHZ III

1. WHKMH⁽¹⁾

2. and the house (of) MP', son of MRHZ, 3.

1. This might contain the element HKM, "rule", or HKM', "wise"

[XVIII] (pls. 105, 156–157). This is a collection of texts in various hands incised, in association with the graffito of horsemen attacking a lion watched a god (?) (no. 11), on the plastered wall of room 6 of the private house of M'NW at Hatra.

(a)

1. B DKYR QDM NRGWL GRB [] H [] 'S WLNNN(100 111) WLKWN NKN B(W)MWT '[G']

(b)

1. KRYM DKYRN LHW

2. LMWT'

3. 'G' LBYK BH

(c)

1. DKYR 'BWTM NTKHBRK

(d)

1. LTB D'WT

2. 'L HMY'

(e)

1. YNGWN 'BDY YWBW

2. NZT DBRZ' HKWL

(a)

1. To be remembered before (the god) NRGWL GRBY (?)⁽¹⁾ [] H [] the patrol⁽²⁾, 103 (?) WLKWN NKN the death of '[G' ?]'⁽³⁾

(b)

1. A precious remembrance to him

2. at the death

3. (f) 'G' for your (the god's) service.⁽⁴⁾

(c)

1. To be remembered 'BWTN⁽⁵⁾ NTKHBRK

(d)

1. With favour, a good wish (prayer)

2. to the father-in-law.

(c)

1. To be saved, my servant YWBW (?)
2. (who ?) lusted⁽⁶⁾ to fight⁽⁷⁾ warmly.

1. This could be GRB': cf. [71].
2. 'ass, in Arabic, means "to make the rounds by night", or "patrol (or guard) by night"
3. For the name, cf. (b), lines 2-3.
4. LBYK: this word means, as here, "I am at your service" (i.e., here, in the hands of the god).
5. 'BW: cf. [30, 228] and 'BY [6, 202].
6. NZT: in Arabic means "lust"
7. BRZ' in Arabic means "fight"

[XIX] (pls. 105, 158-159). This is a collection of texts in various hands incised, in association with a graffito of a horseman and other figures (no.12), on the wall of room 9 of the house of M'NW at Hatra.

(a)

1. DKYR 'ŠTṬ

(b)

1. DKYR 'B ['] [NŠR] YHR BR 'B' (?) QDM MR [N] LW(Z)N 'HMN

(c)

1. ŠY(W)' [] QDM MRN W MRTN
(written above)
2. SHR(D)W BYWM 'NH []

(a)

1. To be remembered 'ŠTṬ.

(b)

1. To be remembered 'B['] [NŠR] YHB, son of 'B' (?), before (the god) MRN (?).

(c)

1. ŠY(W)' [] before (the god) MRN and (the goddess) MRTN
2. [] (the god) SHRW (?) on the day 'NH []

(ii) Khirbet Jaddalah [XX—XXIV]

[XX] (pls. 122, 128, 240). This is inscribed on a limestone lintel set originally over the west doorway of room 10 in the inner building of Khirbet Jaddalah.

1. BŠNT IIII 100 20 20 10 III B'DRN' DY 'LH' KLHWN
2. BN' 'GY BR 'B' BYRT' LNPŠH

1. In the year⁽¹⁾ 453 (A.D. 141/2) with the help⁽²⁾ of the gods
2. 'GY⁽³⁾, son of 'B',⁽⁴⁾ built the shrine (or: fort)⁽⁵⁾ for himself.

1. In Hatra the month is usually added where a year number is given ([290] is an exception)
2. B is the preposition; the verb 'DR means "help": cf. [107]
3. 'GY: this name occurs here for the first time in the context of Hatra and its environs 'G' occurs at Parthian-period Qala Shaqat (Aššur) (no. 78): W. Andrae and P. Jensen, MDOG, 60, 1920, 1-54. 'GY appears in the Syriac Doctrina Addai (Brockelmann: Syriac Grammar, 20, line 3).
4. 'B': this is a common name at Hatra: cf. [5, 104, 109] ect.
5. BYRT': the meaning of this is not clear. In Assyrian it signifies "fort" or "citadel" (Assyrian Dictionary, 1956, vol. G). Professor J.B. Segal pointed out that in contemporary Nabataean it meant "temple", and he preferred that sense here in view of the reference to the gods and of the formula of dedication in the inscription. Dr. S. Brock commented that in Syriac BYRT' can also mean "palace"

[XXI] (pls. 122, 128, 240). This was inscribed on a limestone lintel set over a doorway of rebuilt entrance room 20 in the inner building of Khirbet Jaddalah: the lintel could have been re-used from the earliest phase of the building.

1. BŠNT IIII 100 20 20 10 III B'DRN' DY
2. 'LH' KLHWN BN' 'GY BR 'B'
3. BYRT' LNPŠH 'L HYYHY WHY' BNYHY
4. WHYHY WHY' 'WYD-ŠR DDH W PLTY' KLHWN

1. In the year 453 (A.D. 141/2), with the help of
2. the gods, all of them, 'GY, son of 'B', built
3. the shrine (or: fort) for himself,⁽¹⁾ for his life and the life of this sons
4. and his borthers, and the life of 'WYD-ŠR his uncle⁽²⁾ and the PLTY'⁽³⁾, all of them.

This whole text is closely similar to [XX] (q.v.), but with an addition at the end. It bears the same date, although found in a rebuilt section of the building: perhaps the stone block was re-used.

1. Up to this point the wording corresponds with [XX]. After this comes the additional material.
2. 'WYD-ŠR: this personal name was in use at Hatra: cf. [204, 227].
3. A gentilic?

[XXII] (pls. 122, 128, 241). This is a graffito incised on the plastered wall of the north portico (K) of the inner building of Khirbet Jaddalah.

1. [Q]D(R)M GDYL
1. Before (?) GDYL.⁽¹⁾

1. GDYL could be associated with the present name of the site of (Khirbet) Jaddalah. One factor might suggest that this was a divine name: namely, that it may have been preceded by the preposition QDM ('before'), commonly used at Hatra before a divine name. It is interesting to note that early Arab writers speak of a pre-Islamic branch of the Tay tribe called the Jadil.

[XXIII] (pls. 122, 128, 176-177). This is painted in black above the head of a male figure painted in the niche in the first-phase wall of passage no. 20, on the spectator's left (no. 31), in the inner building at Khirbet Jaddalah.

'GY

I. 'GY.⁽¹⁾

I. 'GY is a male personal name, and the person pictured is presumably the same as the 'GY named as the founder of the building in A.D. 141/2 (XX, XXI).

[XXIV] (pls. 122, 128, 129). This is painted in black above the head of a now largely destroyed male figure painted in the niche in the first-phase wall of passage no. 20, on the spectator's right (no. 32), in the inner building at Khirbet Jaddalah.

I. 'GY

I. 'GY.⁽¹⁾

I. 'GY: this male personal name presumably refers to the 'GY mentioned in [XX, XXI, XXIII].

(b) Published inscriptions to which reference was made in the text

Where a plate reference is given, this means that the author has been able to work from a photograph or drawing of original; where none is given, this means that the author has had to quote the translations of others (usually of F. Safar).

(i) Hatra (no. 1) [1.341]

The principal publications have been the following:

<u>Inscription number (s)</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>Journal</u> (see Abbreviations)
[65]	Aggouls, B.	<u>Berytus</u> , 18, 1969, 85-104 <u>MUSJ</u> , 47, 1972, 3-81 <u>MUSJ</u> , 49, 1975-1976, 471-488
[207, 281-92]		<u>Syria</u> , 52, 1975, 181-206 <u>Semitica</u> , 27, 1977, 123-143.
[293-294] [295-335] [336-341]	Al-Salihi, W	<u>Sumer</u> , 28, 1972, (Arabic section) 26-27 <u>Sumer</u> , 31, 1975, (Arabic section) 171-88 <u>Sumer</u> , 34, 1978, (Arabic section) 69-74
	Andrae, W and Jensen, P.	<u>MDOG</u> , 60, 1920, 1-54
[1-27] [28-42] [43-57]	Caquot, A.	<u>Syria</u> , 29, 1952, 89-118 <u>Syria</u> , 30, 1953, 234-246 <u>Syria</u> , 32, 1955, 49-58 <u>Syria</u> , 32, 1955, 59-69
[58-78] [79-105] [106-206] [214-230] [231-280] [281-335]	Degen, R.	<u>Syria</u> , 32, 1955, 261-272 <u>Syria</u> , 40, 1963, 1-11 <u>Syria</u> , 41, 1964, 251-272 <u>WO</u> , 5, 1969-170, 222-236 <u>JO</u> , 20-23, 1973-1974, 402-422 <u>NESE</u> , 1978

Hospers, J.H. 1973 (see Bibliography), 315

[1-27]	Ronzevalle, S.	Mashriq, 15, 1912, 509-522
[28-42]	Safar, F.	<u>Sumer</u> , 7(2), 1951 (Arabic section) 170-84
[43-57]		<u>Sumer</u> , 8 (2), 1952 (Arabic section) 183-95
[58-78]		<u>Sumer</u> , 9 (2), 1953 (Arabic section) 240-9
[79-105]		<u>Sumer</u> , 11 (1), 1955 (Arabic section) 3-14
[106-206]		<u>Sumer</u> , 17, 1961, (Arabic section) 9-35
[214-230]		<u>Sumer</u> , 18, 1962, (Arabic section) 21-64
[231-280]		<u>Sumer</u> , 21, 1965, (Arabic section) 31-44
[281-292]		<u>Sumer</u> , 24, 1968, (Arabic section) 3-32
[207-213]	Teixidor, J.	<u>Sumer</u> , 27, 1971, (Arabic section) 3-14
		<u>Sumer</u> , 20, 1964, (English section) 77-82
		<u>Syria</u> , 41, 1964, 273-284

For Arabic translations of [1-292], without comment, see: Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 405-419.

- [1] (pl. 242). BRNNY, son of YHBS[∨], the architect, and his son, sculptors.
- [2] (pl. 242). To be remembered BRNNY before ŠMS[∨] (the sun god).
- [3] (pl. 242). The NYŠ[∨] (divine eagle) of (the god) MRN and the SMY[∨] (standard) of the family of 'QB'
- [4] (pl. 243). GDY [H], son of ZR[Q], carved (the statue of) NNY (the goddess) for the life of NŠR-YHB his son. To be remembered [with favour?].
- [5] (pl. 244). The image of SMY, daughter of 'G', son of 'ŠTTY, son of SLW(Y)K, installed by 'G' her husband, son of 'B', the priest of 'TR'T' (the goddess). 'B' sculptored, son of 'G' ZRQ'
- [6] (pl. 244). KNZY, son of 'BY, son of KNZY, installed (this statue). To be remembered with favour.
- [8] (pl. 244). To be remembered KNZY, the great coppersmith and carpenter.
- [10] (pl. 245). To be remembered ŠMS[∨]-QB, son of 'LH-ŠMS[∨], son of 'KHW, son of ŠMS[∨]-HRYT, son of 'PHW-ŠMS[∨].
- [12] (pl. 245) TO be remembered M'N'
- [13] (pl. 245). TO be remembered GDYHB, son of NSRY, son of 'G', and 'BS', son of 'BDNRGWL, the fuller, his friend, to be remembered with favour before ZQYQ'; and everyone who remembered him should be remembered with kindness.
- [16] (pl. 245). Remembrance and perpetuation for 'QWB' the steward of (the god) [B'LŠMY(BRMRY)]N, son of 'BD-ŠLM', before B[LŠ]MYN the king (?) remembrance and perpetuation for HBWS' the architect, son of 'WBDW, son of 'NNY, before B'LŠMYN the king (?).
- [17] (pl. 246). [Remembrance and per]petuation for blessing [before] B'LŠMYN the king [and?] the god.
- [21] (pl. 246). The image of 'TLW the king NTWN'ŠRY, worshipper of the god and blessed by the god.
- [24] (pl. 246). O BL (the god), to be remembered BRZQYQ' before (the god) MRN and B'ŠMN the god, with favour. I (am) 'BDY: I wrote (this); anyone who reads it should be remembered with favour; also may SM'NW be remembered with favour....
- [25] (pl. 246). To be remembered and blessed NŠR-YHB, son of 'BD-'LY, son of 'BD-ŠLM', the chief priest, before MRN, MRTN, BRMRYN AND B'LŠMYN the great gods, to be remembered with favour and kindness, and to everyone who is a friend, with kindness and favour.
- [27]. NSR [], son of 'QBŠM' BR'Y, the priest of (the god) BRMRYN.
- [28] (pl. 247). [] SMY', mother of 'BD-SMY' the PŠGRY(B)' (crown prince?), son of SNTRWQ the king, for the life of SNTRWQ the king, father of her sons.
- [30] (pl. 247). The image of 'BW, daughter of GBLW, installed by 'S', son of ŠMS[∨]-LTB, her husband. She died (in her) year [1 ?] 8. A prayer to (the deities) MRN and MRTN and BRMRYN and B'LŠMYN and 'TR'T' for the punishment of him who killed her and who rejoiced at her misfortune, and for NŠ[∨] and against the women who talked about her and said something bad against her honour.
- [33]. NSRW the lord (MRY') WLGŠ.

[34] (pl. 248) In the month 'DR of the year 546 (A.D. 235) the image (statue) of MRIBW, priestess of [']S[R] BL, [] daughter of TK(OR)DM, installed for her by BR(D)' her son, 'BD-SBT' son of BR(D)' the priest, and 'BD-IBWS' his brother, for their life and for the life of their sons and for the life of everyone who is their friend. SBZ has sculpted (this).

[35] (pl. 248). In (the month of 'LWL in the year 549 (A.D. 238) the image (statue) of QYMY, daughter of 'BD-SMY' the wine merchant (HMR'), the wife of NSR-'QB, the scribe of (the god) BRMRYN, which 'SRBL the virgin (goddess) erected for herself, for her life and for the life of NSR-'QR, her husband, and for 'BS' his brother, and (for the life) of all the dwellers inside and outside (the shrine) of BRMRYN and the life of whoever is dear to them, all of them.

[36] (pl. 249). In the month TŠRY of the year 549 (A.D. 238) the image (statue) of ŠPRY, daughter of SNTRWQ the king, son of 'BD-SMY' the king and BTSMY, the mother of the PZGRY(B)' (crown prince?), which installed for her [], son of 'BD-'GYLY, son of STNBL, her friend (or (as Professor J.B. Segal suggested): may I have pity on her).

[37] (pl. 249). The image (statue) of SMY, daughter of ŠPRY, daughter of SNTRWQ the king, (erected for) her [] son of 'BD-'GYLY. (Note: for date, see [36]).

[39]. Image of BD' the priest.

[43] (pl. 249). O MRN (the god), to be remembered MRHWN, son of M'N', with favour be[fore] GW [], the master of singing.

[46] (pl. 250). Sculpted by 'DY and ZBYDW and Y [HBSY].

[48] (pl. 250). O BL (the god), to be remembered 'G', son of HYRW the tall, with favour before MRL 'T

[49] (pl. 250). On the ninth day at dawn of the 8 (th day) in (the month of) TŠRY [] rest for 'QBN, son of 'QB, the accountant of the temple of B'ŠMN, who died in TŠR []....

[51] (pl. 250). O BL (the god), to be remembered 'G', son of 'BDSM', the priest of (the god) MRLH' (?).

[56] (pl. 251). The image (statue) of 'BG-SMY', chief of the standard, son of 'STNQ, son of 'DY.

[58] (pl. 251). To be remembered 'D', son of KSY', son of 'BS', before GND' (the deity of fortune) of the camp (garrison), with favour and kindness.

[59] (pl. 251). To be remembered HP'

[60] (pl. 252). The shrine (or: place of cedar, or: house of cedar) which was constructed by MQYM-ŠMŠ, son of WRWD, the steward (?).

[61] (pl. 252). 'BD-MQYM-ŠM[Š].

[62] (pl. 252). In the month MRHSWN of the year 476 (A.D. 165), a shrine (or: place) and a table were built by 'BD-MLKY, son of WHWB', and 'QWB-ŠMŠ his son, for their life and for the life of their sons.

[63] (pl. 253). GDWT, the wife (of ?) 'BD-MLK.

[64] (pl. 253). 'QWB-Š[MŠ], son of 'BD-MLYK].

[65] (pl. 254). In the month KNWN of the year 498 (A.D. 187), A standard was installed by '[B] D-SMY', son of WHWB', for the invocation of [] SMY' (standard) of 'WDW.

[66] (pl. 254). The house (dynasty ?) of TTTY.

[67] (pl. 255). With good fortune [] for the life of NSRW the lord (MRY'), the chief priest of the god.

[68] (pl. 256). Table of 'BD-[MLYK, son of], son of HNYN', for his life and the life of his sons and [].

[77] (pl. 256). To be remembered and blessed 'BHYRN the smith, before (the god) MRN, with favour and kindness.

[78] (pl. 257). QR(D)' (reads ?) 'RBY' before MR[N ?].

[79] (pl. 257). The victorious, whose GNDH (fortune) is with the gods, the son of 'BD-SMY' the king, (the statue) which was erected on his lucky birthday at which thier family rejoiced, YHBMRYN and 'LKWD, the sons of ŠMŠ-BRK, son of 'LKWD, son of ŠMŠ-BRK, son of 'LKWD, and their posterity, and YHBRMRYN and 'LKWD and thir sons and their descendants outside and within (Hatra ?), with our lord the eagle in his kingdom and with GND' (the deity of fortune) of the Arabs and with the standard of MŠKN', and with the fortune of SNTRWQ the

king and his seed and all his sons forever, (either: may M'N', son of SNTRWQ the the king, never, or: the reason these nobles left (Hatra) and other people from the sons of their uncles, (was) by the violence of M'N' son of SNTRWQ the king). To be remembered always at Hatra and (in) 'RBW'Y(W) (the region of Arabia ?).

[80] (pl. 258). The image (statue) of 'BD-'GYLW, son of 'LKWD, son of ŠMS-BRK, [] the life of his sons and the life [of his bro]ther and whomsoever is dear to him, to be remembered with favour. The image (statue) of [']BD-'GYLW, son of 'LKWD, (was installed) by 'LKW[D and] 'BD-SMY', sons of 'BD-'GYLW [in the mon] the of MRHŠWN in the year 549 (A.D. 238).

[81]. To be remembered and blesses 'BD-SMY', son of ŠMS-BRK, with favour and kindness before (the deities) MRN, MRTN and NRGWI.

[82] (pl. 258). [In the month of] the year 488 (A.D. 178/7) [] SNTRWQ the king [] ŠMS the god [] NSRW the lord (MRY'), to (the deities) MRN and MRTN and BRMRYN (and) 'LT and SMYT' (the religious standard).

[85] (pl. 258). To be remembered ŠY, son of ŠDYM.

[92] (pl. 259). To be remembered 'BSY, son of 'G' 'ŠY', with favour.

[93] (pl. 259). To be remembered NDR, son of 'G', son of NSRY, son []

[94] (pl. 259). SLWK, son of 'ŠTṬ, son of SLWK, son of ŠMS-HRYT, the steward.

[96] (pl. 259). To be remembered 'BD, son of 'BS' with favour.

[98] (pl. 259). To be remembered NBWBN', son of 'DB, the fuller (or: the short), with favour and with []

[100] (pl. 259). O BL (the god), to be remembered NSR-YHB, the confidant.

[101] (pl. 259). To be remembered NSRY, son of 'BD-MLYK, and 'BD(Y) his son, before (the god) MRN, with favour. May HNY, son of YH[] BGN, to (the god) MRN, to whoever reads this inscription and does not pronounce (words) and is silent, be remembered.

[102] (pl. 259). To be remembered WRWD, son of 'QRBN, with favour.

[103] (pl. 259). OL [] (a deity), to be remembered 'BDMLK, son of 'BDMLK, with favour.

[104] (pl. 259). O BL (the god), to be remembered 'BD-SMY', son of BBY the fuller (or: the short).

[106] (pl. 260). [Z]BYDW and YHBSY [sons of] BRNNY the architect, son of YHBSY the architect, whom the god taught in a dream.

[107] (pl. 260). [] son of 'B', [son of] GDY, son of [']BYGR, son of KBYR[W], from the tribe of RP-ŠMS, (I) was helpful to ŠMS the great god, the benefactor, (in the construction of the) BYT HDY' 'LY' (higher "joy" house ?), the shrine of the chief temple which (the god) BRMRYN extended for ŠMS (the god) his father. For his life and the life of whoever is dear to LWK(R).

[108] (pl. 260). In the month [']DR 422 (A.D. 112).

[109] (pl. 260). 'B', the steward of (the god) BRMRYN.

[110] (pl. 260). The image (statue) of SLWK the chief, son of YMLK.

[112] (pl. 260). The image (statue) of SNTRWQ, son of SNTRWQ, the master of the hunt, installed for him by YHBRMRYN, son of 'BD-SMY', the follower of SPRY (presumably the princess: see [36] (A.D. 238)).

[113] (pl. 260). The image (statue) of 'LKWD, son of 'STNQ, son of NTWN' SR.

[114]. [The imge (statue)] of [LKWD, son of 'S]TNQ, son of NTWN'ŠR.

[116] (pl. 260). GZBRY, son of NSR-YHB, the steward, to be remembered before (the god) BRMRYN, he and whoever is dear to him.

[117]. O MRN (the god), to be remembered 'G', son of RHZW, son of NSR', with favour.

[118]. O MRN (the god), to be remembered HP'ZW, son of RZHW, with favour and kindness.

[119]. O MRN (the god), to be remembered ŠMS-HRYT, son of MTLŠ.

[120]. To be remembered SNTRWQ the king.

[121]. O MRN (the god), to be remembered HP'ZW, son of RZHW, with favour.

[122] (pl. 261). O BL (the god), to be remembered 'BDLY, son of 'ŠTṬ.

[123] (pl. 261). O BL (the god), to be remembered 'ŠTṬ, son of WRWD the lord (MRY').

[126] (pl. 261). To be remembered 'BD-SMY', son of HP'ZW(Y).

- [127] (pl. 261) O BL (the god), to be remembered 'WD PDHŠ' before (the god) BRMRYN.
- [129] (pl. 261). O BL (the god), to be remembered HRYŠ, with favour.
- [131] (pl. 261). In ŠBT of the year [] .
- [134] (pl. 261). To be remembered ŠRT, son of 'WYG'
- [139] (pl. 261) The image (statue) of NŠR-YHB, son of N[Y]HR' son of SNTRWQ the king, installed by MNYS the confidant, for the life of SNTRWQ the king and for the life of MNYS.
- [140] (pl. 261). (The image (statue) of) the MR' (lord, or: master) KPY', so[n] of WLGŠ MR' (lord, or: master), installed by 'B', the chief of his guards, for his life.
- [141] (pl. 261). [O B]L (the god), to be remembered RPŠ' son of 'BD- 'GYLW, and 'SR-BRK [] ŠMŠ.
- [143] (pl. 261). The image (statue) of SWZNBL BTHŠ' (chief of the army?).
- [144] The image (statue) of WRWD the steward, son of BRNŠR' the steward, for the life of SNTRWQ the king.
- [145] (pl. 261) [] installed for him by BRKLB', (son of) 'BDŠMŠ, the priest (of the god) NRGWL, the chief of guards.
- [146] (pl. 262). To be remembered MKY, son of NŠRY, blessed before (the deity) ŠHYRW To be remembered MLYKW son of RBN, and blessed before (the deity) ŠHYRW
- [150] (pl. 262). With favour, 'BD-ŠLM' RMW (the archer?), to be remembered before you.
- [153] (pl. 262). To be remembered with favour HB', son of 'BD-'GYLW, before (the deities) MRN and ŠHRW [] .
- [156] (pl. 262). To be remembered HRYŠW' son of ŠMŠ-'QB, with favour.
- [160] (pl. 262). O BL (the god), to be remembered ['BD]LY, son of HYS', before (the deities) MRN and MRTN and [BRM]RYN, with favour.
- [161] (pl. 262). O BL (the god), to be remembered 'TYŠ, son of ŠMŠ-'QB, before (the god) MRN. To be remembered 'RŠK (?), with favour.
- [164] (pl. 263). To be [remember]ed NŠR-YHB, son of QYMTY, D (?) BH' (the sacrificer ?) of the king, with favour.
- [166] (pl. 263). To be remembered with favour SLWK, son of RHMNY.
- [167] (pl. 263). To be remembered 'BD-NŠR', son of 'BD-GYLW, with favour before (the god) MRN.
- [170] (pl. 263). To be remembered with favour SLWK, son of RHMNY (cf. 166).
- [176] (pl. 263). To be remembered 'B'
- [177] (pl. 263). With favour, TMLT, son of 'BD-HDD.
- [181] (pl. 263). O MRN (the god), to be remembered 'BD-'ŠR, son of 'STNQ.
- [183] (pl. 263). To be remembered HRYŠW', son of NŠR-YHB.
- [184] (pl. 263). O MRN (the god), to be remembered TYMLT, son of 'QYB', son of TYM, forever before all the gods with favour.
- [187] (pl. 263). To be remembered HRYŠW, son of ŠMŠ-'QB.
- [188] (pl. 263). The image (statue) of 'B' the prince (?), (which) erected to him M (?) TLYŠM and 'W'
- [189] (pl. 264). [M]NW [] ŠBŠ', son of [WRW]D the lord (MRY'), 'BYD (?).
- [190] (pl. 264). [BRY]' the smith, [son] .
- [192] (pl. 264). KRS', son of [H]N-ŠMŠ, gave an ingot for his life and for the life of HN-ŠMŠ his son, and (for the life of) his brothers.
- [193] (pl. 264). The image (statue) of WLGŠ, king of the Arabs, (which) installed for him GR'LHT, son of HYY.
- [194] (pl. 264). The image (statue) of SNTRWQ, king of [the Arabs], the victorious, son of [N]ŠRW the lord (MRY'), son of [N]ŠR-YHB.
- [195] (pl. 264). The image (statue) of SNTRWQ the king, son of 'BD-SMY', king of the Arabs, installed for him by NŠR-YHB, the steward of (the god) MRN, son of ZYD'LT, for the life of 'BD-SMY', his son, the [P]ŠGRB(Y)' (crown prince ?).
- [196] (pl. 264). The image (statue) of SNTRWQ, king of the Arabs, son of NŠRW the lord (MRY').
- [197] (pl. 264). SNTRWQ, king of the Arabs, son of NŠRW the lord (MRY').

- [198] (pl. 264). [] NYHR', son of [S]NṬRWQ, kin[g of] the Arabs.
- [199] (pl. 265). This portico was built by SNṬRWQ, king of the Arabs, son of NṢRW the lord (MRY[']).
- [200] (pl. 265). NḤTB, son of SMY', [] (the god) MRN gave to 'QYB', which he installed in the house of NṢR-YHB.
- [202] (pl. 265). (The third altar): The master of singers (or: smiths). (The fourth altar): ṬW'Y, the carpenter of SNṬRWQ the king.
- [203] (pl. 265). The image (statue) of 'BD-ṢLM', son of BR'Y, the tutor of SNṬRWQ (II), the king of the Arabs, the victorious, son of 'BD-SMY' (the king), installed for him by 'G' [].
- [204] (pl. 265). ṢMṢ-'QB, son of 'WYD-'ṢR.
- [207] (pl. 266). 'BN', the architect, and his assistants built the customs house; to be remembered. (See F. Safar, *Sumer*, 27, 1971, 14.)
- [211] (pl. 266). To be remembered NBW the builder (BN').
- [212] (pl. 266). BRNBW the shoemaker, (son of) 'ṢY', and his friends.
- [214] (pl. 266). In the year 409 (A.D. 97/8) the tribe of TYMW and the tribe of BL 'QB built (this) shrine to NRGL at their own expense, for their life and the life of their fathers.
- [215] (pl. 266). To be remembered 'ṢṬṬ, the scribe, before (the god) BRMRYN.
- [216] (pl. 267). KP'NNY, son of 'DY, the archi[ect.]
- [217] (pl. 267). KP'NNY, son of 'DY, the architect.
- [218] (pl. 267). To be remembered ṢMṢ-'DRY, the steward, and 'BD-'LH', MQYMW B' (either: the general collector of taxes (Safar's translation); or: the personal name MQYMW with some other element).
- [219] (pl. 268). 'STR', the trumpet player.
- [221] (pl. 268). To be remembered GD-YHB, the steward, and 'ṢṬṬ, the scribe. Carved by ṢMṢ-YHB and ḤBYB.
- [223] (pl. 268). The image (statue) of 'PRHT, the steward of the Arabs, installed to him by 'QB', the steward of (the god) BRMRYN, son of ṢMṢY, the steward, for the life of 'BD-SMY' the king (reigning in A.D. 192/3) his lord, and for the life of his sons.
- [224] (pl. 268). The image (statue) of 'PRHT, the steward, son of 'PRHT, the steward, installed for him by 'QB', the steward of (the god) BRMRYN. (For the date, see [223].)
- [225] (pl. 269). 'B' the ar[chitec]t offered to (the god) N[R]GWL 'SPK (?). May 'B' himself be blessed, and his sons.
- [227] (pl. 269). 'WYD-'ṢR [] to (the god) ṢMṢ.
- [229] (pl. 269). The image (statue) of SNṬRWQ the king, the victorious and the benefactor, son of 'BD-SMY' the king, installed for him in the month [] ṬSRYN.
- [230] (pl. 270). O MRN (the god), to be remembered before your feet ṢMṢ-BRK, son of MHRD'T, BRṢ', son of M'NW, and ṢMṢ-BRK, son of 'WYD-'LT, with favour forever.
- [231] (pl. 270). [] the chief of the Arabs, and SNṬRWQ (I), the king of the Arabs, son of NṢRW the lord (MRY').
- [232] (pl. 270). (a) Altar of MR' (the lord, or: master). (b) ṢMṢ-YHB, son of G(')GLY' the architect, the builder of the shrine of (the god) MRN.
(c) Altar of SNṬRWQ the lord (MRY').
(d) 'G' ZRQ', son of G(')GLY', the architect of (the shrine of) BRMRYN the god, the barefoot, the recluse.
- [233]. WRWD the lord (MRY'; inscribed on an iwan wall in the main sanctuary, Hatra).
- [234]. BRNNY, son YHBSY son of W (?).
- [235]. O MRN and MRTN and BRMRYN and SMY' (the standard) and GND' (the deity of fortune) (all deities), before you, ṢLMN, son of 'QB [], son of DRṢY [], to be remembered. This inscription was written in the month ṬSRY [].
- [236]. 'BD-'LH['], son of ṬPSR', to be remembered.
- [237]. ṢMṢ-YH[B] the sculptor.

- [240] (pl. 271). GD', son of BR'Y, son of DRY', (offered) MNY' (a weight) to the altar of the shrine.
- [241] (pl. 271). 33 MNYN (a weight), for the life of his brothers and his sons.
- [242] (pl. 271). [] offered 'SLM and KŠ [], sons of YHYBW. and [] YHYBW, son of QDM, his brother, [fr]om the (tribe of the) 'SYLY', 54 'STR (a weight) []. For the date, see [243].
- [243] (pl. 271). [In the mon]th KNWN of 428 (A.D. 116) 'SLM, son of YHYBW, (from the tribe of the) 'SYLY', offered 3 MNYN (a weight) [] 15, for his life and the life of SMS-BRK, son of 'YZL', his lord (MRH).
- [244] (pl. 272). [] 100 10 5 (?) YHYBW, (from the tribe of the) 'SYLY', brought 10 MNYN (a weight) to make an altar (?) for his life.
- [245] (pl. 272). [] 'BYGR, son of KBYRW, son of 'BYGR, brought 8 'S (of the) Parthian (?) weight to make an altar (?) for his life and the life of his sons.
- [248]. To be remembered 'BYD' with favour before (the god) BRMRYN.
- [250]. NSRW the lord (MRY').
- [251]. To be remembered 'T 'QB, the steward.
- [266]. WRWD the lord (MRY').
- [267]. WRWD the lord (MRY').
- [272] (pl. 272). In the [mon]th 'YR of the year 449 (A.D. 138), the wall and gate which NSR[W] the lord (MRY') built in the house (of the) god (s) (BYT 'LH', the main sanctuary, Bait Alaha), [for his life and the life of] his sons and brothers and for the life of the favourites of the lord who built the house (BYT, temple) of SMS the god [] the house (of the) god (s) (BYT 'LH', main sanctuary) built (or: standing). I, 'BD-'LH', son of TPSR', son of NSRW, built them for the life of NSR-YHB the l[ord (MR[Y']) and] the life of (his) so[ns].
- [273]. NSRW the lord (MRY').
- [274] (pl. 272). NSRW the l[ord ((M]RY'), [N]SR-YH[B] the lord (MRY').
- [277]. [] son [] to 'BD-SMY' the king.
- [278]. The cella of YHYBW, the steward, son of MRY', the steward.
- [279]. To be remembered GDYHB, son of 'DRY, the priest, son of NBWDYN, with favour before (the god) NRGWL, DHŠPT' (the guard?).
- [280] (pl. 272). The standard of the tribe of 'QLT', which belongs to (the god) BRMRYN, son of SMS the god.
- [281] (pl. 273). Invocation to (the deities) MRN (our lord) and MRTN (our lady) and BRMRYN (the son of our two lords) against whoever takes a tent or a sledge-hammer or a shovel and an axe or a pick and a basin and a crowbar and a hoe belonging to the work of (the god) BRMRYN and whoever takes one of the leather flasks belonging to (the god) BRMRYN, the dream has shown that he shall surely be stoned.
- [283] (pl. 273). The banqueting place of 'BD-S[M]Y' the bleacher, for those who love him.
- [285] (pl. 274). The image (statue) of WLGŠ the l[ord] (MR[Y']).
- [286] (pl. 274). The image (statue) of MYS', the priest, son of [] p[riest]t [], which belongs to WLGŠ, the king [installed to] him 'BD-'GY[LW].
- [287] (pl. 274). [] for the life of SNTRWQ, the king of 'RBY' (Arabaya, Arabia, Arab lands), and 'BD-SMY', PŠGRYB' his son, for the life of [] and the life of his sons [] ↓.
- [288] (pl. 275). (c) In the month NYSN of the year [4] 60 (A.D. 149), I, ['B]NB, son of [N]SRW, son of 'B', the brother of GRMLT, the chief, I erected PKR' (altar?) to the (deity) fortune
 (a) 'R[]BY []W (?) (the province of Arabia?) (and) I erected my image for the life of M'NW the lord (MRY'), and the life of BRZL and BD' his sons
 (b) The (deity) fortune of 'R[]B [] on the 14th day in the year 420 (?) after one day [] by one week [] for that to RHM-ŠMS, son of HRYSW, son of []
 (d) Before (?)
- [289] (pl. 276). To be remembered ZBDY, the scribe. To be remembered BR-NŠR', the sculptor.
- [290] (pl. 276). In the year 504 (A.D. 192/3) the arcade [] the great table for (the god) BRMRYN [] the confidant, the priest from the tribe of HRNPS [], 13 KPP' (in the) (arches) and the closed part of the wall, for the life of 'BD-SMY' the kin[g] and for the life of every member of his family and for the life of []

[292] (pl. 277). The image (statue) of WKWR.

[293] (pl. 277). In the month HZYRN of the year 400 + [], the tribes of TYMW and BL'QB built a tomb Nobody shall cremate their dead bones. (Note: found in the same tomb as [294], J 3)

[294] (pl. 277). In the month TŠRY of the year 420 (A.D. 108). BRNY' built [] (Note: found in the same tomb as [293], J 3).

[295] (pl. 278). To be remembered R(D)BY, the carpenter, son of 'BD-SMY', before NRGL, the chief of guards

[297] (pl. 278). With favour, to be remembered RMW, son of ŠBW, before (the god) MRN and the GD' (deity of fortune) of the gate, forever.

[305] (pl. 278). To be remembered YHB-ŠMŠ, the architect.

[333] (pl. 278). SNTRWQ the pious, son of 'B[D]-SMY' the king, son of SNTRWQ.

[334] (pl. 278). SNTRWQ the pious built [] YHB-ŠMŠ, the architect, son of HY []

[335] (pl. 279). [] bui[iv] ŠMH of NŠRW [N]ŠRW and his descendants [] ŠTT, the architect

[336] (pl. 279). (As [I] (q v.), but with the lower part missing).

[338]. In the month 'DR of the year 444 (A.D. 133), the table was erected by 'BD-'LIF, son of TΨSR' to SMY' (the religious standard) which belongs to (the goddess) MRTN, for the life of NŠR-YHB the lord (MRY') and for the life of NŠRW the elder.

[341] (pl. 280). [SN]TRWQ the pious, son of 'BD-SMY' the king, [] and with the NŠR' (the religious eagle) MRN (the god) for the wisdom of his father [] and the rule of those who succeeded him.

(ii) Wadi Hauran [WH1-8]

[These inscriptions were published by F. Safar, Sumer, 20 1964, 9-27. Safar's numbering has been followed here, but the numbers have been prefaced with a WH, to distinguish them from those found at Hatra itself and given the same numbers.

[WH1]. In the month 'DR of the year 409 (A.D. 98). ZBYD', son of HWMML, camped (planted?) during the stratega (governorship) of MR [], and pastured (his animals) here at Š'DY. Greetings []. May GD', the herald, be prosperous. May B'LY ML' 'LH (?) W be prosperous.

[WH2]. And HYRN, son of ŠM'WN, son of ZBYD' In the month 'DR, the year 409 (A.D. 98).

[WH3]. To be remembered 'NŠ (?)', son of 'MYN (?)', TYMH', son of TYMŠ'[DW], and QWP', son of ŠRYKW, (son of) YRHY, who parstured (their animals) here. (In) the year (when) ZBYD' (son of ?) HWMML (camped here).

[WH4]. In the month 'DR, the year 409 (A.D. 98) [].

[WH5]. In the month 'DR, the year 40[9] (A.D. 98), ZBYD', son of HWMML, was here []. The tribe of MŠKN' from TYM' [], HGGW, son of NŠ', HRŠ' [] and 'WYD' [] and ŠKY'Y, son of TBT, NBWL', (son of) YRH (?) [].

[WH8]. Greetings. In the month 'DR, the year 409 (A.D. 98). To be remembered and blessed TYMRSW and H'GGW, the sons of TYM', (son of) ŠWYD', and ZBYD', son of TYM'MD, (son of) MŠKW, (and) YRB'L, son of TYM', (son of) BRYK (?).

(iii) Sa'adiya (site no. 35) (pl. 280)

Publications, in chronological order, have been as follows:

Safar, F., Sumer, 17, 1961, (Arabic section) 36-40;

Caquot, A., Syria, 40, 1963, 12-14;

Teixidor, J., Syria, 41, 1964, 273-279;

Aggoula, B., MUSJ, 47, 1972, 45-49;

Milik, J.T., Dedicaces faites par des dieux, Paris, 1972, 167, 356, 398;

Aggoula, Semitica, 27, 1977, 138-143.

In the month NYSN (of the year) 436 (A.D. 125), a garden (or: stopping place, or: stage) and altar of the god

MRLH' of QRQBŠ, who lived in the HIT (well?), which made 'BD-ZN', son of DĦNY, THE interpreter of people who see dreams, and he has made a garden (or: stopping place, or: stage) for (the god) NRGWL which belongs to HSPŠ' who lives in MIH' for the life of his father and brother and his sons, and for everyone, may he be remembered with favour

(iv) Qbr Ibn Naif (site no. 71) (pl. 280)

Publications: Safar, F., Sumer, 17, 1961, (Arabic section) 41-42; Caquot, A., Syria, 40, 1963, 14.

In the month ŠBT' of the year 448 (A.D. 137), the tomb (remains) belongs to ZBYDW', son of RPŠ', and to ŠMŠ'-YHB, his son [] ZBYDW' son [] ŠMŠ' his lord

(v) 'Ibra Al-Saghiyra (site no. 209) (pl. 281)

Publication: Al-Aloosi, S., Sumer, 10 (1), 1954, (Arabic section) 145-52.

In the month QNWN' of the year 195 (116 B.C.) (or 495 = A.D. 183? See above, p. 73).



APPENDIX 2: EARLY ARAB SOURCES ON HATRA

Introduction	217
Sources	217
(a) Poets	217
(b) Historians	218

Introduction

The unique position of Hatra as a powerful Arab kingdom before the rise of Islam left a deep impression on the minds of later Arab poets and historians. So it is not perhaps inappropriate to include here a brief review of their contribution. Poems on Hatra and its violent destruction in A.D. 241 were already being composed in Arabic before the end of the Islamic period; Arab historians, however, wrote later, in the earlier Islamic period, and often made use of what the poets had said.

Sources

(a) Poets

The following comprises a small selection of poems composed in the period after Hatra's destruction in A.D. 241, at a time when a similar kingdom, of the late Sasanian period, was rising in southern Mesopotamia, at Al-Hira. These poems were quoted by later Arab historians, such as Al-Tabari (1961: vol. 2, p. 46-50), Al-Mas'udi (1966, vol. 2, p. 404), Ibn Khaldun (1956, vol. 2, p. 344), Yaqut Al-Hamawi (1906: vol. 3, p. 290-292), Al-Asbahani (1928, vol. 2, p. 139-142), Ibn Al-Athir (1357 H: vol. 1, p. 303-304) and Al-Bakri (1945: vol. 1, p. 338).

Abu Dawud Al-Aiyadi

I see death hanging over Al-Ḥadhr, over
the lord of its people, Al-Satron

Ibn 'Umran bin Al-Haf bin Quḍa'ah

We, a gathering of 'llaf faced them
with strong, fearless horses.
Thus Fāris were received with exemplary
punishment from us, and we killed the fire-
worshippers of Shahrazur.
We invaded the 'A'ajim from afar, in a
crowd flaring up like a desert.

Al-'A'sha Maimun bin Qays

This poet was born in Yamamah in Arabia in the pre-Islamic era. He died in A.D. 629. He was described as a messenger between the Persian and Arab kings. ⁽⁴⁹⁴⁾

Have you not seen Al-Ḥadhr and its people
living in happiness, and is he, who lives
in happiness, eternal? Shapur established
his army in it for two years. But his
god did not help increase his power, when
his god observed his deeds. He did not
carry out vengeance and die an honourable
death with sword in hand,
and that death is feared only by those who
surrender.

'Umar Ibn 'Uh

Have you not been saddened by the spreading
news about what confronted the leaders
of the death of Al-Dhaizan, his fellows and
the brave protectors of the regiment which
belongs to Fazid Shapur invaded them
with elephants and soldiers and destroyed
the pillars of Al-Hadhr, whose remnants were
like lumps of iron

'Udy bin Zaid

This poet, born in AD 480, lived in Al-Hira and was said to have been the first person to write in Arabic in the "Diwan" office of Chosroes, the Sasanian king, and to have been the private interpreter between the king and the Arabs. 'Udy also acted as Sasanian representative to the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople. Later in his life he returned to Al-Hira. He died in about A.D. 587 or 590⁽⁴⁹⁵⁾

Al-Dhaizan, his power extended from the Tigris
to the Khabur, who built Al-Hadhr of
marble and enveloped it with limestone, and
made it so high that birds had their nests
on its top. Still, it was not feared by
fate, and was therefore reduced to
destitution.

(b) Historians

The early Arab historians who wrote about Hatra and its end depended mainly on the Arab poets of the Al-Hira area who had been active from about three centuries after the city was destroyed in A.D. 241. Two characters were described by the historians as kings of Hatra at its fall: (Al-)Satrun⁽⁴⁹⁶⁾ and (Al-)Dhaizan⁽⁴⁹⁷⁾. Some of these sources say that Satrun and Dhaizan were the same person, while others make them two separate individuals.

Al-Tabari, Muhammad Ibn Jarir

This historian lived from A.D. 839-923. He settled and died at Baghdad.⁽⁴⁹⁸⁾
He states (vol. 2, p. 47-50) that Satrun, called Dhaizan by the Arabs, was at Hatra.

(494) Al-Zirkli, 1970, vol. 8, 300-301; Shaikhu, 1967: 357-399.

(495) Al-Zirkli, 1970, vol. 8, 161; Shaikhu, 1967: 439-474.

(496) This is very likely a corruption of the recorded Hatrene royal name SNTRWQ.

(497) Dhaizan is said in both old modern Arab dictionaries to mean "confidant" or "tax collector"; it can also signify the person who marries the divorced or widowed wife of his own father. Two statues of gods named Al-Dhaizan were said to have been placed at the gate of Al-Hira by Munthir the Great (Ibn Manzur, 1956, vol. 13, p. 254; Al-Zabidi, 1966: vol. 9, p. 263-164).

(498) Kahhalah, 1960: vol. 9, p. 146-147.

Ibn Husham, 'Abd Al-Malik Ibn Ayub

Ibn Husham was born at Basrah and died in Egypt in A.D. 828.⁽⁴⁹⁹⁾
He indicates (vol. 1, 76-77) that Satrun was king of Hatra.

Al-Mas'udi, Ali Ibn Hussein

Al-Mas'udi lived in Baghdad, and died in Egypt in A.D. 957.⁽⁵⁰⁰⁾

He says (vol. 2, 401-404) that Satrun, the king of Hatra, was the son of Asytrun, the king of the Assyrians, and that Nu'man, son of Munthir, the king of Al-Hira, was the son of Satrun. He also states that both Satrun and Asytrun were titles held by Arab kings of the Syrian people. Al-Mas'udi separates Satrun and Dhaizan, saying that Dhaizan was the son of Me'awiyah from the Arab tribe of the Quda'a and became the king of Hatra; he allied himself with the Romans, but his rule ended with the month-long siege of the city by Shapur.

Ibn Khaldun, Abd Al-Rahman

This historian was born in A.D. 1332, and died in Cairo in 1406.⁽⁵⁰¹⁾

According to him (vol. 2, p. 290), the king of Hatra was one of the king of city states of this area, who led an army of 400,000 soldiers, collected from these states in Iraq and Persia, against the Romans; he captured Antioch and arrived at the Gulf. Then Ardashir, son of Papak, captured Antioch and arrived at the Gulf. Then Ardashir, son of Papak, captured Mosul and Iraq (here called the Sa'wad), and advanced to Al-Hira, where the nomad Arab tribes of the Tanukh forced him to leave the region. Ibn Khaldun regarded Satrun as the king of Hatra, and repeats what Al-Tabari and Al-Mas'udi had said about him.

Al-Hamdhani, Ibn Al-Faqih

He says (pl. 129) that Satrun, the king of Hatra, was succeeded by Dhaizan from the Arab tribe of the Quda'a; he attacked the Sasanians in a battle which took place in Shurzur.

One other interpretation could be mentioned here, as it depends to a certain extent on these early Arab writers. Safar and Mustafa (1974: 35), using their evidence, concluded that during the decline of Hatra in the late Parthian period many Arab tribes entered Iraq from the west, while the Sasanians came in from the east. They suggested that these tribes were allied to one another under the general name Tanukh (meaning "alliance"), and founded Al-Hira as their base, after which they scattered into Iraq and Syria; then the area of these tribes was invaded by Shapur, the Sasanian king, with the result that they went to Hatra under the direction of Dhaizan, son of Me'awiyah Al-Tanukhi, and they were protected within its city wall. The authors supposed that this leader (Dhaizan) allied himself with SNṬRWQ II (that is, Satrun), the Hatrene king, after A.D. 238, when Hatra was at its peak, and that both SNṬRWQ II and Dhaizan shared the war against the Sasanians, during which Hatra was besieged and ultimately destroyed.



(499) Al-Zirkili, 1970: vol. 4, p. 314.

(500) Al-Zirkili, 1970: vol. 5, p. 86.

(501) Al-Zirkili, 1970: vol. 4, 106.

ABBREVIATIONS

[]	Inscription number in Appendix 1
« »	Pottery catalogue number in Chapter 6
<u>AA</u>	<u>Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin</u>
<u>A.A.S.I.</u>	<u>Atlas of Archaeological Sites in Iraq</u>
Abb.	Abbildung
<u>AION</u>	<u>Annali dell 'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli</u>
<u>AJA</u>	<u>American Journal of Archaeology</u>
<u>AMI</u>	<u>Archaeological Maq of Iraq, Baghdad</u>
<u>ANRW</u>	<u>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Tübingen</u>
<u>AS</u>	<u>Anatolian Studies, London</u>
A.S.I.	Archaeological Sites in Iraq
<u>BASOR</u>	<u>Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research</u>
<u>BCA</u>	<u>Bulletin of the College of Arts, College of Arts, University of Baghdad</u>
<u>BM</u>	<u>Bibliotheca Mesopotamica</u>
<u>BSOAS</u>	<u>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London</u>
c.	circa
<u>CAD</u>	<u>Assyrian Dictionary</u>
cf.	compare
<u>CIS</u>	<u>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</u>
cm.	centimetres
cp.	compare
C.S.I.	<u>Census Statistics for Iraq, Baghdad</u>
D.G.A.I.	Directorate-General of Antiquities of Iraq, Baghdad
diam.	diameter
ed (s).	editor (s)
et al.	et alii (and others)
<u>EW</u>	<u>East and West (New Series), Rome</u>
fig.	figure
<u>GJ</u>	<u>The Geographical Journal</u>
ht.	height
HT	Hatra, site catalogue number of object
<u>IA</u>	<u>Iranica Antiqua</u>
<u>IGJ</u>	<u>Iraq Geographical Journal</u>
<u>ILN</u>	<u>Illustrated London News</u>
IM	Iraq Museum, Baghdad (with catalogue number)
<u>JAOS</u>	<u>Journal of the American Oriental Society</u>
<u>JESHO</u>	<u>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, Leiden</u>
<u>JGIS</u>	<u>Journal of Geography of Iraq Society</u>
<u>JNES</u>	<u>Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago</u>
<u>JNI</u>	<u>Journal of Numismatics in Iraq</u>
<u>JO</u>	<u>Jaabericht ex Oriente Lux</u>
<u>JRAS</u>	<u>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</u>
<u>JRGS</u>	<u>Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London</u>

<u>JRS</u>	<u>Journal of Roman Studies</u>
<u>JSOR</u>	<u>Journal of the Society of Oriental Research</u>
km.	kilometres
l.	length
<u>LE</u>	<u>Lands East, Washington</u>
m.	metres
<u>MDOG</u>	<u>Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Berlin</u>
MM	Mosul Museum (with catalogue number)
<u>MMAI</u>	<u>Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique en Iran, Paris</u>
<u>MUSJ</u>	<u>Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, Beirut</u>
M.S.R.I.	Meteorological Service: Rainfall in Iraq
n.	note
<u>NC</u>	<u>Numismatic Chronicle</u>
<u>NESE</u>	<u>Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik</u>
p.	page
<u>PBA</u>	<u>Proceedings of the British Academy</u>
pl.	plate
<u>PSBA</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</u>
q.v.	which should be seen
<u>RA</u>	<u>Revue Archeologique</u>
ref.	reference
S.O.A.H.	State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage, Baghdad
vol (s).	volume (s)
w.	width
<u>WO</u>	<u>Welt des Orients</u>
<u>VVDOG</u>	<u>Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft</u>
<u>ZDMG</u>	<u>Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft</u>



BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abd Al-Rahman, M.R., 1978. "Al-Tanqibat Al-Athariyah Fi Tell Heidar Lil-Musim 1973/1974" ("The Excavations at Tell Heidar for the Season 1973/1974"). Sumer 34. (Arabic section) 75-106
- Aboud, S.H., 1956. "Hatra, city in the land of sand" IE, 1, no 4, 16-18.
- Abu Al-Soof, B., 1970. "Mounds in the Rania plain and excavations at Tell Basmusian (1956)" Sumer, 26. (English section) 65-104. (Arabic section) 3-30.
- Abu Al-Soof, B., 1975. "Late prehistoric pottery in the TellAfar-Sinjar region". Sumer, 31. (English section) 21-23.
- Abu Al-Soof, B., 1976. "Iktishaf Munshaat Babyliyah fi Baghdad" ("The discovery of Neo-Babylonian remains in Baghdad"), Sumer, 32, (Arabic section) 113-120
- Abu Al-Soof, B., 1978. "Tanqibat Inqadiyah Shamilah fi Hawdh Sad Hamrin" ("General salvage excavations at Hamrin dam reservoir"). Al-Athari (The Archaeologist), 1, second year, 1-3.
- Abu Al-Soof, B., 1979. "Al-Tanqibat Al-Athariyah fi Hawdh Sad Hamrin" ("Salvage excavations at Hamrin dam reservoir"). Sumer, 35, (Arabic and English). 416-419.
- Abu Yusuf (Al-Kufi), 1302H. Kitab Al-Kharaj (A treatise on fiscal administration with special reference to the taxation of the empire of the caliphs). Cairo.
- Adams, R., 1965. Land behind Baghdad, Chicago.
- Adams, R., 1969. "The study of ancient Mesopotamian settlement patterns and the problem of urban origins". Sumer, 25, (English section) 111-124.
- Adams, R. and Nissen, H., 1972. The Uruk Countryside, Chicago.
- Adams, R., 1981. Heartland of Cities, Chicago.
- Aggoula, B., 1969. "Remarques sur les inscriptions hatreennes", Berytus, 18, 85-104.
- Aggoula, B., 1972. "Remarques sur les inscriptions hatreennes", MUSJ, 47, 3-80.
- Aggoula, B., 1975. "Remarques sur les inscriptions hatreennes", Syria, 52, 196-206.
- Aggoula, B., 1975/76. "Remarques sur les inscriptions hatreennes (IV)", MUSJ, 471-488.
- Aggoula, B., 1977. "Remarques sur les inscriptions hatreennes V", Semitica, 27, 123-143.
- Agha, A.A., 1974. Balad (Eski Mosul), Mosul (in Arabic).
- Agha, A.A., 1978. "Tell Baradan", Al-Athari (The Archaeologist), 1, second year, 6-11.
- Ainsworth, W., 1841. "Notes of an Excursion to Kalah Sherkat, the Ur of the Persians, and to the Ruins of Al-Hadhr, the Hutra of the Chaldees, and Hatra of the Romans", JRGS, 11, 1-20
- Ainsworth, W., 1892. "Masons' marks at Al-Hadhr (Hatra)", PSBA, 14, 256-259.
- Al-Ahmad, S., 1977. "Al-Musta'mrat Al-Assuriyah fi Asia Al-Sughra" ("The Assyrian colonies in Asia Minor"), Sumer, 33, (Arabic section) 70-96.
- Al-Aloosi, S., 1954. "Iktishaf Muhim fi Tulul Al-'Ibra Al-Saghiyra" ("Important discovery at Tulul Al-'Ibra Al-Saghiyra"), Sumer, 10 (Arabic section), 145-148.
- Al-Asbahani, Abu Al-Faraj, 1928. Kitab Al-Aghani (The Book of Singing), Cairò.
- Al-Asil, N., 1951 (a). "Hatra", ILN, 5873, 10 November, 762-765.
- Al-Asil, N., 1951 (b). "Hatra", ILN, 5874, 17 November, 806-807.
- Al-Asil, N., 1954 (a). "Hatra", ILN, 6035, 18 December, 1115-1117.
- Al-Asil, N., 1954 (b). "Hatra", ILN, 6036, 25 December, 1160-1161.
- Al-Azzawi, A., 1937 Ashair Al-'Iraq (The tribes of Iraq), Baghada (in Arabic).
- Al-Baghdadi, A., 1948. Rihlah (Travel) (written in Persian in A.D. 18822 and translated into Arabic by Al-Azzawi, A.), Baghdad.

- Al-Baladhuri, Ahmad Ibn Yahya, 1959. Kitab Futuh Al-Buldan (The Book of the Conquest of Countries), Al-Sa'adah Press, Egypt.
- Al-Bakri, Abu Ubaid, 1945. Mujam ma Istajam (A geographical Dictionary), Cairo (in Arabic).
- Al-Bakwi, A.S., 1971. Kitab Talkhis Al-Athar wa 'Ajaeb Al-Malik Al-Qahar (The book of the Summary of Antiquities and the Wonders of the King, the Subduer) (written originally in the fourteenth or fifteenth century A.D.), Moscow.
- Al-Bustani, B., 1882. Daerat Al-Ma'arif (Encyclopedia), Beirut.
- Al-Dabagh, A., 1969. Al-Nakhil w-Tumur fi Al-'Iraq (Date palms and dates in Iraq), Baghdad.
- Al-Dwrobi, H., 1970. "Al-Tuqus Al-Diniyah fi Al-Ma'bad Al-Khamis fi Al-Hadhr" ("The religious ceremonies in the fifth shrine at Hatra"), Sumer, 26, (Arabic section), 143-162.
- Al-Fitiyan, A. and Abdullah, Z., 1979. 7 Sanwat fi Tell Aswad (7 Years at Tell Aswad), Baghdad.
- Al-Haik, A.R., 1968. Key Lists of Archaeological Excavations in Iraq, 1842-1965, Florida.
- Al-Hamadhani, Ibn Al-Faqih, 1302 H. Kitab Al-Buldan (The Book of the Countries), Leiden.
- Al-Hasani, S., 1969. "Accomplishments and Projects of the Directorate-General of Antiquities", Sumer, 25, 160.
- Ali, J., 1967. "Asnam Al-Arab" ("Arab cult statuary"), Sumer, 23, (Arabic section), 3-46.
- Ali, J., 1969. Al-Mufasssal fi Tarikh Al-Arab qabla Al-Islam (A detailed history of the Arabs before Islam), vol. 1-10, Beirut.
- Ali, Kh. I., 1969. "Al-Hadhr am Al-Hazr" ("Al-Hadhr or Al-Hazr"), BCA, 12, 276-283 (in Arabic).
- Al-Istakhri, Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad, 1937. Kitab Al-Masalik wal-Mamalik (The book of the Ways and the Countris), Leiden (also 1961, Cairo).
- Al-Jamil, M., 1956. Al-Bedu wal-Qabail Al-Rahalh fi Al-'Iraq (The Beduin and the Migratory Tribes in Iraq), Baghdad.
- Al-Jumaili, R., 1972. Muḥarat fi Tarikh Al-Arab (Lectures in Arab History), Beirut.
- Al-Jundi, N., 1972. Iraqi Costumes in the Parthian and Sasanian Periods, unpublished M.A. thesis presented to the University of Baghdad.
- Al-Kasab, N., 1966. Die Nomadenansiedlung in der Irakischen Jezira, Tubingen.
- Al-Kasab, N., 1969. "Mlamih Jughrafiyah hawl Istitan Al-Qabil Al-Badawiyah Al-Mutanaqilah" ("Geographical features of the settlement of the nomad tribes"), IGJ, 5, 275-324.
- Al-Khalaf, J.M., 1965. Jughrafiyat Al-'Iraq Al-Tabiyah wal-Iqtisadiyah wal-Bashariyah (The physical, economic and human geography of Iraq), 3rd edition, Cairo.
- Al-Mas'udi, Ali Ibn Hussein, Al-Tanbih wal Ishraf (A compendium of history and geography), Brill (Leiden) 1894; Cairo, 1938; Beirut 1965.
- Al-Mas'udi, Ali Ibn Hussein, 1966. Murug Al-Dahab wa Ma'adin Al-Jauhar fi'l-Tarikh (A treatise on geography and history), Beirut.
- Al-Muqaddasi, Shams Al-Din Abu Abdullah, 1904. Kitab Ahsan Al-Taqaqim fi Ma'arifat Al-Aqalim (The book of the better parts in the knowledge of countries) (a treatise on geography), Leiden.
- Al-'Omary, Yasin, 1955. Manyat Al-Udaba fi Tarikh Al-Mosul Al-Hadba (Book on the history of Mosul), Mosul.
- Al-Qazweni, Zakariya bin Ahmad, 1960. Athar Al-Bilad wa Akhbar Al-'Aibad (The antiquities of countries and information on humanity) (A treatise on geography and history), Beirut.
- Al-Rawi, A., 1946. Al-Badiyah (The desert), Baghdad.
- Al-Salih, S., 1965. Al-Nuzum Al-Islamiyah (The development of Islamic social systems) Beirut.
- Al-Salihi, W., 1969. The sculptures of divinities from Hatra, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Princeton University, New Jersey, U.S.A.
- Al-Salihi, W., 1970. "Hatra, aspects of Hatran religion", Sumer, 26, (English section), 187-194.
- Al-Salihi, W., 1971. "Hercules-Nergal at Hatra", Iraq, 33, 113-115, pls. 33-34.
- Al-Salihi, W., 1972. "Hatra-Excavations in a group of tombs, 1970-1971, Preliminary Report", Sumer, 28, (English section) 17-20, (Arabic section) 19-30.

- Al-Salihi, W., 1973 (a). "A note on a statuette from Hatra" Sumer, 29. (English section) 99-100
- Al-Salihi, W., 1973 (b) Hatra. Baghdad
- Al-Salihi, W., 1974. "Al-Hadhr: Al-Nuqwd Al-Muktashafah Khilal Tanqibat (1971-1972)" ("Excavation coins from Hatra, 1971-1972"), Sumer, 30. (Arabic section) 155-162
- Al-Salihi, W., 1975. "Kitabat Al-Hadhr" ("The inscriptions of Hatra"), Sumer, 31. (Arabic section) 171-188
- Al-Salihi, W., 1978. "Kitabat Al-Hadhr" ("Inscriptions from Hatra"), Sumer, 34. (Arabic section) 69-74
- Al-Salihi, W., 1979. "Ba 'alsmeen-Hah Al Barq wal Matar fi Al Hadhr" ("Ba 'alsmeen-the god of lightning and rain at Hatra"), BCA, 25. 450-468 (in Arabic)
- Al-Salihi, W., 1980. "Al-Hadhr/Al-Tanqib fi Al-Bawabah Al-Shamaliyah" ("Hatra/Excavation in the Northern Gate"), Sumer, 36. (Arabic section) 158-189
- Al-Tabari, Muhammad bin Jarir, 1939, 1961. Tarikh Al-Umam wal-Muluk (The history of nations and kings). Cairo.
- Al-Tell'Afari, Q., 1969. Thawrat Tell'Afar 1920 (Tell'Afar's Revolution in 1920). Baghdad.
- Altheim, P. and Stiehl, R., 1964. Die Araber in der Alten Welt. Berlin
- Al-Totonchi, N., 1976. Al-Maharib Al-Iraqiyah mundh Al-'Asr Al-Islami illa Nihiyat Al-'Asr Al-Abbasi (on Iraqi mihrabs). Baghdad.
- Al-Wailly, F., 1969. "Forward", Sumer, 26, s. h'
- Al-Zabidi, Muhammad Murtadha, 1966. Taj Al-'Arus (A commentary on the Arabic lexicon). Beirut.
- Al-Zirkili, Kh., 1970. Al-A'lam (a biographical dictionary of famous Arabs, Arabists and orientalis). 3rd edition. Beirut.
- Amin, A., 1979. "Tell Baradan", Sumer, 35, 503-511.
- Ammianus Marcellinus, 1937. Edited by Page, T.E., English translation by Rolfe, J.C., London.
- Andrae, W., 1908. "Hatra", vol. 1, WVDOG, 9.
- Andrae, W., 1912. "Hatra", vol. 2, WVDOG, 21.
- Andrae, W. and Jensen, P., 1920. "Aramaische Inschriften aus Assur und Hatra aus der Partherzeit", MDOG, 60, 1-54.
- Andrae, W., and Lenzen, H., 1933. "Die Partherstadt Assur", WVDOG, 57.
- Andrae, W., 1938. Das wiedererstehende Assur, Leipzig.
- Araim, A., 1965. Al-Qabail Al-Ruhal fi l-Iraq (The nomad tribes in Iraq). Baghdad.
- Baatz, D., 1977. (a) "The Hatra ballista", Sumer, 33, (English section) 141-151 (translated into Arabic by Al-Salihi, W., 1977, Sumer, 33, (Arabic section) 164-168.
- Baatz, D. 1977 (b) Neufunde Antiker Geschutze, Limes, Budapest. Baqir, T. and Safar, F., 1962 (a). Al-Murshid ila Mawatin Al-Athar wal-Hadharah (Guide to archaeological sites and civilizations), 1. Baghdad.
- Baqir, T. and Safar, F., 1962 (b). Al-Murshid ila Mawatin Al-Athar wal-Hadharah (Guide to archaeological sites and civilizations), 2, Baghdad.
- Baqir, T. and Safar, F., 1965. Al-Murshid ila Mawatin Al-Athar wal-Hadharah (Guid to archaeological sites and civilizations), 4, Baghdad.
- Baqir, T. and Safar, F., 1966 (a). Al-Murshid ila Mawatin Al-Athar wal-Hadharah (Guide to archaeological sites and civilizations), 3, Baghdad.
- Baqir, T. and Safar, F., 1966 (b). Al-Murshid ila Mawatin Al-Athar wal-Hadharah (Guide to archaeological sites and civilizations,) 5, Baghdad.
- Baqir, T. and Safar, F., 1966 (c). Al-Murshid ila Mawatin Al-Athar wal-Hadharah (Guide to archaeological sites and civilizations,) 6, Baghdad.
- Bashir, H., 1979. "The pottery found at the Western Gate in Assur", Sumer, 35, (English section) 342-343.
- Bell, G.M., 1927, The Letters of Gertrude Bell, selected and edited by Lady Bell, London.
- Bellinger, A.R., 1943. "The numismatic evidence from Dura", Berytus, 8, 61-71, pl. 8.
- Bellinger, A.R., 1948. "Seleucid Dura. The evidence of the coins", Berytus, 3, 51-67.
- Bernard, P., 1967. "Ai Khanum on the Oxus, a Hellenistic city in Central Asia", PBA, 43, 71-97.

- Burley, A. 1971. Septimius Severus, London.
- Brinkman, J.A. 1968. A political history of post-Kassite Babylonia, 1158-722 B.C., Rome.
- Buringh, P. 1960. Soils and soil conditions in Iraq, Baghdad.
- Caquot, A. 1952. "Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes de Hatra", Syria, 29, 89-118.
- Caquot, A. 1953. "Nouvelles inscriptions arameennes de Hatra", Syria, 30, 234-246.
- Caquot, A. 1955 (a). "Nouvelles inscriptions arameennes de Hatra", Syria, 32, 49-58, 261-272.
- Caquot, A. 1955 (b). "Note sur le sêmeion et les inscriptions araméennes de Hatra", Syria, 32, 59-69.
- Caquot, A. 1963. "Nouvelles inscriptions arameennes de Hatra", Syria, 40, 1-11.
- Caquot, A. 1964. "Nouvelles inscriptions arameennes de Hatra", Syria, 41, 251-272.
- Chesney, R.A. 1969. Expedition for the survey of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, 2nd edition, New York.
- Colledge, M.A.R. 1967. The Parthians, London.
- Colledge, M.A.R. 1976. The Art of Palmyra, London.
- Colledge, M.A.R. 1977 (a). Parthian Art, London.
- Colledge, M.A.R. 1977 (b). "Some observations on sculptors' stone-carving techniques at Hatra", Sumer, 33, (English section) 135-140.
- Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, 1926-1947. Vol. 2: Inscriptions Arameennes, Paris.
- Cowley, A. 1967. Aramaic papyri of the fifth century B.C., Osnabruck.
- Cresswell, K.A.C. 1960. Early Muslim Architecture, Oxford.
- Cunliffe, B. 1978. Rome and her Empire, London.
- Cureton, W. 1864. Ancient Syriac documents relative to the earliest establishment of Christianity in Edessa and the neighbouring countries... discovered, edited and annotated by W. Cureton, London.
- Debevoise, N.C. 1934. Parthian pottery from Seleucia on the Tigris, Ann Arbor, U.S.A.
- Debevoise, N.C. 1938. A political history of Parthia, Chicago.
- Degen, R. 1969-70. "Neue aramäische Inschriften aus Hatra", WO, 5, 222-236.
- Degen, R. 1973-74. "New inscriptions from Hatra", JO, 20-23, 402-422.
- Degen, R. 1977. "A note on the law of Hatra", AION, 27, 486-90.
- Degen, R. 1978. "Weitere Inschriften aus Hatra (nr. 281-335)", Neue EpheMERIS für semitische Epigraphik, 3, 1978, 67-111.
- Dilleman, L. 1962. Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents, Paris.
- Dio Cassius. 1914. Roman History (translated by Cary, E), London.
- Directorate General of Antiquities, 1970. Al-Mawaqie' Al-Athariyah fi Al-'Iraq (Archaeological sites in Iraq), Baghdad.
- Directorate General of Antiquities, 1972. Archaeological map of Iraq, Baghdad.
- Directorate General of Antiquities, 1976. Atlas Al-Mawaqie' Al-Athariyah fi Al-'Iraq (Atlas of archaeological sites in Iraq), Baghdad.
- Dorrell, P., 1972. "A note on the geomorphology of the country near Umm Dabaghiyah", Iraq, 34, 69-72.
- Downey, S.B., 1966. "Cult banks from Hatra", Berytus, 16, 97-109.
- Downey, S.B., 1968 (a). "Notes sur une stèle de Hatra", Syria, 45, 105-109.
- Downey, S.B., 1968 (b). "The jewelry of Hercules at Hatra", AJA, 72, 211-217.
- Downey, S.B., 1969. The Excavation at Dura-Europos. Final Report, III, Part I, Fascicule 1, The Heracles sculpture, New York.
- Downey, S.B., 1970 (a). "A preliminary corpus of the standards of Hatra", Sumer, 26, (English section) 227-230.
- Downey, S.B., 1974 (a). "A goddess on a lion from Hatra", Sumer, 30, (English section) 175-178.
- Downey, S.B., 1974 (b). "A stèle from Hatra", Sumer, 30, 178-181.
- Downey, S.B., 1977. The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report, III, Part I, Fascicule 2, The sculptures, Los Angeles.
- Drijvers, H.J., 1965. "The Book of the Laws of Countries". The Dialogue on Fate of Bardaisan of Edessa, Assen.
- Drijvers, H.J., 1978. "Mithra at Hatra? Some remarks on the problem of the Irano-Mesopotamian syncretism",

- Acta Iranica, Textes et Mémoires, vol. IV, Etudes Mithriaques, Leiden, 151-186.
- Ebelling, E. and Meissner, M., 1938. Reallexikon der Assyriologie, Leipzig.
- Ellis, R.S., 1972. A Bibliography of Mesopotamian Archaeological Sites, Wiesbaden.
- Ellis, M., 1976. Agriculture and the State in Ancient Mesopotamia, Philadelphia.
- Ettinghausen, R., 1938. "Parthian and Sasanian pottery", in: Pope, A.J., editor, A Survey of Persian Art, vol. 546-680.
- Faraj, R.A., 1979. "Tell Abu Gbab", Sumer, 35, 569-582 (Arabic and English).
- Field, H., 1952. "Camel brands and graffiti from Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Iran and Arabia", JAOS, 15, 1-41.
- Fiey, J., 1952. "Iktishaf Hajart Masafat Bilqurb min Sinjar" ("Discovery of a milestone near Sinjar"), Sumer, 8, (2), 319-320.
- Fiey, J., 1958. "The identification of Qasr Serej", Sumer, 14, 125-126.
- Fiey, J., 1964. "The Iraqi section of the Abbasid road Mosul-Nisibin", Iraq, 17, 106-117.
- Frye, R.N., 1962. The Heritage of Persia, London.
- Fukai, Sh., 1960. "The artifacts of Hatra and Parthian art", EW, 2 (nos. 2-3), June-September 135-181.
- Gall, H. von, 1971. "Zur figuralen Architekturplastik des grossen Tempels von Hatra", Baghdader Mitteilungen, 5, 7-32.
- Gawlikowski, M., 1970. Monuments funéraires de Palmyre, Warsaw. Ghirshman, R., 1962. Iran, Parthians and Sassanians, London.
- Gibson, M., 1972. The city and area of Kish, Florida.
- Guest, E.R., 1966. Flora of Iraq, vol. I, Baghdad.
- Habeeb, G., 1973. "Ma'bwdat Al-Hadhr" ("Hatra's deities"), Sumer, 29, (Arabic section) 157-169.
- Haerincq, E., 1980. "Twinspotted vessels and their distribution in the Near East from the Achaemenian to the Sasanian periods", Iran, 18, 34-54.
- Hansman, J., 1967. "Charax and the Karkheh", IA, 7, 21-58.
- Hansman, J. and Stronach, D., 1970 (a). "Excavations at Shahr-i Qumis, 1967", JRAS, 36-62.
- Hansman, J. and Stronach, D., 1970 (b). "A Sasanian repository at Shahr-i Qumis", JRAS, 142-155.
- Hansman, J. and Stronach, D., 1974. "Excavations at Shahr-i Qumis, 1971", JRAS, 8-22.
- Hedges, R.E. and Moory, P.R., 1975. "Pre-Islamic ceramic glazes at Kish and Nineveh in Iraq", Archaeometry, 17 (1.), 25-43.
- Herodian(us). Histories (edited by Stavenhagen, K., 1922, Leipzig).
- Herrmann, G., 1977. The Iranian Revival, Oxford.
- Herrmann, G., 1980. "Parthian and Sasanian Iran", in The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Archaeology, Cambridge, 278-283.
- Herzfeld, E., 1914. "Hatra", ZDMG, 68, 655-676.
- Herzfeld, E., 1935. Archaeological history of Iran, Oxford.
- Herzfeld, E., 1968. The Persian Empire, Wiesbaden.
- Hillers, D.R., 1972. "MSKN", 'Temple', in inscriptions from Hatra", BASOR, 206, 54-56.
- Homès-Fredericq, D., 1960. "La vie à Hatra à la lumière de la sculpture", Sumer, 16, 39-44.
- Homès-Fredericq, D., 1963. Hatra et ses sculptures parthes, Istanbul.
- Hopkins, C., 1942. "The Parthian temple", Berytus, 7, 1-18.
- Hopkins, C., 1972. Topography and architecture of Seleucia on the Tigris, Ann Arbor.
- Hospers, J.H., 1973. A basic bibliography for the study of Semitic languages, Leiden.
- Husain, S., 1976. "Mnjaniq min Al-Hadhr" ("Ballista from Hatra"), Sumer, 32, (Arabic section) 121-134.
- Ibn Al-Athir, Ali Ibn Muhammad, 1357 H. Al-Lubab fi Tandhib Al-Ansab (On genealogy), Cairo.
- Ibn Al-Athir, Ali Ibn Muhammad, 1965. Al-Kamil fi l-Tarikh (A universal history to A.D. 1231), Beirut.
- Ibn Hawqal, Muhammad Abu l-Qasim, 1929. Kitab Šwrat Al-Ardh (A book on geography), 2 nd edition, Leiden.
- Ibn Husham, 'Abd Al-Malik Ibn Ayub, 1937. Syrat Al-Nabi (The biography of the messenger Muhammad), Cairo.

- Ibn Isfahār, Q., 1889. Kitab Al-Kharaj (The book of taxation), Leiden, reprinted in Baghdad (Al-Muthana bookshop).
- Ibn Jubair, Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad. Riḥlah Ibn Jubair (The travels of Ibn Jubair) (translated from the Arabic by Broadhurst, E.J., 1952, London).
- Ibn Kathir. Al-Bedayah wal-Nihayah (The beginning and the end), Egypt (Al-Saādah press).
- Ibn Khaldun, Abd Al-Raḥman, 1956. Al-'Ibar wa diwan Al-Mubtada wal-Khabar (A general history of the Arabs and the Muslim dynasties), Beirut.
- Ibn Khordadbeh, Abu l-Qasim 'Ubdaidallah, 1889. Kitab Al-Masalik wal-Mamalik, Leiden, reprinted in Baghdad (Al-Muthana bookshop).
- Ibn Manzur, Muḥammad Ibn Al-Mukarram, 1955-56. Lisan Al-Arab (A thesaurus of the Arabic language), Beirut.
- Ibn Rasta, Ali Aḥmad Ibn 'Omar, 1891. Kitab Al-'Alaq Al-Nafisa (A book on geography), Leiden.
- Ibrahim, J.K., 1980. "The excavation of Khirbet Jaddalah", Sumer, 36, (English section) 163-168.
- Ingholt, H., 1954. "Parthian sculptures from Hatra", Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 12 (New Haven).
- Jacobsen, Th., 1969. "A survey of the Girsu (Telloh) region", Sumer, 25, (English section) 103-110.
- Jacquerd, C., 1897. "Les ruines de Hatra", RA, 31, 343-352.
- Jamil, F., 1969. "Adiabene-Arbila and Ishtar-Arbila", Sumer, 25, (Arabic section) 219-256.
- Jawad, A.J., 1965. The advent of the era of townships in northern Mesopotamia, Leiden.
- Josephus. Jewish Antiquities (translated into English by Feldman, L.H., London, 1969).
- Kaḥḥalah, U.R., 1957-1961. Mu'jam Al-Muallifin (A biographical dictionary of Arab authors), Damascus.
- Keall, E.J., 1975. "Parthian Nippur and Vologases' southern strategy: a hypothesis", JAOS, 620-632.
- Keall, E.J., 1977. "Political, economic and social factors of Mesopotamia and western Iran", Bibliotheca Mesopotamia, 7, 81-89.
- Keall, E.J. and M.J., 1981. "The Qal'eh-i Yazdigird pottery: a statistical approach", Iran, 19, 33-80.
- Khalil, J., 1972. "Mawaqif Athariyah jadidah fi Mintqat Al-Fatḥa" ("More archaeological sites from the region of Fat-ḥa"), Sumer, 28, (Arabic section) 233-239.
- Kirkbride, D., 1972. "Umm Dabaghiyah, 1971: a preliminary report on an early ceramic farming settlement in marginal north central Jazira, Iraq", Iraq, 34, 3-15.
- Kirkbride, D., 1973. "Umm Dabaghiyah, 1972: a second preliminary report", Iraq, 35, 1-7.
- Krunič, J., 1964. "Hatra: l'architecture des temples au centre de la ville: questions relatives à leur construction", RA, 7-32.
- Langdon, S. and Harden, D.B., 1934. "Excavations at Kish in 1933", Iraq, 1, 113-136.
- Layard, A.H., 1849. Nineveh and its remains, London.
- Layard, A.H., 1852. A popular account of discoveries at Nineveh, London.
- Layard, A.H., 1853. Nineveh and Babylon, London.
- Lenzen, H.J., 1955 (a). "Ausgrabungen in Hatra", AA, 334-375.
- Lenzen, H.J., 1955 (b). "Gedanken uber den grossen Tempel in Hatra", Sumer, 11 (2), 93-106.
- Lenzen, H.J., 1963. "Hatra", Baghdader Mitteilungen, 2, 89-91.
- Lepper, F.A., 1948. Trajan's Parthian war, Oxford.
- Le Rider, G., 1965. "Suse sous les Seleucides et les Parthes", MMAI, 38.
- Le Strange, G., 1930. The lands of the eastern Caliphate, Cambridge.
- Liebeschuetz, J.H., 1972. Antioch, city and imperial administration in the later Roman empire, Oxford.
- Lloyd, S., 1938. "Some ancient sites in the Sinjar district", Iraq, 5, 123-142.
- Lloyd, S., 1942. Ruined cities of Iraq, Oxford.
- Lloyd, S., 1943. Twin rivers, Oxford (second edition, 1947).
- Lloyd, S., 1947. Foundations in the dust, Oxford.

- Lloyd, S., 1978. The Archaeology of Mesopotamia, London.
- Luckenbill, D.D., 1926. Ancient records of Assyria and Babylonia, Chicago.
- Luttwak, E.N., 1976. The grand strategy of the Roman empire, London.
- Madhloom, T., 1959. "Ḥafriyat Tell Abu Thar fi Baghdad Al-Jadidah" ("The excavation of Tell Abu Thar at Baghdad Al-Jadidah"), Sumer, 15, (Arabic section) 85-96.
- Madhloom, T., 1968. "Nineveh, 1968", Sumer, 24, (Arabic section) 39-42, (English section) 45-52.
- Madhloom, T., 1969. "Nineveh, 1969", Sumer, 25, (Arabic section) 81-89, (English section) 43-58.
- Maricq, A., 1955. "Hatra de Sanatrouq", Syria, 32, 273-288.
- Maricq, A., 1957. "Classica at Orientalia. Les dernières années de Hatra: L'alliance romaine", Syria, 34, 288-296.
- Maricq, A., 1959. "Vologesias", Syria, 36, 264-276.
- Merpert, N. and Munchaev, R.M., 1972. Early agricultural settlement in northern Mesopotamia (translated by Goldman, I.E.), Florida.
- Milik, J.T., 1961. "À propos d'un atelier monétaire d'Adiabène: Natounia", Revue Numismatique, 3, 51-58.
- Milik, J.T., 1972. Dédicaces faites par des dieux, Paris.
- Miller, K., 1962. Die peutingersche Tafel, Stuttgart.
- Muhsin, A., 1979. "Tell Irshaidah", Sumer, 35, 482-489.
- Musil, A., 1927. The Middle Euphrates, New York.
- Mustafa, M.A., 1954. "Iktishaf Timthal Al-Ilah Hurmez fi Ninawa" ("The discovery of the statue of god Hermes at Nineveh"), Sumer, 10 (2), (Arabic section) 280-283.
- Nasri, B., 1913. Thakhirat Al-Athhar (A history of Christianity), Mosul.
- Neusner, J., 1963. "Parthian political ideology", IA, 3, 40-59.
- Nutzel, W., 1976. "The climate changes of Mesopotamia and bordering areas", Sumer, 32, (English section) 11-24.
- Oates, E.E.D.M., 1955. "A note on three Latin inscriptions from Hatra", Sumer, 11, (English section), 39-43.
- Oates, E.E.D.M. and J., 1958. "Nimrud, 1957: the Hellenistic settlement", Iraq, 20, 114-157.
- Oates, E.E.D.M., 1958. "Sounding at Ain Sinu", Sumer, 14, 97-102.
- Oates, E.E.D.M. and J., 1959. "Ain Sinu: a Roman frontier post in Northern Iraq", Iraq, 21, 207-242.
- Oates, E.E.D.M., 1962. "Qasr Serij—a sixth-century basilica in Northern Iraq", Iraq, 24, 78-89.
- Oates, E.E.D.M., 1963. "The excavation at Tell Al-Rimah, a summary report", Sumer, 19, (English section) 69-77.
- Oates, E.E.D.M., 1968. Studies in the ancient history of Northern Iraq, London.
- Oates, E.E.D.M., 1972. "The development of Assyrian towns and cities", in: Man, Settlement and Urbanism, London, 779-804.
- Oates, E.E.D.M. and J., 1976. The rise civilization, Oxford.
- Olmstead, A.T., 1923. A history of Assyria, London.
- Parker, R.A., and Dubberstein, W.H., 1969. Babylonian chronology, Brown University.
- Parpola, S., 1970. Neo-Assyrian toponyms, Neukirchen-Vluyn.
- Perkins, A., 1973. The art of Dura-Europos, Oxford.
- Peters, J.P., 1905. "The palace at Nippur", AJA, 9, 450-452.
- Pirenne, J., 1963. "Aux origines de la graphie syriaque", Syria, 40, 101-37.
- Pliny (Gaius Plinius Secundus) the 'Elder' Historia Naturalis.
- Poidebard, P.A., 1934. La trace de Rome dans le desert de Syrie, Paris.
- Ponzi, M.N., 1968-69. "Sasanian glassware from Tell Mahuz", Mesopotamia, 3/4, 293-384.
- Pope, A.U. (ed.), 1938. A Survey of Persian Art, vols. 1-6, Oxford.
- Postgate, J.N., 1972. "Excavations in Iraq, 1971-72", Iraq, 34, 138-150.
- Postgate, J.N., 1973. "Excavations in Iraq, 1972-73", Iraq, 35, 188-204.
- Postgate, J.N., 1977. "Excavations in Iraq, 1976", Iraq, 39, 301-20.
- Postgate, J.N., and Watson, P.J., 1979. "Excavations in Iraq, 1977-78", Iraq, 41, 141-181.

- Rassam, H., 1897. Assur and the land of Nimrud, New York.
- Rawlinson, G., 1873. The sixth great oriental dynasty, London.
- Rawlinson, G., 1876. The seventh great oriental monarchy, or the geography, history and antiquities of the Sassanian or New Persian Empire, London.
- Reade, J., 1978. "Studies in Assyrian geography, Part I: Sennacherib and the waters of Nineveh", RA, 72, 47-72.
- Reitlinger, G., 1938. "Medieval antiquities west of Mosul", Iraq, 5, 143-156.
- Reuther, O., 1938. "Parthian architecture", in Pope, 1938 (q.v.), vol. 1, 411-443.
- Ricciardi, R.V., 1967. "Pottery from Choche", Mesopotamia, 2, 93-104.
- Rich, J., 1836. Narrative of a residence in Koordistan, 2 vols., London.
- Ronzevalle, S., 1912. "Tarikh Qsr Al-Hadhr" ("The history of the palace of Hatra"), Majalat Al-Mashriq, 15, 509-522 (in Arabic).
- Ross, J., 1839. "Notes on two journeys from Baghdad to the ruins of Al-Hadhr, in Mesopotamia, in 1836 and 1837", JRGS, 9, 443-470.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I. et al. (eds.), 1929. The excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary report of first season, New Haven.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I. et al. (eds.), 1931. The excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary report of second season, New Haven.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I., 1932 (a). Caravan cities, Oxford.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I., et al. (eds.), 1932 (b). The excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary report of third season, 1929-30, New Haven.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I. et al. (eds.), 1933. The excavations Dura-Europos. Preliminary report of fourth season, 1930-31, New Haven.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I. et al. (eds.), 1934. The excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary report of fifth season, 1931-32, New Haven.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I., 1935. "Dura and the problem of Parthian art", Yale Classical Studies, 5, 157-304.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I. et al. (eds.), 1936. The excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary report of sixth season, 1932-33, New Haven.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I., 1938. Dura-Europos and its art, Oxford.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I., et al. (eds.), 1939. The excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary report of seventh and eighth seasons, 1933-34 and 1934-35, New Haven.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I., 1941. The social and economic history of the Hellenistic world, Oxford.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I. et al. (eds.), 1944. The excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary report of ninth season, 1935-36, Part I: Agora and bazaar, New Haven.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I. et al. (eds.), 1945. The excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report, IV, Part II: The textiles, New Haven.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I. et al. (eds.), 1952. The excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary report of ninth season, 1935-36, Part II: The necropolis, New Haven. DURA-
- Rostovtzeff, M.I. et al. (eds.), 1952. The excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary report ninth season, 1935-36, Part III: Palace of the Dux Ripae and Dolichenum, New Haven.
- Rowton, M., 1973 (a). "Autonomy and nomadism in western Asia", Orientalia, 42, 247-258.
- Rowton, M., 1973 (b). "Urban autonomy in a nomadic environment", JNES, 32, 201-215.
- Rowton, M., 1974. "Enclosed nomadism" JESHO, 17, part 1, 1-30.
- Safar, F., 1951. "Kitabat Al Hadhr" ("Inscriptions of Hatra"), Sumer, 7 (2), 170-184.
- Safar, F., 1952 (a). "Al-Hadhr wa Hafriyat Al-Musim Al-Awal, Al-Qism Al-Awal" (Hatra and the first season of excavations, part I"), Sumer, 8 (1), (Arabic section) 37-52.
- Safar, F., 1952 (b). "Hatra and the first season of excavation, 1951, Part 1", Sumer, 8, (English section) 3-16.
- Safar, F., 1952 (c). "Kitabat Al Hadhr ("Inscriptions of Hatra"), Sumer, 8 (2), (Arabic section) 183-195.

- Safar, F., 1953 (a). "Kitabat Al-Hadhr" ("Inscriptions of Hatra"), Sumer, 9 (1), 7-20.
- Safar, F., 1953 (b). "Kitabat Al-Hadhr" ("Inscriptions of Hatra"), Sumer, 9 (2), (Arabic section) 240-249.
- Safar, F., 1955. "Kitabat Al-Hadhr" ("Inscriptions of Hatra"), Sumer, 11 (1), (Arabic section) 3-14.
- Safar, F., 1961 (a). "Kitabat Al-Hadhr" ("Inscriptions of Hatra"), Sumer, 17, (Arabic section) 9-35.
- Safar, F., 1961 (b). "Kitabah min Al-Sa'adiya" ("Inscription from Al-Sa'adiya"), Sumer, 17, (Arabic section) 36-40.
- Safar, F., 1961 (c). "Kitabah min Mawqi' Qbr Abu Naif" ("Inscription from the site Qbr Abu Naif"), Sumer, 17, 41-42.
- Safar, F., 1962. "Kitabat Al-Hadhr" ("Inscriptions of Hatra"), Sumer, 18, (Arabic section) 21-64.
- Safar, F., 1964. "Kitabat min Wadi Hauran" ("Inscriptions from Wadi Hauran"), Sumer, 20, (Arabic section) 9-27.
- Safar, F., 1965. "Kitabat Al-Hadhr" ("Inscriptions from Hatra"), Sumer, 21, 31-44.
- Safar, F., 1968 (a). "Kitabat Al-Hadhr" ("Inscriptions of Hatra"), Sumer, 24, (Arabic section) 3-32.
- Safar, F., 1968 (b). "Kitabah min Kubysah" ("Inscription from Kubysah"), Sumer, 24, (Arabic section) 33-36.
- Safar, F., 1971. "Kitabat Al-Hadhr" ("Inscriptions of Hatra"), Sumer, 27, (Arabic section) 3-14.
- Safar, F., 1973. "The lords and kings of Hatra", Sumer, 29, 87-97.
- Safar, F., 1974 (a). "Al-Baya Al-Taby'iyah Al-Qadimah fi Al-'Iraq" ("The ancient natural environment of Iraq"), Sumer, 30, 1-9.
- Safar, F., 1974 (b). "Pird-i Kinachan", Iraq, 36, 193-198.
- Safar, F., 1974 (c). "Maskukat Tell Aswad" ("Coins of Tell Aswad"), JNI, 5, 24-34 (in Arabic).
- Safar, F. and Mustafa, M.A., 1974. Al-Hadhr, Madinat Al-Shams (Hatra, city of the sun god), Baghdad (in Arabic).
- Saggs, H.W., 1966. The greatness that was Babylon, 2nd edition, London.
- Said, M., 1979. "The archaeological layers at the Parthian palace at Assur", Sumer, 35, 315-327 (in Arabic and English).
- Salman, I., 1969. "Forward", Sumer, 25, A-W.
- Salman, I., 1971. "Forward", Sumer, 27, A-K.
- Salman, I., 1974. "Forward", Sumer, 30, A-P.
- Sarre, F. and Herzfeld, E., 1911. Archaeologische Reise im Euphrat und Tigris Gebiet, Berlin.
- Schlumberger, D., 1961. "The excavations at Surkh Kotal and the problem of Hellenism in Bactria and India", PBA, 47, 77-95.
- Schlumberger, D., 1970. L'orient hellénise. L'art grec et ses héritiers dans l'Asie non-méditerranéenne, Paris.
- Segal, J.B., 1953. "Pagan Syriac monuments in the Vilayet of Urfa", AS, 3, 97-199.
- Segal, J.B., 1954. "Some Syriac inscriptions of the 2nd-3rd century", BSOAS, 16, Part 1, 2-36.
- Segal, J.B., 1955. "Mesopotamian communities from Julian to the rise of Islam", PBA, 41, 109-139.
- Segal, J.B., 1967. "A Syriac seal inscription", Iraq, 29, 6-15.
- Segal, J.R., 1970. Edessa, the Blessed City, Oxford.
- Shaikhu, L., 1967. Shu'ar Al-Nasraniyah (Poets of Christianity), Beirut.
- Shams, M., 1968. Al-Hadhr (Hatra), Baghdad (in Arabic).
- Shams, M., 1980. "Al-Rayah Al-Hadhr Al-'Arabiyyah" ("Notes on the standards of the Arab Hatra"), Sumer, 36, (Arabic section) 190-235, (English section) 174-178.
- Sharif, I. Al-Mauqi Al-Jughrafi li l-'Iraq wa Atharuhu fi Tarikh Al-Amm Hatta Al-Fath Al-Islami (The geographical location of Iraq and its history up to the Islamic conquest), Baghdad.
- Shukri, S., 1950. "Jawlah fi Anha Al-Qaim" ("Journey in the region of Al-Qaim"), Sumer, 6 (2), (Arabic section) 244-249.
- Smith, G., 1875. Assyrian discoveries, London.
- Smith, P., 1879. Thesaurus Syriacus, Oxford.
- Sokolowski, F., 1969. Lois sacrées des cités grecques, Paris.

- Stark, F., 1966. Rome on the Euphrates, London.
- Stein, M.A., 1936. "The Roman limes in Syria", GJ, 87, 66-76.
- Stein, M.A., 1938. "Notes on remains of the Roman Limes in North-Western Iraq", GJ, 92, NO. 1, 62-66.
- Stein, M.A., 1941. "The ancient trade route past Hatra and its Roman posts", JRAS, part 4, 299-316.
- Stein, M.A., 1942. "Notes on Alexander's crossing of the Tigris and the battle of Arbela", GJ, 100, no. 4, 155-164.
- Streck, M., 1912. "Hatra", in: Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Neue Bearbeitung, 14. Halbband, Stuttgart, columns 2516-2523.
- Strong, D.E., 1976. Roman art, Harmondsworth (U.K.).
- Teixidor, J., 1964 (a). "Aramaic inscriptions of Hatra", Sumer, 20, 77-82.
- Teixidor, J., 1964 (b). "Notes hatreennes", Syria, 41, 273-284.
- Teixidor, J., 1965. "The altars found at Hatra", Sumer, 21, 85-92.
- Teixidor, J., 1967-68. "The kingdom of Adiabene and Hatra", Berytus, 17, 1-11.
- Thevenot, J., 1689. Suite du... voyage de Mr. de Theevenot au levant, vol. 4, Paris.
- Thompson, R.C. and Hutchinson, R.W., 1929. "The excavations on the temple of Nabu at Nineveh", Archaeologia, 79, 103-148.
- Thompson, R.C. 1936. A dictionary of Assyrian chemistry and Geology, Oxford.
- Toll, N., 1943. The excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report, IV, Part 1, Fascicule 1, The green-glazed pottery New Haven.
- Toynbee, J.M.C., 1970. "Two male portrait-heads of Romans from Hatra", Sumer, 26, (English section) 231-235.
- Toynbee, J.M.C., 1972. "Some problems of Romano-Parthian sculpture at Hatra", JRS, 62, 1972, 106-110.
- Waines, G., 1973. "Plant remains from Tell Taya, Iraq", in: Reade, J., "Tell Taya (1972-73), summary report", Iraq, 35, 155-187.
- Walker, J., 1958. "The coins of Hatra", NC, sixth series, 18, 167-172.
- Ward Perkins, J.B., 1965. "The Roman West and the Parthian East", PBA, 51.
- Waterman, L., 1931. Preliminary report upon the excavations at Tell Umar, Ann Arbor (Michigan).
- Waterman, L., 1933. Second preliminary report upon the excavations at Tell Umar, Ann Arbor (Michigan).
- Wenke, R.J., 1975-1976. "Imperial investment and agricultural development in Parthian and Sassanian Khuzistan, 150 B.C. to A.D. 640", Mesopotamia, 10-11, 31-221.
- Wheeler, R.E.M., 1952. "The Roman frontier in Mesopotamia", in: E. Birley (ed.), Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, 1949, Durham, 112-129
- Wolski, J., 1956-57. "The decay of the Iranian empire of the Seleucids and the chronology of Parthian beginnings", Berytus, 12, 35-52.
- r, Yaqut Al-Hamawi. Mu'yam Al-Buldan (A geographical dictionary), Cairo, 1906; Beirut, 1955.
- Yaqut Al-Hamawi. Al-Mushtarak (A treatise on geography), Leiden, reprinted in Baghdad (Al-Muthana bookshop).
- Yasin, W., 1968. A note on three Samarra-Halaf sites in the Tekrit area", Sumer, 24, 117-119.
- Young, G., 1980. Iraq. Land of two rivers, London.

Where a Semitic word or name begins with an ' or an ' , these are placed separately first, but arranged in Latin alphabetical order. Thereafter, entries (including those beginning with ' and ' , repeated) are given in Latin alphabetical order, and all non-Latin signs are ignored for this purpose.



INDEX

Where a Semitic word or name begins with an' or an' these are placed separately first, but arranged in Latin alphabetical order. Thereafter, entries (including those beginning with ' and' repeated) are given in Latin alphabetical order, and all non-Latin signs are ignored for this purpose.

'B (month), 135

'B', 98-99, 108, 150, 190, 204-205, 207, 209-212
 'BW, 207
 'BWL', 202, 212
 'BY', 101
 'BY'RB', 108, 113-114, 121, 190, 198
 'DR (month), 135-136, 208-209, 213
 'DY, 115, 208, 211
 'GY, 86, 149-150, 153, 161, 165, 190, 204-206
 'KHW, 207
 'LH-ŠMŠ, 207
 'LKWD, 208-209
 'LT, 123, 134, 209
 'LWL 135-136, 208
 'LY, 100
 'MYN, 213
 'NŠ, 213
 'PHW-ŠMŠ, 207
 'PKL' RB', 101, 108, 113-115, 122, 131, 198, 207-208
 'PRHT, 99, 109-110, 211
 'QLT', 92, 212
 'RDKL', 116, 207, 209, 211, 213
 'RŠ'D, 115
 'RŠK, 110
 'S (weight), 212
 'Š', 207
 'ŠLM, 207
 'ŠR, 104; cf. 'BD-ŠR, 'WYD-ŠR
 'ŠRBL (goddess), 111, 130, 131, 134, 208
 'ŠR-BRK, 210
 'STNQ, 202, 208-210
 'STR (weight), 212
 'ŠTT, 116, 204, 209, 211, 213
 'ŠTTY, 207
 'ŠY, 110
 'ŠY', 211
 'TLW (king), 98-99, 103, 110-111, 113-114, 129, 207
 'T 'QB, 212

'TR'T' (goddess), 111, 129, 134, 207
 'TYŠ, 110
 'YR (month), 135-136, 212
 'YZL', 212
 'Aday, 115
 'Ady, 115
 'Aj', 115
 'Ajil, 115
 'Aqab, 115
 'Aqr, 138
 'BD, 115, 209
 'BD'LH', 115-116, 211-213
 'BD-'LY, 207
 'BD-ŠR, 155, 210
 'BD-'GYLW, 115, 209-210, 212
 'BD-'GYLY (?), 209
 'BD-HDD, 210
 'BDLY, 209-210
 'BD-MLK, 115, 209
 'BD-MLKY, 209
 'BD-MLYKY, 209
 'BD-MQYM-ŠMŠ, 208
 'BD-NRGWL, 207
 'BD-NŠR', 210
 'BD-ŠBT', 208
 'BD-ŠLM', 207, 211
 'BD-ŠMŠ,
 'BD-SMY' (king), 103, 105-106, 109-114, 126-127, 208, 210-213
 'BD-SMY' (prince), 105-106, 112, 121, 207, 210, 212
 'BD-SMY', 201, 208-209, 211-212
 'BD-ŠR, 115, 210
 'BDY, 210, 212
 'BDY', 115
 'BD-ZN', 214
 'BN', 116, 211-212
 'BS', 208
 'DRY, 212
 'G', 207, 209, 211

- 'G' ZRQ', 207, 211
 'GLY', 115
 'NNY', 207
 'QB', 208
 'QB', 109, 207
 'QBN', 199, 208, cf. 209
 'QB-ŠM', 172, 201
 'QB-ŠMŠ', 199, 208,
 'QRBN', 209
 'QWBN', 199, 208
 'QWB-SMŠ', 208
 'RB', 104-105, 104-110, 198, 211
 'RBW'Y, 209
 'RBY', 104-105, 195-196
 'RBY', 104, 110, 208, 212
 'SYLY', 97, 212
 'WD', 115
 'WDW', 208
 'WYD-'LT, 198
 'WYD-ŠR', 115, 202, 205, 221
 'WYDW', 207
 'YZ', 202
 Abbasid, 31-32, 34-35, 87, 91
 Abis, 98-99
 Ablution temple (I), 127
 Aborras, 29
 Abra, 118
 Abu Hamam, 91
 Abu Jir, 25
 Abu Skheir, 184
 Abu Tanak, 28
 Abu Tina, 28
 Abu Yusuf, 35
 Achaemenian, 39, 68, 72, 84, 87-88, 126, 183,
 188
 'Aday, 115
 Ad Herculem, 52, 137
 Adiabene, 94, 98-99, 102-104, 106
 'Ady, 115
 Afamiya, 31
 Ahlaf (tribe), 97
 Ain Al-Hissan, 28
 Ain Al-Shahid, 73
 Ain Bydha, 28
 Ain Mahlabiyah, 63
 Ain Mansur, 13
 Ain Sinu, 73, 87, 93, 181-184, 189-190
 air photograph, 16, 91, 127
 'Aj', 115
 'Ajil, 115
 Akkadian, 39, 44, 48
 Alaina (Tell Hiyal), 77
 Alani (tribe), 130
 Al-'Ausiya, 79
 Al-Beqq, 31
 Albu Badran (tribe), 29
 Albu Imtawit (tribe), 29
 Alexander Severus (emperor), 76
 Alexander the Great, 94
 Alexandria, 118
 Al-Faraj, 31, 33
 Al-Farisiyah, 49
 Al Haram, 91
 Al-Hadhr, see Hatra
 Al-Hira, 97, 217-219
 Allat, 17, 78, 123, 134, 209
 Al-Merj, 31
 Al-Mur, 26
 Al-Qaim, 81
 Al-Qasab, 26, 59
 Al-Zanazil, 59
 Amid, 31, 36
 amphora, 20, 167, 171, 173-174, 177-178, 180,
 182-185
 Ana, 25, 35, 37, 41, 80, 85, 95
 Anatolia, 98, 140, 153
 Anbar, 31, 97
 Antaq (Antiochus), 33
 Antioch, 16
 Apollo, 125
 April (month), see NYSN
 'Aqab, 115
 'Aqr, 138
 Aqeel (tribe), 34
 Aqsanqar, 34
 Arab, 13, 26, 29-30, 33-34, 57, 76, 82, 87,
 97-99, 106, 109-110, 115-117, 127, 134, 140,
 153, 188, 190; see also 'RB
 Arabarch, 98, 109-110
 Arab geographers, 32-35, 118
 Arab historians, 33-34, 68, 81-82, 95, 97, 104,
 107, 118, 218-219
 Arabia (Arabaya), 104, 110, 139-140, 195-196,
 209, 212
 Arabic, 34, 91, 96-97, 104, 115, 133-134, 136,
 197, 201, 204, 218

Arab poets, 29, 107, 217-218
Arab tribes, 29, 32, 34, 94, 96-98, 101, 103-104, 110, 139, 195-196, 208-209, 212-213, 219
Arab writers, see geographers, historians, poets
Aramaean, 98
Aramaic, 20, 22, 34, 47, 52-54, 73, 86, 91, 95-99, 104, 115, 121, 126-127, 129-130, 135, 139, 150, 160, 172, 190, 197
Arbil (Arbela), 32, 98
Archaic period, 90, 96-99
archer, 112, 210
architect, 116, 207, 207, 209, 211, 213
Ardashir I, 34, 104, 106, 114, 136, 153, 219
Armenia, 32, 98, 102
arrowslits, 120, 144-146, 149, 151-152.
Arsaces (Arshaq), 94, cf. 'RSK
Arsacid, 96, 98, 118
Arslan, 34
Artabanus II, 90
Ashkar (depression), 27
Aššur, 17, 26, 29, 37, 41, 54, 56, 84-87, 91, 95, 116, 128, 138, 143, 181, 184-186, 189, 191
Assyria, 94-95
Assyrian, 13-14, 26, 32, 39, 43-54, 60-69, 83, 85, 87-89, 91, 94-95, 119, 189, 197, 202, 205, 219
Asytrun, 219
Atabec, 34, 107
Atargatis (goddess, 'TR 'T), 111, 129, 134, 207
Attic, 143
August (month, 'B), 135
Ayad, 32
Azerbaijan (Atropatene), 32
'B (month), 135
'B', 98, 99, 108, 150, 190, 204-205, 207, 209-212
Ba 'aj, 30, 84
Ba 'alshamin (god), see BĪŠMYN
Baalbek, 125, 133
Ba 'arabaya, 36
Babylon, 96, 104, 184
Babylonia, 26, 56, 91, 96-98
Babylonian, 87, 134
Bactria, 150-151
Baghdad, 28, 30-33, 40, 72, 83, 91, 158
Bahadra, 32, 36
Baijan, 79, 95
Baiji, 26, 40, 137
Bain Al-Nahrain, 32
Bait Alaha (main sanctuary, BY I 'IH', Hatra), 17, 29, 90-94, 103-105, 116-119, 123-124, 126, 128-134, 138, 153, 169-170, 174-177, 182, 211-212
Baker (tribe), 34
Bakru (king), 101
Balad (Balat, Eski Mosul), 40, 63, 88
ballista, 137
Baqqa, 27-28, 31, 40, 84
Barima, 31, 57
Barq 'id, 36
Barsamia, 105
Bashmanah, 27, 49, 53
Basileus (river), 29
basilica, 74
Basrah, 219
Bazabdi, 31, 36
BD', 99, 208, 212
'BD, 115, 209
'BD-'GYLW, 115, 209-210
'BD-'GYLY (?), 209
'BD-HH', 210
'BD-'IH', 115, 211-213
'BD-'LBWŠ', 208
'BD-'LY, 209-210
'BD-'MIK, 115, 209
'BD-'MLKY, 208
'BD-'MQYM-ŠMS', 208
'BD-'NRGWL, 207
'BD-'NŠR', 210
'BD-'ŠBT', 208
'BD-'ŠLM', 207, 210-211
'BD-'ŠMS', 210
'BD-'SMY' (king), 103, 105-106, 109-114, 126-127, 208, 210-213
'BD-'SMY' (prince), 105-106, 112, 121, 207, 210, 212
'BD-'SMY', 201, 208-207-209, 211-212
'BD-'ŠR, 115, 210
'BDY, 210, 212
'BDY', 115
'BD-'ZN', 214
Beduin, see nomad
Bel (god), 127, 133-134, 208-210,
Belagb, see BL 'QB
Beled Sinjar, 26, 76-77, 84
BL (god), 127, 133-134, 209-210

bleacher, 87
 BL 'QB (tribe), 97, 113, 116, 130, 133-134 139, 213
 B'LŠMYN (god), 108-109, 111, 114, 129, 132, 134, 207-208
 B'LY, 213
 'BN', 116, 211-212
 British Museum, 148
 BRMRYN (god), 108-110, 114, 116, 126-127, 134, 207-212
 BRKLB', 210
 BRNBW, 211
 BRNNY, 112, 207, 209, 211
 BRNŠR', 99, 110, 116, 210, 212
 BR'Y, 99, 207
 BRZL, 212
 BRZRQ', 207
 'BS', 208
 BTHŠ', 112, 114, 210, 212
 BTLH (virgin), 130
 BTSMY, 208
 Building J, 123
 'BW, 207
 'BWL', 202, 212
 'BY', 101
 'BY' RB', 108, 113-114, 121, 190, 198
 BYRT', 150-151, 190, 204-205
 BYT HDY', 209
 BYT 'LH' (Bait Alaha, main Sanctuary, Hatra), see Bait Alaha
 calendar, 96
 caliph, 30
 caravan, 30
 caravan routes, 52, 63, 83, 197
 carpenter, 116
 castellum, see Fort
 cella, 123-124, 125, 212
 Central Jazirah, 39-40, 42-43, 84
 Characene, 13, 23, 119
 Charax Spasinu, 16, 118
 chief, see RB'
 chief of the Arabs, see BTHŠ' and ZNPT'
 chief of the guards, see RB D HSYHY and ŠHPT'
 chief of the singers, see RB QYNT'
 chief of the standard, see RB' SMY'
 chief patrician, see 'BY' RB'
 chief temple, see Bait Alaha
 chieftain, 97-98, 115, 139-140, 190
 Choche, 181-183
 Christian, 32-33, 84, 143
 church, 74
 city Wall, see Wall
 Classical Writers, 95-96
 colonnade, 18, 144, 150-152,
 column, 123-125, 130, 132
 column base, 18-19, 143, 150
 column drum, 43, 74, 77, 91, 95, 143
 confidant, see MHYMN'
 contour Line, 117-118
 contour map, 16, 19, 117-118
 Corinthian, 126
 crown prince, see PŠGRYB'
 Ctesiphon, 33, 102, 105, 117, 118, 182-183
 customs house, 138, 140
 Darabgerd, 117, 118
 Dariga, 55
 DBH', 112, 114, 210
 December (month, see KSLWL and MRHŠWN
 Dem Tepe, 68
 Dhaizan, 218-219
 DHNY, 214
 dimorphic chiefdom, 97-98, 115, 139-140, 190
 Directorate General of Antiquities, see State
 Organization of Antiquities and Heritage
 Ditch, 15, 17, 56, 83, 118-121.
 Diyala, 40, 88, 184
 Diyar, 31,
 Diyar Bakr, 31
 Diyar Mudhar, 31
 Diyar Rabia, 31
 dog, 158
 dog-Leg entrance, see gate, L-shaped
 'Dr (month), 135-136, 208-209, 213
 dream, 214
 DRSY, 211
 'DRY, 212
 DRY', 212
 Dura-Europos, 16, 96-98, 109, 116, 118, 134, 138, 140, 163-165, 181-182, 184, 186, 190
 'DY, 115, 208, 211
 eagle, 120, 159-160, 162, 164
 eagle niche, 117, 120-121, 159
 Early Dynastic, 39, 54, 61, 75
 Early Islamic, 35
 early settlement, 92

Eastern gate (Hatra), see gate, eastern
 East Jazirah, 41, 52, 84, 185, 189
 Ecbatana, 118
 Edessa, 96, 108, 133
 Egypt, 107, 118, 219
 elder, see Qšys'
 Elias, 57
 engaged column, 126-127; cf. 144-148
 entrances (Bait Alāha), 123
 Es-haqi, 29
 Eski Mosul, 40, 63, 88,
 Euphrates (river), 25-26, 31, 39-40, 57, 78-81,
 85, 91, 94, 97, 102, 136,
 evil eye, 17, 148, 152, 190

 Fadhat Baqqa, 55
 Faris, 217
 Fars formation, 25
 Fat-ha, 31, 40, 85
 February (month), see ŠBT.
 fersakh, 29
 Fertile Crescent, 87
 Feshabur, 32
 fluting (column), 123
 fort, 13, 15, 33, 49, 56-57, 63, 66, 74, 78, 81-83,
 85, 98, 150, 190, 204-250
 fuller, 116, 209
 'G', 207, 209, 211
 gate, eastern (of Hatra), 16-17, 95, 106, 117,
 119-123, 137, 157-161, 190, 195
 gate K, L (Bait Alaha), 124
 gate, L-shaped (dog-leg), 149, 152
 gate, northern (of Hatra), 17, 103, 107, 117,
 119-121, 136, 195
 GBR, 115
 GD', 212-213
 GDWT, 208
 GDY, 115, 209
 GD-YHB, 99, 207, 211-212
 GDYL, 152, 190, 206
 genealogy, 100-101, 104-106, 115-116
 geography, 13-114, 23, 29-30, 85, 98, 138, 140
 geology, 23-25
 GGLY', 116, 211
 Ghasan, 197
 Gir Bir, 75
 Gir Fir, 75
 Girgi Khadrog, 77
 Gir Khazneh, 76

 Gleich, 78
 GLP (sculptor), 116, 198-199, 207, 211
 'GLY', 116
 GND', 116
 GND' (deity of fortune), 208-209, 211
 Gordian (emperor), 107
 Gordyene, 98
 Greco-Hippodamian, 118
 Greco-Semitic, 118

 Greece, 118
 Greek, 95, 99, 104, 108, 116-118, 125, 134-135,
 185, 189-190
 Green church, 32
 GRM'LHT, 210, 212
 'GY, 86, 149-150, 153, 161, 165, 190, 204-206
 GZBRY, 209
 'G'ZRQ', 207, 211
 Hadhira, 91
 Hadhr, see Hatra
 Hadidi, 29
 Haditha, 28, 31-32, 34, 37, 40, 78, 84, 88
 Hadrian (emperor), 103, 165
 Hafat Al-Shannanat, 27
 Halabiyyah, 57
 Halaf, 39, 48, 52, 59, 66-70, 72, 74-75
 half-column, 105, 126
 Hama, 76
 Hamadan, 118
 Hamat, 91
 Hamrin, 95
 Harran, 187
 Hashak, 29
 Hassuna, 39, 43, 45, 59, 66, 68-69, 74
 Hatra (Hatrae, HTR', Al-Hadhr), city of, 16-17,
 34, 39-40, 43, 73, 86, 91, 99, 106-118-120, 136,
 138, 160-161, 164, 184, 186, 189-191, 196-197
 Hatrene divine triad, 127
 Hatrene fire, 91
 Hatrene fire, 91
 Hatrene months, 135
 Hatrene sculpture, 99, 163, 165
 HB', 210
 HBYB, 115-116, 219
 HBWS', 116
 HDD (in a name), 210
 Hellenistic, 39, 48, 55, 58-59, 62-64, 66-68, 75,
 83-84, 118, 124-125, 134, 181-184, 188
 Hellenistic temple, see Temple E

- Heracles (god), 130, 158, 164
 Heracles, niche of, 120-121
 Heracles, statue of, 107, 121, 130-131, 134
 Hermas (river), 26
 Hermes (god), 58, 125
 Heza, 32, 36
 Hit, 25, 31, 91
 Hiyal, 32
 HN-ŠMŠ, 210
 HNY, 115, 209
 HNYN', 208
 horseman, 157-158, 163-164
 house of M'NW, 17, 93, 128-128 159, 162-163, 190, 203
 house of the god (s), see Bait Alha
 house, Seleucia, 17, 128
 HP', 208
 HPYZW, 196-197, 209
 HRYŠ, 115, 210
 HRYŠW, 210, 211
 HŠPŠ, 214
 HTT, 214
 hunter, 157-159, 163-164
 Hurrian, 39, 83
 Hwaish (site on the Tigris), 86
 Hwaish (site in Upper Jazirah), 64
 HWML, 213
 HYKI' RB', see Bait Alha
 HYRN, 213
 HYRW, 208
 HYY, 210
 HZYRN (month), 135-136, 212
 Ibn Jubair, 54, 83
 'Ibra Al-Saghiyra, 73, 87, 137, 191, 214
 Imam Chirim (Abu Al-Makarim), 82
 inner wall of Hatra, see wall
 inscriptions, 94, 99, 103-104, 100, 112, 128, 138, 191-214
 Ionic column, 124
 Iran, 118
 Iranian tribes, 98
 Iraq, 17, 22, 25, 28, 33, 35, 39-40, 55, 66, 73, 85, 88, 91, 93, 96, 137, 159, 188, 219
 Iraq Antiquities Department, 107, 117
 Iraq, Government of 107
 Iraq Museum, 83, 107
 Islamic, 23, 30-31, 33-35, 39, 43-55, 58-81, 83-85, 116, 188, 215
 iwan, 124-125, 127, 177
 Izates, 98-99
 Jacobite, 32
 Jaddalah (region), 28-29, 52-53
 Jaddalah (site), 52, 140-165, 177-179, 185-186, 204-206
 Jaddalah (spring), 28-29
 Jafna, 97
 January (month, TBT), 135
 Jasim, 66
 Jazirah, 22-32, 34-40, 84-86, 89, 19, 95, 137-138, 140-143, 184-185, 188-191
 Jazirat Al-Qala, 80
 Jazirat Ibn Omar, 30, 36
 Jazirat Lubbad, 80
 Jebel 'Addaia, 26
 Jebel 'Atshana, 25-27
 Jebel Hamrin, 25
 Jebel Ishkift, 26
 Jebel Jauran, 25, 27
 Jebel Khanuqa, 56, 138
 Jebel Mak-hul, 25-26, 29, 56-57, 86, 138
 Jebel Maki-heel, 26, 138
 Jebel Nejma, 26-27
 Jebel Qaiyara, 26
 Jebel Qlia 'at, 84
 Jebel Sheikh Ibrahim, 26
 Jebel Sinjar, 26, 29, 33, 79, 143
 Jebel Tell 'Afar, 26
 Jebel Umm Al-Shinin, 25, 61
 Jedaydah, 54
 jerib, 35
 Jern, 28
 Jewish, 98
 Jifrin, 83
 Juboor (tribe), 29
 Judaism, 98
 July (month, QNYN), 135-136
 June (month, SYWN or HZYRN), 135-136
 Jupiter, 133
 Jyea, 61
 Kaaba, 140
 Kaaba, heel, 30, 80, 29, 57
 Kakzu, 184
 Kalhu (Nimrud), 58, 95, 181-182, 184
 Karsi, 76, 84
 Karsi, 76, 84
 Kassite, 39, 78-81

KBYRW, 209, 212
Kerbela, 25
Kerkh Sluk, 106
Kfr-'Aza, 32
Khabur (period), 39, 62, 64 66-67, 70, 73-74
Khabur (river), 26, 137
Khabur (valley), 31-32, 104, 153
Khan Al-Khirnina, 83
Khan Al-Zanazil, 59
Khan Jaddalah, 52
Khanuqa, 56, 138
Kharaiyb Hwaish, 64
~~**Kharaiyb Hwaish**, 64~~
Kharaiyb Mahlabiyah, 63, 67
Khazneh, 67, 76
Khidhr Elias, 66
Khirbet Abdalah'Othoman, 62
Khirbet Abu Duhur, 163
Khirbet Al-Diniya, 81
Khirbet Al-Farisiyah, 49
Khirbet Al-Naddas, 46
Khirbet Al-Tair, 60
Khirbe. Al-Yazidi, 61
Khirbet Bashmanah, 53, 87
Khirbet Chim Legleg, 74
Khirbet Gritoluk, 177
Khirbet Hassan Al-Yasin, 62
Khirbet Hussein Al-Thud, 44
Khirbet Jaddalah, 52, 86, 93, 137, 140-165-169, 178-179, 181, 184-186, 189-191, 204-206
Khirbet Msihli, 54
Khirbet Nofan, 55, 86-87
Khirbet Qbr Ibn Naif, 86, 112, 114, 153, 194, 214
Khirbet Sheikh Ibrahim, 63, 87
Khirbet Taha, 180, 60
Khirbet Umm 'Adham, 62
Khirbet Zanazil, 59
Khirbet Zazia, 49, 87
Khirnina (hill), 83, 85
Khnizirat, 27
Khorasan, 32
Khribeh, 53, 86
'KHW, 207
Kilab (tribe), 34
king, see **MLK'**
Kish 40, 56, 88, 181, 184
~~**KMRT' (priestess)**, 99, 105-106, 111, 114, 127, 134,~~
190, 197, 200
KMRT' (priestess), 106, 111, 114
KNWN (month), 135-136, 195, 208, 212
KNZY, 207
KP'NNY, 211
KPY', 112
KSLWL (month), 135
Kufa, 91
kur, 36
Kura, 31-32
L-shaped gate, 149, 152
Late Assyrian, 39, 46-47, 50, 56, 66-71, 74, 83, 87
Latin, 76.
Leheeb (tribe), 29
'LH-ŠMŠ, 207
'LKWD, 208-210,
Lord, see **MR'**, **MRY'**
Lower Fars, 25
Lower Jazirah, 28-29, 37, 42, 81, 85
Lower Zab (river), 29, 31-32, 57-58, 88
'LT, 123, 134, 209
'LWL (month), 135-136, 208
'LY, 100
Mahlabiyah, 33, 40, 63, 67, 84
Maki-heel, 25
main sanctuary, see **Bait Alha**
Malhat Al-Rug'ai, 48
Mandaic, 197
Maphrian, 32
Maqberat Ali Bin Zahran, 79
Maqberat Mohummad Abu Al-Rabi, 76
Maqberat Salal, 76
Maran, see **MRN**
March (month, 'DR), 135-136, 208-209, 213
Mardin, 102
Marduk, 134
maria, see **MRY'**
Marwan, 33
marzuban, 32
Masei, 94
master of hunt (NHŠRPT), 112, 114, 163
Mas 'ud, 34
Maudud, 34
Maymoon, 43
Mayyafariqin, 31, 36
Me'althaiya, 32
Mecca, 91

- Medes, 58, 87, 96
 Media, 96, 89
 Mediterranean, 28, 125
 merchant, 138
 Merj, 29, 31–32, 36
 Mesene (Characene), 15, 23, 28, 32, 85, 98, 118
 Mesopotamia, 16, 31, 33, 35, 87, 94–96, 98–99, 102–103, 118, 132, 140, 143, 165, 181–184, 189–191
 MHRD'T, 211
 MHYMN', 111, 114, 210, 212
 Middle Assyrian, 39, 63, 66–67, 69–71, 74–75, 79, 80, 83
 Middle Miocene, 25
 mihrab, 68
 milestone, 76, 107
 minaret, 80
 Mitanni, 39, 43–44, 47–50, 52–54, 59, 61, 67–70, 74–75
 Mithradates II (king), 98
 Mkhazaga, 26
 MKY, 115, 210
 MLH', 52, 210
 MLK' (king), 101–111, 113–115, 137, 140, 153, 198, 201, 208, 210–213
 MLK' D (Y) 'RB (king of the Arabs), 101, 105–107, 110–111, 114, 138, 140, 153, 198
 MLK' D (Y) 'RBY' (king of Arabia/ Arab lands), 106, 110–111, 114, 138, 140, 153
 MLKWTH, 110
 MLYKW, 210
 M'N', 207, 210
 M'N' (son of king SNTRWQ II), 106, 208
 M'NW (Arab ruler), 102
 M'NW, house of, 17, 93, 128–129, 162, 190, 203,
 M'NW (maria), 99–102, 108, 212
 MNY' (weight), 212
 MNYŠ, 210
 moat, see ditch
 Monobazus, 98
 mosque, 33, 80
 Mosul, 25, 29, 31–37, 39, 42, 54, 57–58, 74, 82–84, 90, 107, 116, 138, 143, 219
 MQYM, 112
 MQYM, 112
 MQYM^w_R B', 112
 MQYM–ŠMS, 208
 MQYMW, 211
 MR', 112, 114, 210–211
 MRBYN', 111, 114, 211
 MRHŠWN (month), 135–136, 208–208
 MRHWN, 208
 MRLH' (god), 111, 208, 214
 MR'LT', 208
 MRN (god), 108, 114, 123–124, 126–127, 134, 202, 204, 207–213,
 MRTBW, see KMRT'
 MRT MŠLH', 201
 MRTN (goddess), 108, 127, 134, 200–201, 204, 207, 209–210
 MRY', 90, 96, 99–101, 103, 108, 112–114, 127, 134, 190, 212
 MŠKN', 208
 MŠKW, 213
 MTLŠ, 209
 'MYN, 213
 MYS', 101, 212
 Nabataean, 205
 Nabu, see NBW
 Naddas, 27–28, 87
 Najaf, 25
 Nani, 127
 Nasr, 115
 Natunia, 99
 NBW (god), 116, 130–130, 133, 200
 NBW (name), 200, 211
 NBWBN', 209
 NDR, 209
 Near East, 102, 105
 Nebu, see NBW
 Nejma, 25, 27
 Neo-Babylonian, 39, 80, 84, 87, 188
 Nergal (god), see NRGL
 NHTB, 211
 NHŠRPT, 112, 114, 163
 Niger, 105, 136
 Nike (goddess), 159, 161–165
 Nimir, 32, 34
 Nimit Ashtar, 65
 Nimrud, 58, 95, 182, 184
 Nineveh, 31, 36, 58, 73–74, 95, 181
 Nineveh V (period), 39, 45, 51, 59, 63, 68, 70, 72, 74–75
 Nisibis, see Nuseybin
 NNY (goddess), 134, 207
 'NNY, 207

nomad, 30, 33-34, 44, 91, 93-94, 96-98, 107, 115, 134, 139-140, 189
 northern gate (Hatra), see gate, northern
 North Iraq, 25, 40, 96, 188
 north iwan, 124, 127, 177
 North Jazirah, 35, 85, 188
 North Mesopotamia, 88, 99, 136, 140, 185-186
 November (month, KNWN), 135-136, 195, 208, 212
 NRGL (or NRGWL, god), 111, 113, 129-132, 158, 163, 203, 207, 209, 211, 213-214
 'NS', 213
 NSR', (MRN), 200, 209, 213
 NSR-'QB, 208
 NSRW (maria), 99-104, 108-110, 113-114, 119-121, 124, 126-127, 129, 131-132, 134, 136-137, 139, 149, 190, 198-199, 207-213
 NSRW (name), 102, 104, 115, 120, 124, 125, 152
 NSRY, 148-149
 NSR-YHB (maria), 99-100, 108, 113, 127, 199, 210-213
 NSR-YHB (name), 99, 100, 107, 204, 207, 209-211
 NSR-YHB (sculptor), 207
 NTWN-'SR, 209
 NTWN'SRY, 99, 207
 Nur-ed-Din, 34
 Nuseybin, 31, 36, 73-74, 99, 102, 118, 137, 143
 Nuzi, 184
 NYHR', 105, 210, 211
 NYŠ', 202, 207,
 NYSN (month), 135-136, 198, 212-213
 October (TŠRY), 135-136, 208, 213
 oil wells, 91
 oinochoe, 182
 Old Babylonian (period), 39, 45, 54-55, 78, 83
 Omar, 35
 Orontes (river), see Antioch
 Othuman, 35
 our lord, see MRN
 OUR LORD, SEE MRN
 outer wall (Hatra), 118-119
 painting, 32, 156-157, 162-165
 Pallaconta (river), 29, 94
 Palmyra, 97-99, 101, 106, 112, 116, 118, 125-126, 136-137, 139, 140, 148, 150, 163-16, 183
 Papak, 219
 Parthian, 17, 22, 39-40, 43-81, 83-88, 95-98, 102-106, 118, 129, 132, 134, 140, 143, 152, 163, 165, 188-189, 191, 219
 Parthian art, 163
 Parthian empire, 98, 106
 Parthian era, 125, 188
 peristyle, 124, 127
 Persian, see Achaemenian
 Persian (language), 31
 'PHW-ŠMŠ, 204
 Pious (WZDQ), 111, 213
 'PKI' RB', 101, 108, 113, 115, 122, 131, 198, 207-208
 Pleistocene, 25
 PLTY', 205
 podium, 125, 126
 poets (Arab), 95, 107, 217-218
 political structure, 97
 portico, 123-125, 147, 149-151, 211
 Poseidon, 125
 Prehistoric, 40, 49, 54, 58-59, 63, 73, 134
 Pre-Islamic, 30, 32, 91, 118
 'PRHT, 99, 109, 110, 211
 priest (KMR'), 99, 105-106, 111, 114, 127, 134, 190, 197, 206
 priestess (KMRT'), 106, 111, 114
 PŠGR^B (PŠGRYB', PZGR^B), 111, 113-114, 208, 210
 Qadimli, 69
 Qala Al-Bint (Qala Qsir Al-Bint), 56
 Qala Ertaja, 81
 Qala Jabbar, 56-57, 180, 184-186
 Qala Makhul, 56
 Qala Ertaja, 81
 Qala Jabbar, 56-57, 180, 184-186
 Qala Makhul, 56
 Qala Rayyash, 83
 Qala Sharqat, see Aššur
 Qala Thriyhir, 51
 Qara Saray, 34
 Aarat Al-Qasa, 26
 Qārqiya, 31
 Qashir, 34
 Qasr Serij, 74
 Qasr Umm Al-Tus, 80
 'QB, 208
 'QB', 109, 207
 'QBN, 199, 208, cf. 209

Qbr Ibn (Abu) Naif, 86, 112, 114, 153, 193, 214
 Qbr Mella Jasim, 66
 'QB-ŠM', 172, 210
 'QB-ŠMS', 199, 208
 QDM (name), 218
 Qinytra, 58–59
 'QLT', 92, 212
 QNYN (month), 135
 QNWN (month), 214
 QRQBS, 214
 QSR' (fuller), 197
 QŠŠ, 101, 108, 196–197 cf. QSYS'
 QŠYS', 101, 108, 113, 195
 Qtr Slubi, 27
 Quda'a, 34, 219
 'QWBN', 199, 208
 'QWB-ŠMS', 208
 QYMTY, 210
 QYMY, 129, 208
 QNYT', 109, 112–114, 208, 211
 rabbit, 159
 Rabia (tribe), 34, 50
 Rahman, 115
 Rajim Albu Hamad, 45
 Rajim Al-Mowelhi, 46
 Rajim Sihail, 45
 Rania, 40
 Raqqa, 31
 Ras Al-Ain, 31, 36
 Ras Al-Asir, 45
 Ras Al-Rug'ai, 47
 'RB, 104–105, 109–110, 198, 211
 RB', 99, 108–109, 112–115, 153, 190, 198,
 207–212
 RB D HŠYHY, 109, 112–113, 210
 RB' D 'RB, 109–110, 113–114, 211
 RBN, 210
 RB QYNT', 109, 113–114, 208, 211
 RBN, 210
 RB QYNT', 109, 113–114, 208, 211
 RB SMY', 109, 113, 208
 'RBY, 104–105, 195–196
 'RBY', 104, 110, 208, 212
 RBTY', 99, 101, 106, 109–110, 113–115, 190,
 195, 198, 207–213
 'RDKL' (architect), 116, 207, 209, 211, 213
 RHMNY, 115, 210
 RHM-ŠMS', 212
 RMW, 112, 210
 Roman, 27, 29, 33, 39, 49, 52, 56, 61, 73–74, 76,
 84, 94–95, 98, 102, 104, 107, 119–121, 125, 131,
 134, 136–137, 140, 143, 219
 Roman Attic column base, 143
 RPŠ', 53, 86, 127, 2211, 214
 RPŠMS', 97, 209
 'RŠ'D, 115
 'RŠK, 116
 'S (weight), 212
 'S', 207
 Saad, 115
 Saadiya (region), 21, 26, 47–48, 52
 sacrificer (DBH'), 112, 114, 210
 Sadam, 115
 Sadir Al-Marfu', 85
 Sado, 115
 Saih, 34
 Saksanakhyr, 150–151
 Salamiya, 35
 Salmani, 94
 Samarra (period), 33–34, 66–72, 111
 Samarra (region), 25–26, 28, 39, 43, 45, 59, 87
 Samas, see ŠMS'
 Sanatruq, see SNTRWQ
 Sargon, 58
 Sasanian, 26, 30, 32–33, 39–40, 118–120, 136,
 153, 163, 169, 188–190
 Satrun, 217–219
 ŠBS', 210
 ŠBT (month), 135–136, 210, 214
 Scenitae, 94
 sculptor (GLP), 116, 198–198, 207, 211
 Sdiyra, 58
 S'DY, 213
 SDYM, 115, 209
 second millennium B.C., 66
 Sehil (stream), 28 cf. 43, 91
 Seleucia on the Tigris, 86, 95, 105, 118, 128,
 181, 183–184
 Seleucid, 36, 73, 88, 95–96, 139, 189
 Seleukos, 109
 semi-desert, 136, 140, 188
 semi-nomadic, 94, 98, 133, 138
 senator, 101
 September (month, 'LWL), 135–136, 208
 Septimius Severus (emperor), 95, 105, 114, 137,
 153

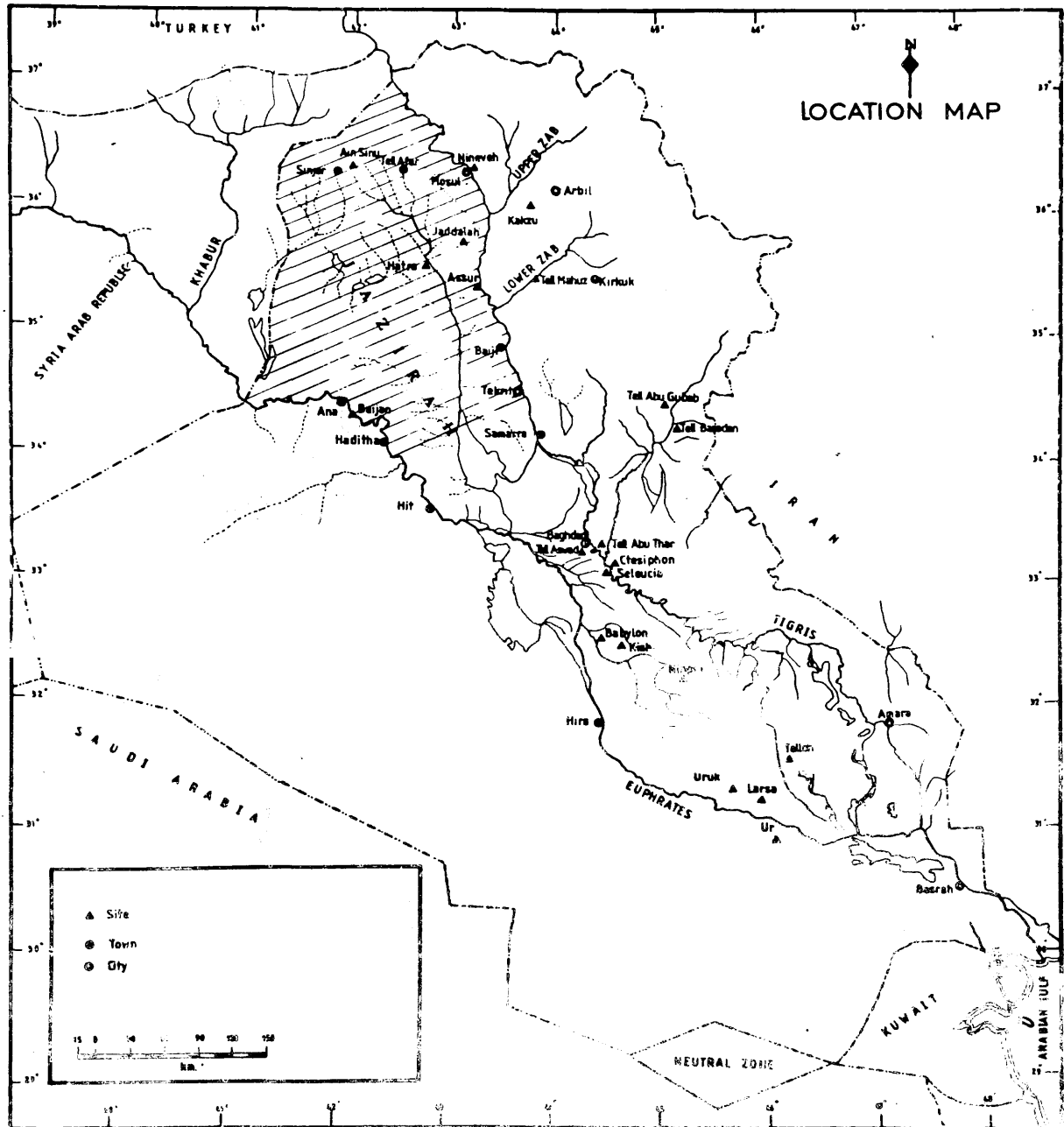
settlement, 14, 32, 49, 55, 57, 84–85, 89
Shaharja, 33
Shahrazur, 217
Shahr-i Qumis, 150–151
Shalmaneser I (king), 58
Shamash, see ŠMS
Shammer (tribe), 29, 33, 107
Shapur I (king), 14, 26, 107, 119, 131, 153, 219
Shargat, 25, 40, 53
Sheikh Ibrahim (region), 63, 84
Shjarah, 31, 57–58
 shoemaker, 116, 211
 ŠHPT', 112, 114, 213
 shrine, 82, 88, 92
Shrines I–XIII
Shrine I, 128–129, 132, 153, 173, 175
Shrine II, 128–129, 132
Shrine III, 99, 129, 132
Shrine IV, 129, 132
Shrine V, 130, 132,
Shrine VI, 130, 131
Shrine VII, 132, 171, 175
Shrine VIIa, 92–93, 96, 128, 130, 132, 134, 139,
 153, 173–175
Shrine VIIb, 130, 132
Shrine IX, 107, 130, 132, 153, 172, 176
Shrin X, 131–132
Shrine XI, 128–129, 131–132
Shrine XII, 131–132, 172, 174, 176, 182, 195,
 201
Shrine XIII, 131
 ŠH (Y) RW (deity), 125, 134, 200, 210
Siaatruces, 104
singer (QYNT'), 109, 112–114, 208, 211
Sinisa, 26
Sinjar (region), 25, 29–30, 37, 39–40, 56, 76, 81,
 84, 86–88, 102, 107, 137, 143, 189
Sinjar (valley), 29
Sinn, 31–32, 57–58
 'SLM, 212
 ŠLMN, 211
Slubi, 26
SLWK, 109, 209–210
 smith, 111
 SM'NW, 207
 ŠMS (Samas, god), 94, 101, 105, 108–109, 121,
 134, 200, 202, 209, 211–212, 214
 ŠMS–BRK (steward), 101, 109, 113–115, 131,
 161, 165, 190, 195, 198, 209
 ŠMS–'DRY, 211
 ŠMS–HRYT, 99, 196–197, 207, 209
 ŠMS–LTB, 207
 ŠMS–'QB, 207
 ŠMSY, 109, 211
 ŠMS–YHB, 86, 109–110, 116, 198–199, 211
 ŠMS–YHB (sculptor), 110, 116, 198, 211
 ŠMS–YHB (sculptor), 110, 116, 198, 211
 SMY, 130, 207–208
 SMY' (Samia), 109, 126, 207, 211
 SMYT', 209
SNTRWQ I, II (kings), 102–106, 108–115,
 126–127, 139–140, 198, 207–212.; See also
 Satrun
SNTRWQ (maria), 102, 108, 113, 211
Sounding I, 92–94, 96, 119, 181
Sounding II, 93
South Arabia, 97
South Iraq, 40
South iwan, 104, 124, 126–127
South Mesopotamia, 86, 183, 189, 214
 SPR', 110, 113
 ŠPRY, 106, 110, 112, 129, 208–209
 'ŠR, 99; cf. 'BD–'SR,
 NTWN–ŠR (Y), 'WYD–'SR
 'ŠRBL (goddess), 111, 130, 132, 134, 208
 'ŠR–BRK, 210
 ŠRT', 210
 steward, see RBYT'
 STNBL, 208
 'STNQ, 203, 208–210
 stone age, 76
 'STR (weight), 212
 strategic, 74, 76, 86–87, 136, 189
 'STT, 116, 204, 209, 211, 213
 'ŠTTY, 207
 sun god, see MRN, ŠMS
Sur Jur'eh, 78
 ŠWYD', 213
 'ŠY, 210
 'SYLY', 97, 212
 ŠYWN (month), 135
Tabula Peutingeriana, 52, 73, 91, 137
Taghlub (tribe), 32, 34
Tanukh, 219
Tartara, see Wadi Tharthar
Taurus, 25
Tayy (tribe), 29
Tayarat, 21

Tayrahan, 32
 TBT (month), 135
 Tekrit, 29, 31–37, 40–42, 55, 57, 81–85, 88,
 137–138, 163, 189
 Telbis (Telbis), 79, 85
 Tell 'Abariy Gharbi, 48
 Tell 'Abta, 26, 30, 40, 50
 Tell 'Abta Shamali, 50
 Tell Abu Arabid, 46
 Tell Abu Dhahir, 74
 Tell Abu Gbab, 182
 Tell Abu Jarathi, 61
 Tell Abu Nijir, 44
 Tell Abu Tawa, 45
 Tell Abu Thar, 181, 183
 Tell Abu Wajnam, 74
 Tell Adhaman, 44
 Tell Adhamiya, 44
 Tell 'Afar, 29–30, 32–33, 35, 38–41, 60, 65, 84,
 88, 143, 189
 Tell Ahmed Agha Kabir, 75
 Tell Ain Khanaszirat, 53
 Tell Ain Mahlabiyah, 63
 Tell Ain Shridah, 60
 Tell 'Ajri, 55, 84–86, 137, 189
 Tell Al-Asir, 45
 Tell Al-Athori, 50
 Tell Al-Baye'a, 59
 Tell Al-Benat, 73
 Tell Al-Buqer, 65
 Tell Al-Darrajiya, 81
 Tell Al-Daym, 61
 Tell 'Algana, 72
 Tell Al-Ghuzlaniyat, 46
 Tell Al-Hafel, 65
 Tell Al-Harim, 180
 Tell 'Aliba, 46
 Tell 'Aliban, 46
 Tell 'Alibat, 46
 Tell Al-Jern, 59
 Tell Al-Karkashi, 51
 Tell Al-Khirab, 53
 Tell Al-Khwain, 59, 61
 Tell Al-'Omryni, 62
 Tell Al-Rahmaniya, 64
 Tell Al-Rimah, 40, 66–67, 70
 Tell Al-Rumih, 64
 Tell Al-Sybat, 83
 Tell Al-Swaje, 45
 Tell Al-Thaiya, 46
 Tell Al-Yazidi, 61
 Tell Anjor, 50
 Tell As-Sown, 71
 Tell Aswad, 53
 Tell Aswad (Baghdad area), 181
 Tell 'Awad, 70
 Tell 'Ayar, 65
 Tell Aziz, 66
 Tell Aziz Gharbi, 66
 Tell Aziz Junobi, 67
 Tell 'Azu, 71
 Tell Bachir, 31
 Tell Bander, 59
 Tell Belyoz, 63, 67
 Tell Blida, 74
 Tell Buraich, 31, 57
 Tell Buthat Al-Rug'ai, 48
 Tell Buthat Mshirfa, 51
 Tell Daghdash, 70
 Tell Dam 'Aboosh, 65
 Tell Dara, 77
 Tell Dehala, 59
 Tell Dekhil, 64
 Tell Dibshiya, 43, 181
 Tell Dwylib, 43
 Tell Egdimi, 48
 Tell Fudga, 52
 Tell Gehif, 50
 Tell Gehifa, 45
 Tell Girmish, 53
 Tell Hachim Junobi, 72
 Tell Hachim Shamali, 72
 Tell Hatim Sharqi, 72
 Tell Hadhail, 72
 Tell Halaf, see Halaf
 Tell Hamra, 67
 Tell Hanu, 77
 Tell Hassu, 75
 Tell Hatimiya, 77
 Tell Hawa, 74
 Tell Heidar, 181, 184
 Tell Hilu, 70
 Tell Hiyal, 77
 Tell Hussein Al-Thud, 44
 Tell Hussein Amin, 64
 Tell Huta, 64
 Tell Ibdah, 83, 85, 87, 137–138
 Tell 'Ibra Al-Saghiyra, 73, 87, 137, 193, 214
Tell Jaboq, 65
 Tell Jaddalah 'Uliya, 52, 143
 Tell Jadu', 75
Tell Jedaydah, 54, 86

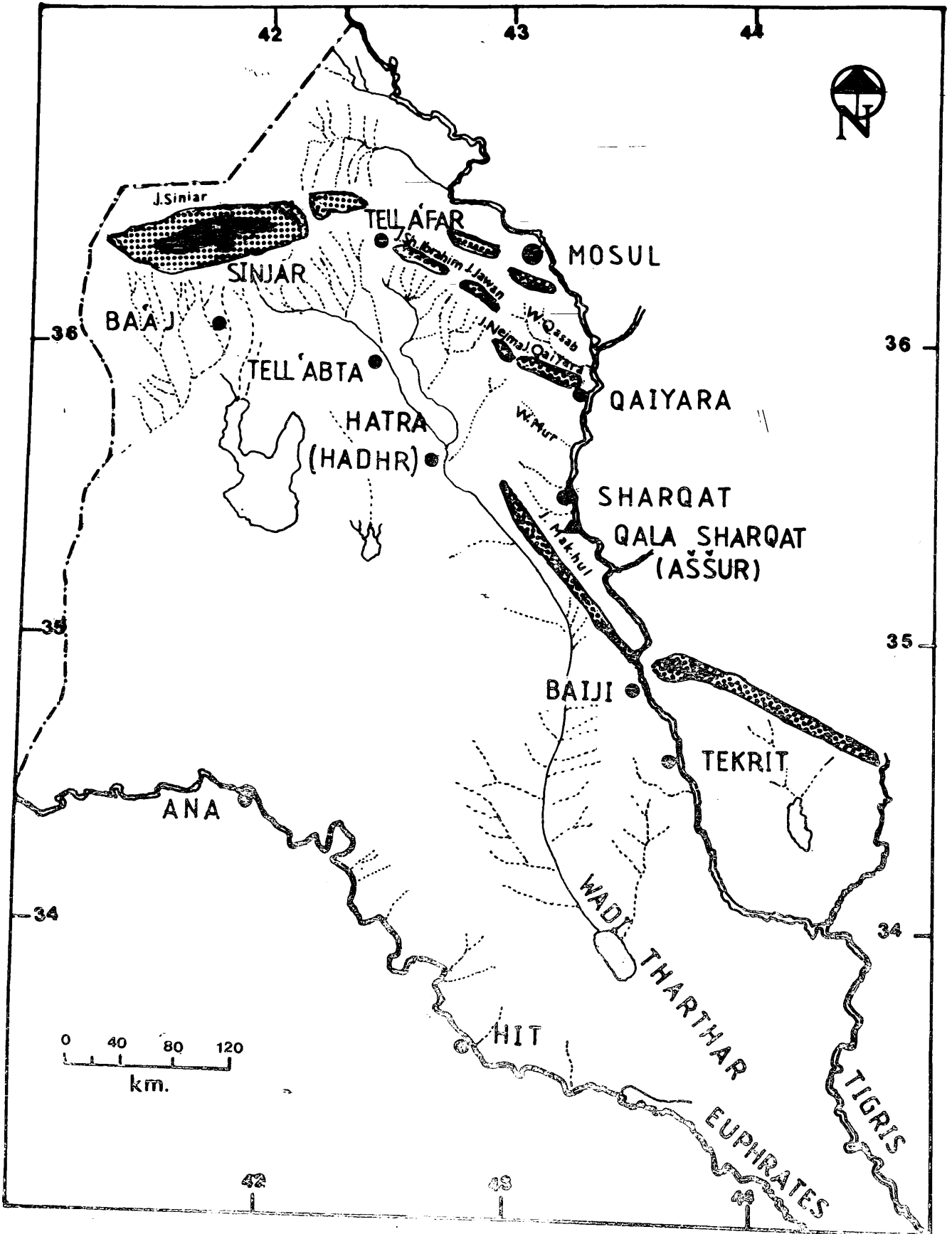
Tell Khalif, 72
 Tell Khamira, 67
 Tell Khatab, 63
 Tell Khathir, 63
 Tell Kidalik, 70
 Tell Mahlabiyah, 63
 Tell Mahuz, 181
 Tell Majarin, 62
 Tell Malha, 52
 Tell Marag, 75
 Tell Matu Dhabi, 55
 Tell Mdaraj, 48
 Tell Mihrab, 68
 Tell Mkgazaga, 48
 Tell Mqibra, 71
 Tell Mrichaiz, 50
 Tell Mshirfa, 51
 Tell Mshirfa Al-Jisir, 51
 Tell Mutalah, 70
 Tell Mutar, 63
 Tell Nebi Yunis, 58
 Telloh, 40
 Tell Qara Tepe, 66
 Tell Qasim, 65
 Tell Qaza, 70
 Tell Qehwa, 65
 Tell Quyunjik, 58
 Tell Ras Al-Asir, 45
 Tell Rug'ai, 47
 Tell Rumdhaniyah, 47, 86
 Tell Saadiya Gharbi, 47, 136, 143, 191, 213-214
 Tell Saadiya Sharqi, 47
 Tell Sbiha, 55
 Tell Sgala, 47
 Tell Shanan, 75
 Tell Shewa, 72
 Tell Shibha, 67
 Tell Shikhan, 44, 60
 Tell Shirea, 46
 Tell Slubi, 48
 Tell Sultan Saghir, 51
 Tell Sultan Kabir, 51
 Tell Tamri, 55, 84,-85, 183
 Tell Tar Al-Rufie', 57, 86
 Tell Taya, 66
 Tell Tubail, 71
 Tell Turki, 47
 Tell Twaim, 62, 180
 Tell Umar, see Seleucia on the Tigris
 Tell Umilih, 52
 Tell Umm Al-Ma'alif, 49
 Tell Umm Al-Qanatir, 61
 Tell Umm Al-Qita, 56
 Tell Umm Al-Shibabit, 71
 Tell Umm Al-Shinin, 61
 Tell Umm Groon, 48
 Tell Umm Tubuq, 50
 Tell 'Unuq Jaddalah, 52, 143
 Tell 'Uwinat, 74
 Tell Yal, 64
 Tell Zuqay, 76
 temple, see also Shrine
 Temple, A (Hatra), 34, 124, 127, 199
 Temple B (Hatra), 34, 92-94, 123, 125, 127, 198
 Temple C (Hatra), 103, 126-127
 Temple D (Hatra), 125-126, 152
 Temple E, 123-125, 143, 152
 Temple H (or Square Temple, Hatra), 93, 104-106, 124, 215, 202
 Temple I (Hatra), 127
 Temple, Square, see Temple H
 Thiyyliat, 28
 Tharthar, see Wadi Tharthar
 third millennium B.C., 64, 66-70, 73-74, 132
 tiara, 99, 157, 163
 Tigris (river), 25-26, 29, 31, 54-58, 81-82, 84-86, 91, 94, 102, 104, 136-138
 Thrithir, see Wadi Thrithir
 'TLW (king), 98-99, 103, 110-111, 113-114, 129
 tomb, 62, 81, 98, 92, 97, 117, 132-134, 164, 214
 Tomb J 3, 132, 213
 Tomb J 6, 133
 Tomb J 11, 132
 TPSR', 212, 213
 'T'QB, 212
 Trajan, 95, 102-103, 114, 126, 136-137
 'TR'T' (goddess), 111, 129, 134, 207
 'TT', 199
 'TTNY, 208
 Tulul Ahmad Al-Hussein, 43
 Tulul Ain Al-Baqara, 60
 Tulul Al-'Arysh, 61
 Tulul Al-Bug, 54
 Tulul Al-Maymoon, 43, 180-181
 Tulul Bashmanah, 49, 53
 Tulul Dubyshi, 43
 Tulul Ghwiniq, 44
 Tulul, Kirmash, 44
 Tulul Qbr Ibn Al-Shatrah, 46
 Tulul Sukariyah, 56, 84-85, 189
 Tulul Umm Adham, 48
 Tur-Abdin, 31

- IW'Y, 211
 IYMI, 210
 IYIYMLT, 210
 IYMS', 210
 IYMW (tribe), 34, 97, 113, 116, 130, 133-134, 139, 211, 213
 'IYŠ', 110
 Ubaid (period), 39, 43, 45-46, 48, 52, 55, 61-64, 66-69, 72, 74
 Umm Al-Dheyban, 77
 Umm Al-Jaba, 26
 Umm Al-Raha, 26
 Umm Al-Shinin, 26, 61, 87
 Umm Al-Tus, 81
 Umm Dabaghiyah, 27
 Umm Dilei, 79
 Umm Etlail, 45, 84-86
 Umm Kayf, 75
 Umm Qubor, 61
 Umm Sekhra, 80
 Upper Jazirah, 28, 39, 58, 84-85, 98, 102, 143
 Upper Mesopotamia, 35, 98
 Upper Miocene, 25
 Upper Zab (river), 57-58, 88
 Ur III (period), 54, 56
 Uruk (period), 39, 50, 55, 59, 61-62, 64, 66-75
 Uruk (region), 40, 88
 valley 23, 25-26
 vegetation, 90-91, 133, 138
 Vicat (Tell 'Ibra Al-Saghiyra), 73, 78, 137, 194, 214
 victorious (ZKY'), 104, 106, 110-111, 210
 virgin soil, (Hatra), 93, 123, 133, 169, 181, 189
 Vologases I (king), 101-102
 Vologases II (king), 104-105
 Vologases III (king), 104-105, 153
 Vologesias, 99
 wadi, 26, 29, 33, 46, 56, 60, 70, 86
 Wadi Ahmar, 26, 48
 Wadi Al-Mur, 26,
 Wadi AlQasab, 26, 59,
 Wadi Ekhhirat, 26
 Wadi Hauran, 34, 194, 213
 Wadi Herim, 26
 Wadi Hiyal, 34
 Wadi Jaddalah, 26, 28-29, 52, 143, 150
 Wadi Jarnaf, 26
 Wadi Khnizirat, 26
 Wadi Mishfi, 51
 Wadi Qran, 26
 Wadi Rug'ai, 26
 Wadi Salmani, 26
 Wadi Sehil, 28, 43, 91
 Wadi Shicasti, 26
 Wadi Shishin, 26
 Wadi Shitata, 86
 Wadi Siran, 26
 Wadi Tharthar, 25-26, 28-29, 39-40, 43, 85-86, 91, 138
 Wadi Thrithir, 26, cf. 51
 Wadi Twaim, 26
 wall (of Hatra), 92, 103, 117-121, 137, 140, 149, 157-158, 160-161
 Ward, 115
 Warda, 115
 Warda, 115
 'WD, 115
 WHWB', 207
 WKWR, 213
 WLGŠ (King), 101, 103-104, 110-111, 114, 210-212
 WLGŠ (MR'), 101-102
 WLGŠ (MRY', maria), 99-10 108, 124, 209-212
 'WYD-'LT, 198
 'WYD-'ŠR, 202, 205, 211, 115
 'WYDW, 207
 WZDQ (pious), 111, 213
 Yarim Tepe, 66
 YHBRMRYN, 208
 YHB-ŠMS' (architect), 213
 YHBSY, 112, 208-209, 211
 YHYBW, 99, 212
 YMLK, 109
 'YR (month), 135-136
 YRHR, 213
 'YZ, 202
 'YZL', 212
 Zab (river), 29, 31-32, 55, 57-58, 88
 Zagurac, see Ain Sinu
 Zaid, 115
 Zamzam, 91
 Zawayeh, 78
 ZBD-'LT, 115, 210
 ZBDY, 115, 212
 ZBYD', 97, 213
 ZBYDW, 53, 86, 208-209, 214
 Zincirli, 118
 ZKY', 104, 106, 110-111, 201
 ZN', 202
 ZQYQ', 204
 ZRQ', 207
 Zumar, 84

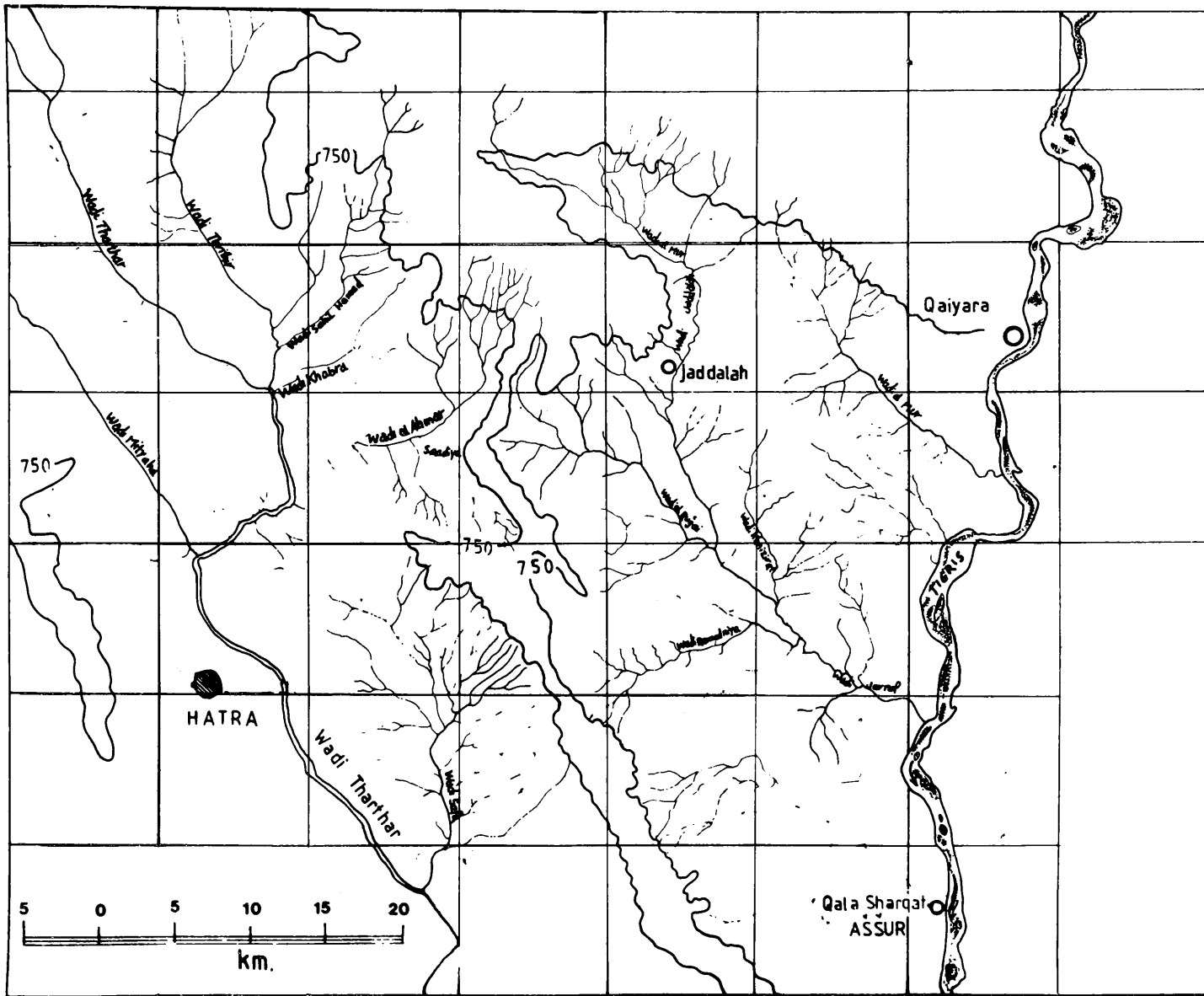
PLATES



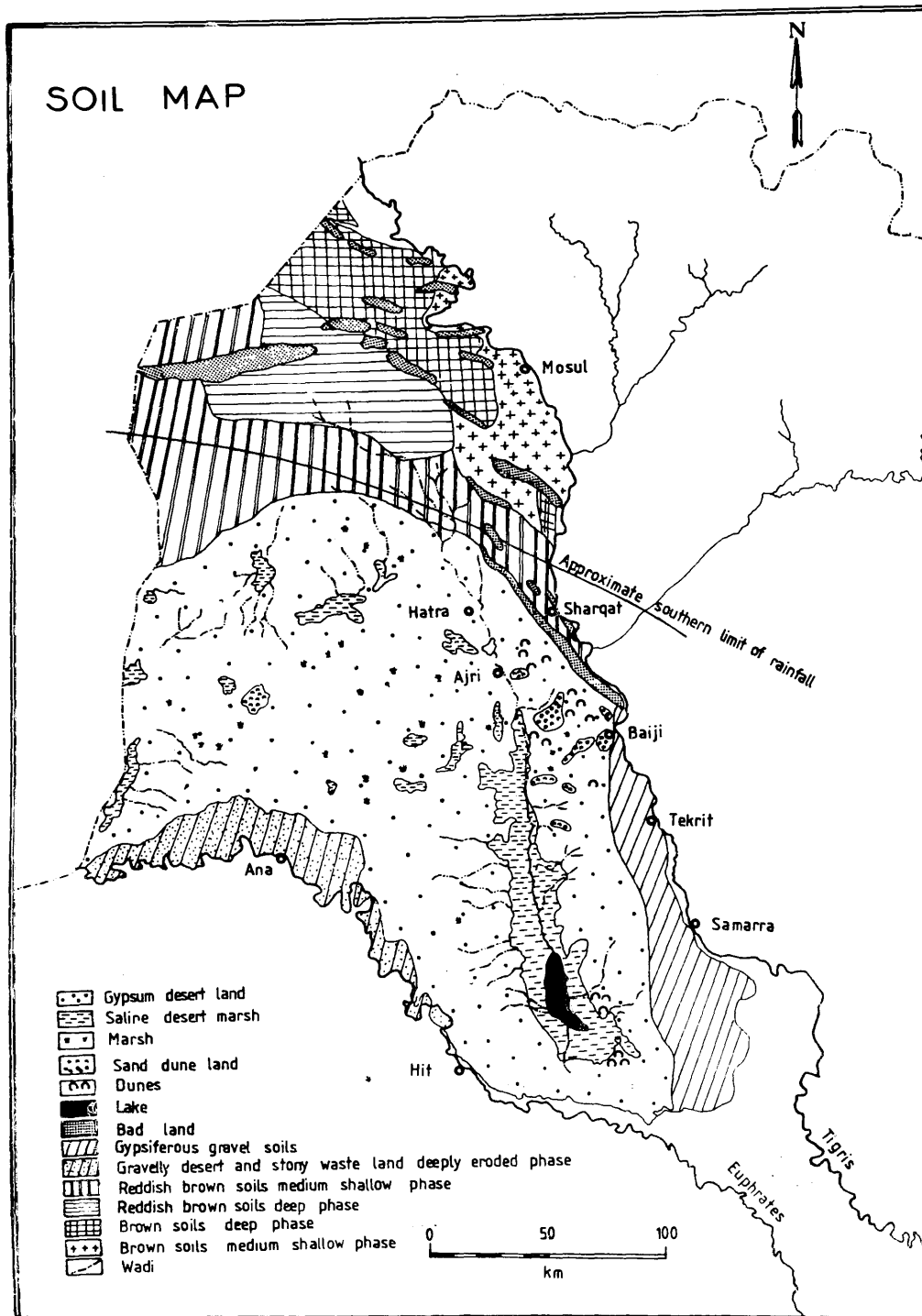
Location map of the Jazirah



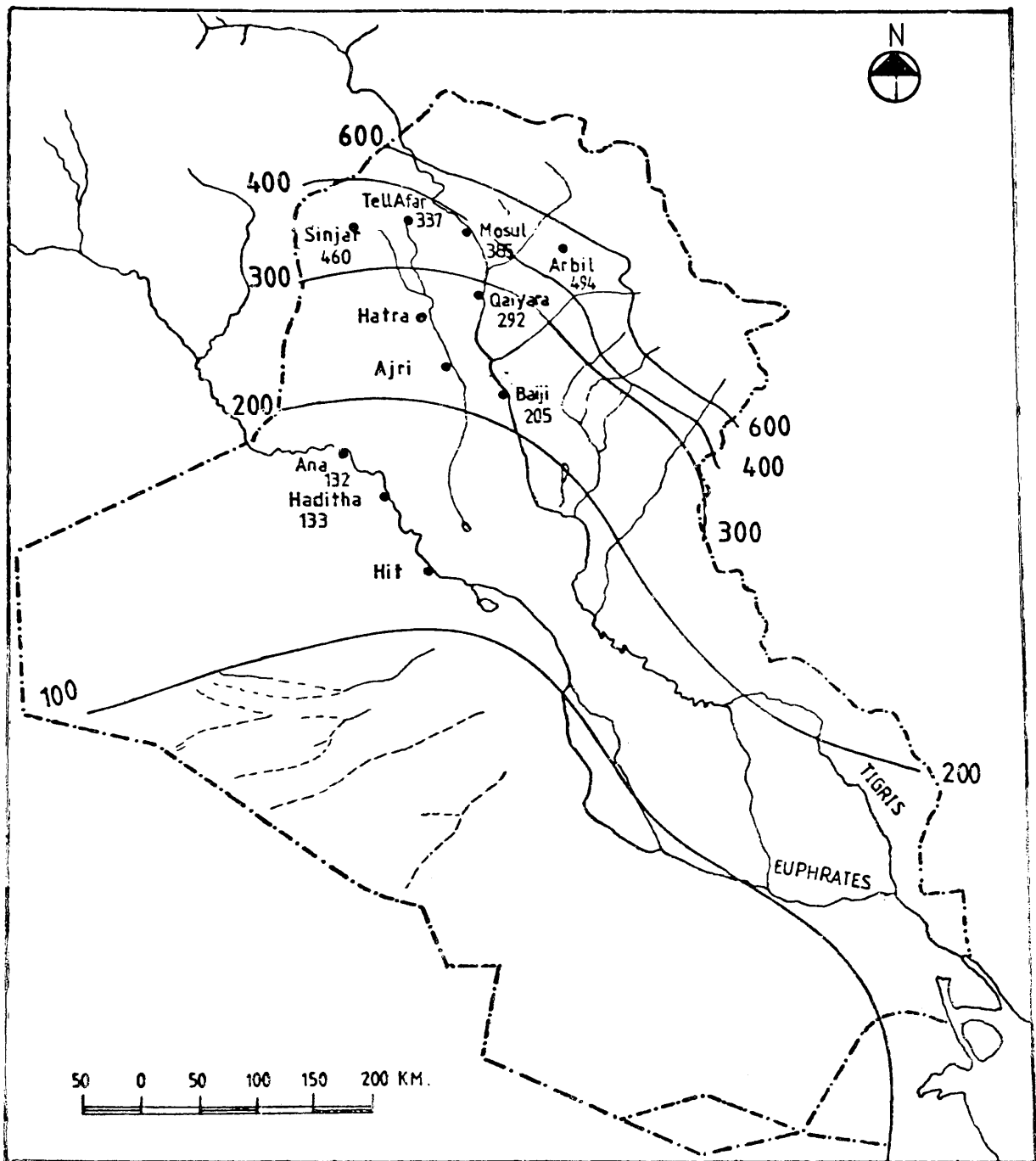
Topographical and modern administrative map of the Jazirah



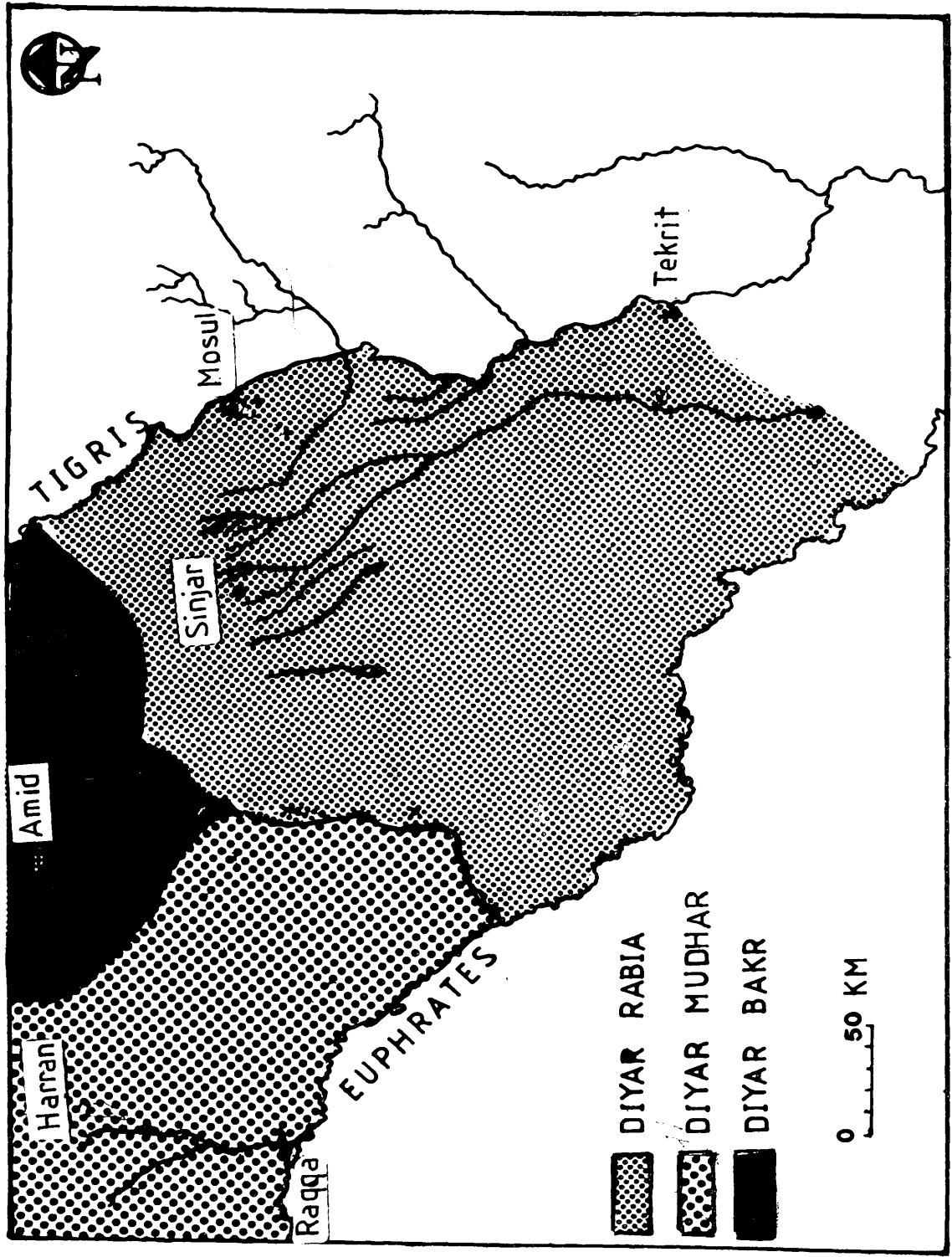
Topographical map of the east Jazirah , including Hatra



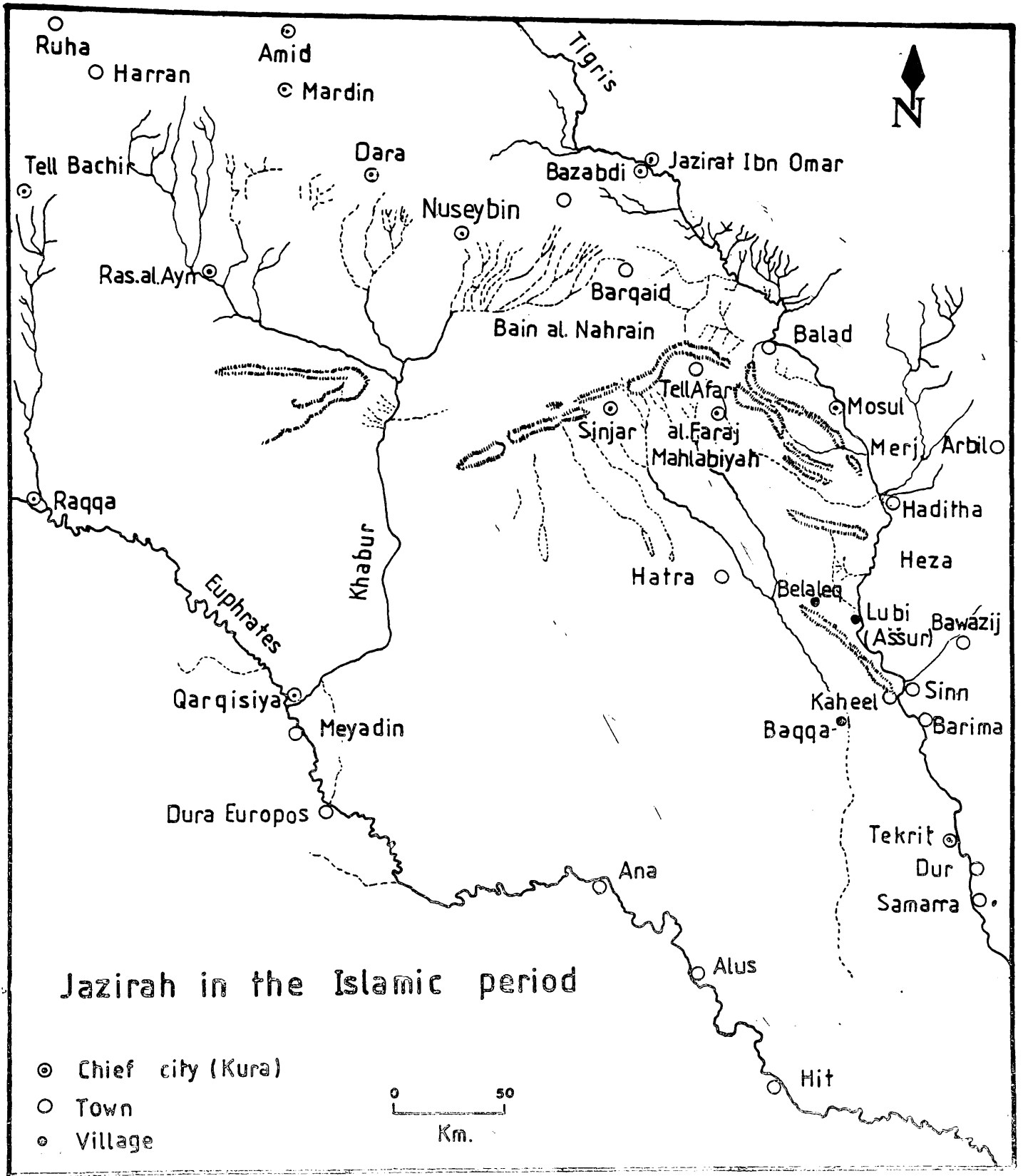
Soil map of the Jazirah (from Buringh, 1960)



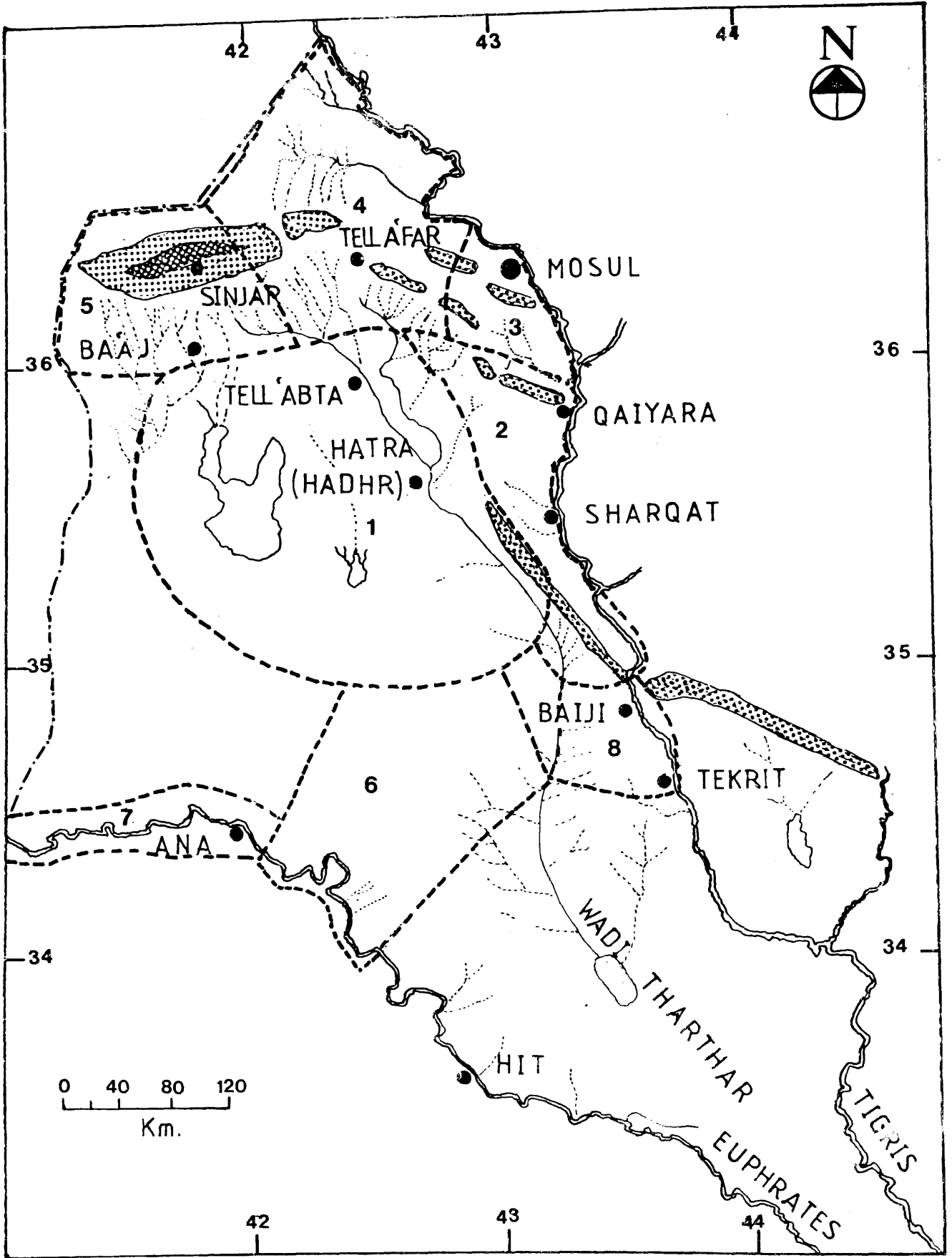
Map showing rainfall in the Jazirah (from Guest, 1966)



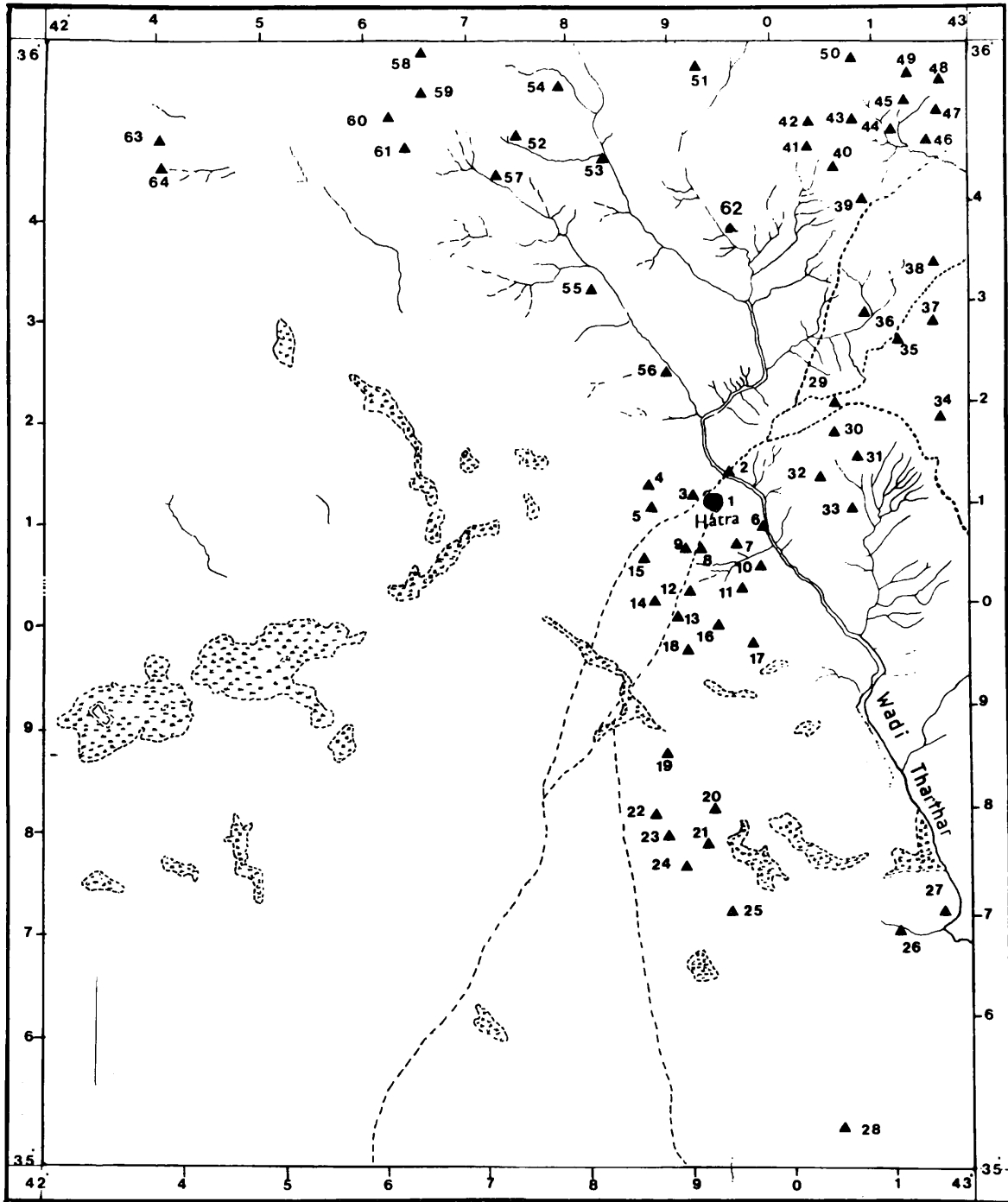
Administrative map of the Jazirah in the early Islamic period



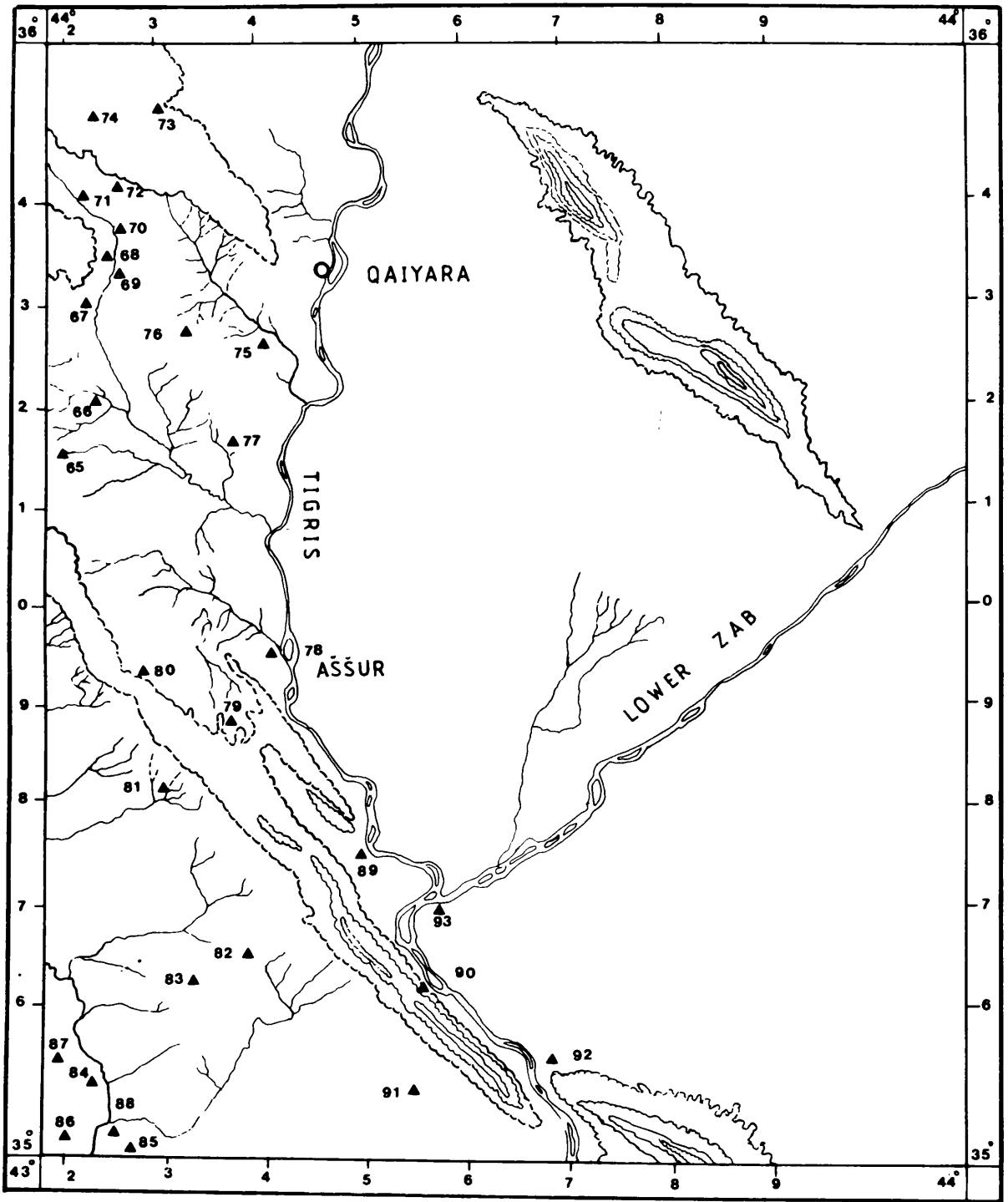
Map of Jazirah towns and villages in the early Islamic period



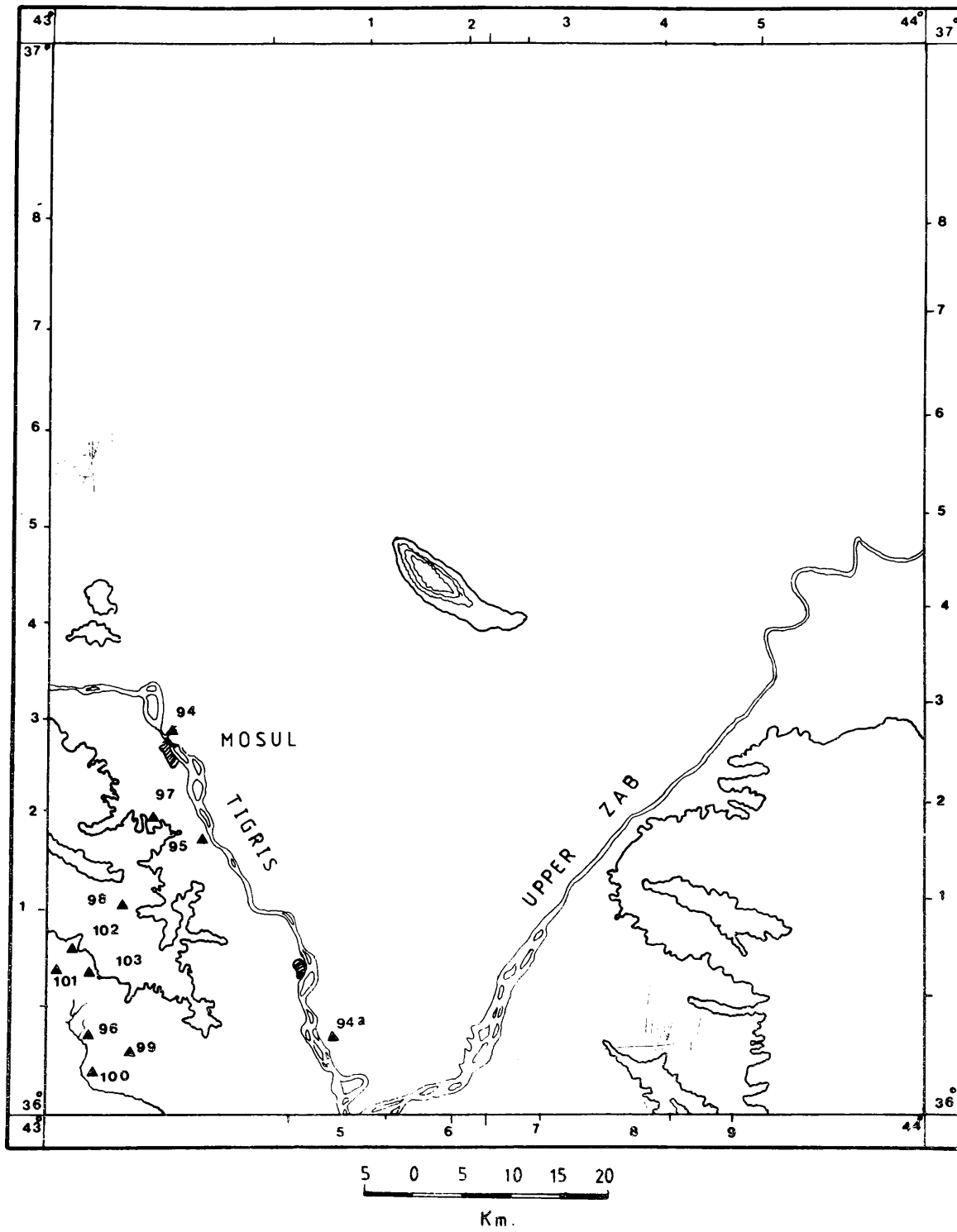
Map showing the divisions of the Jazirah site survey



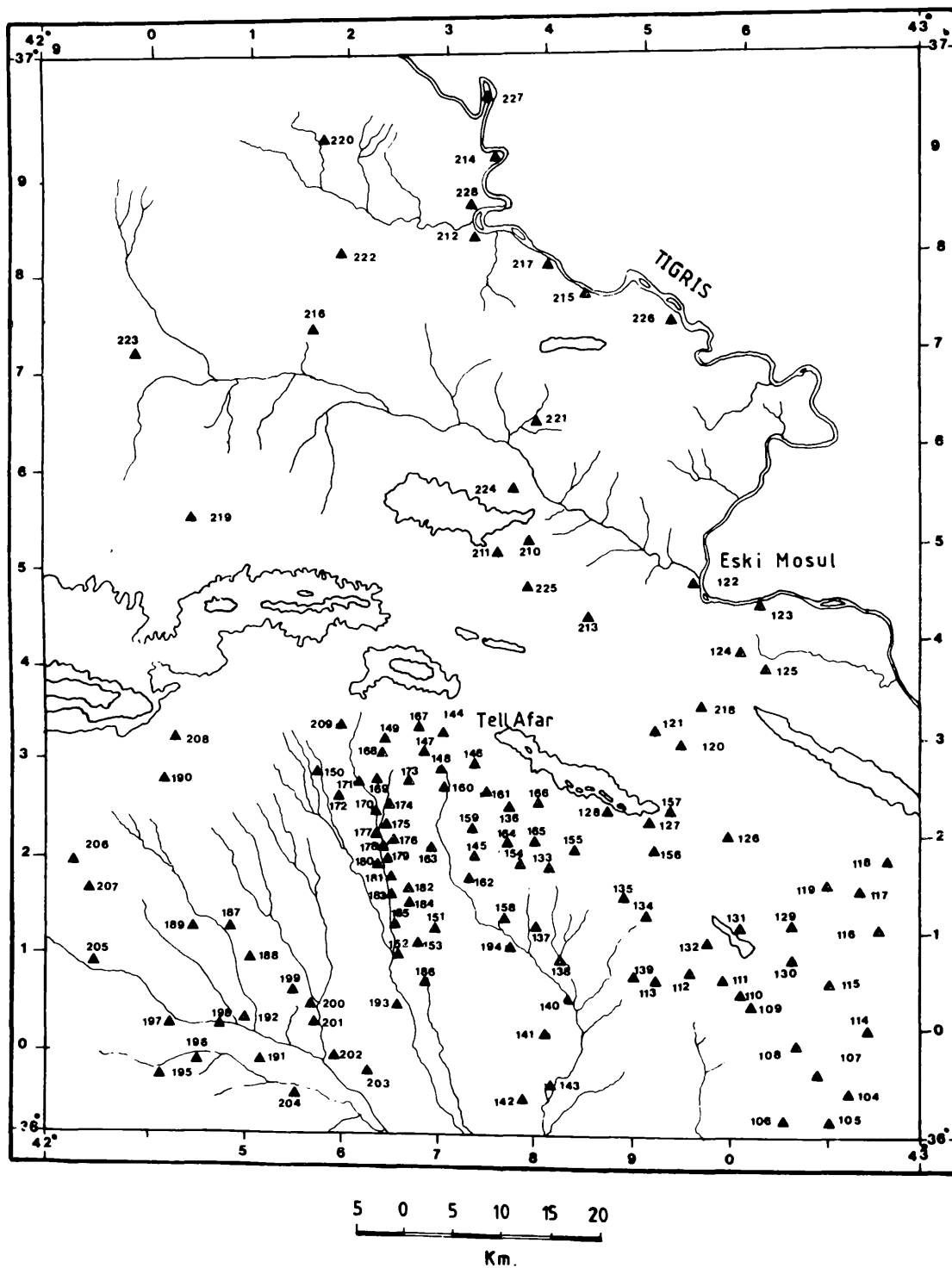
Jarrah site survey, Aca 1 (nos.1-64)



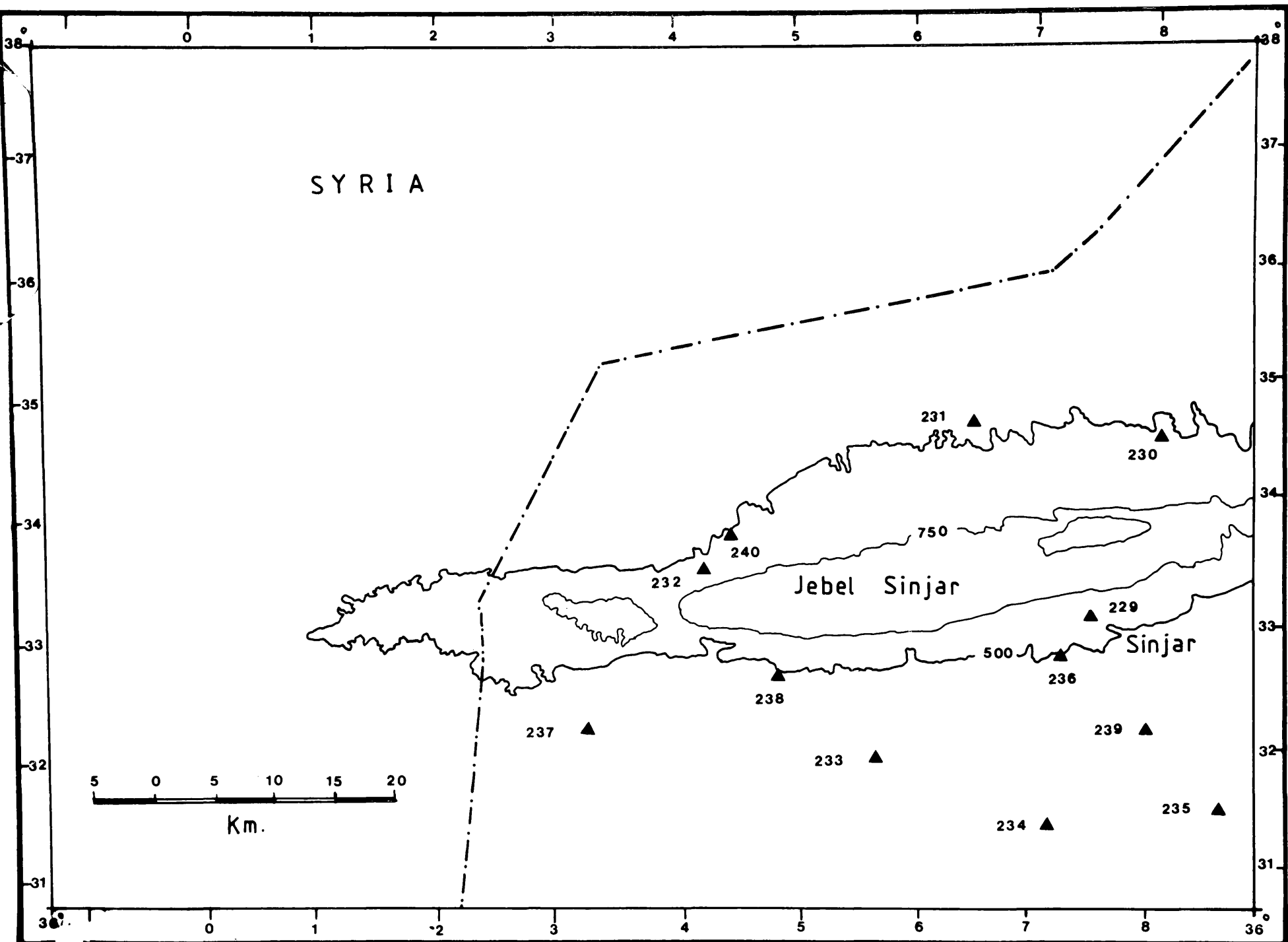
Jazirah site survey, Area 2 (nos. 65-93)



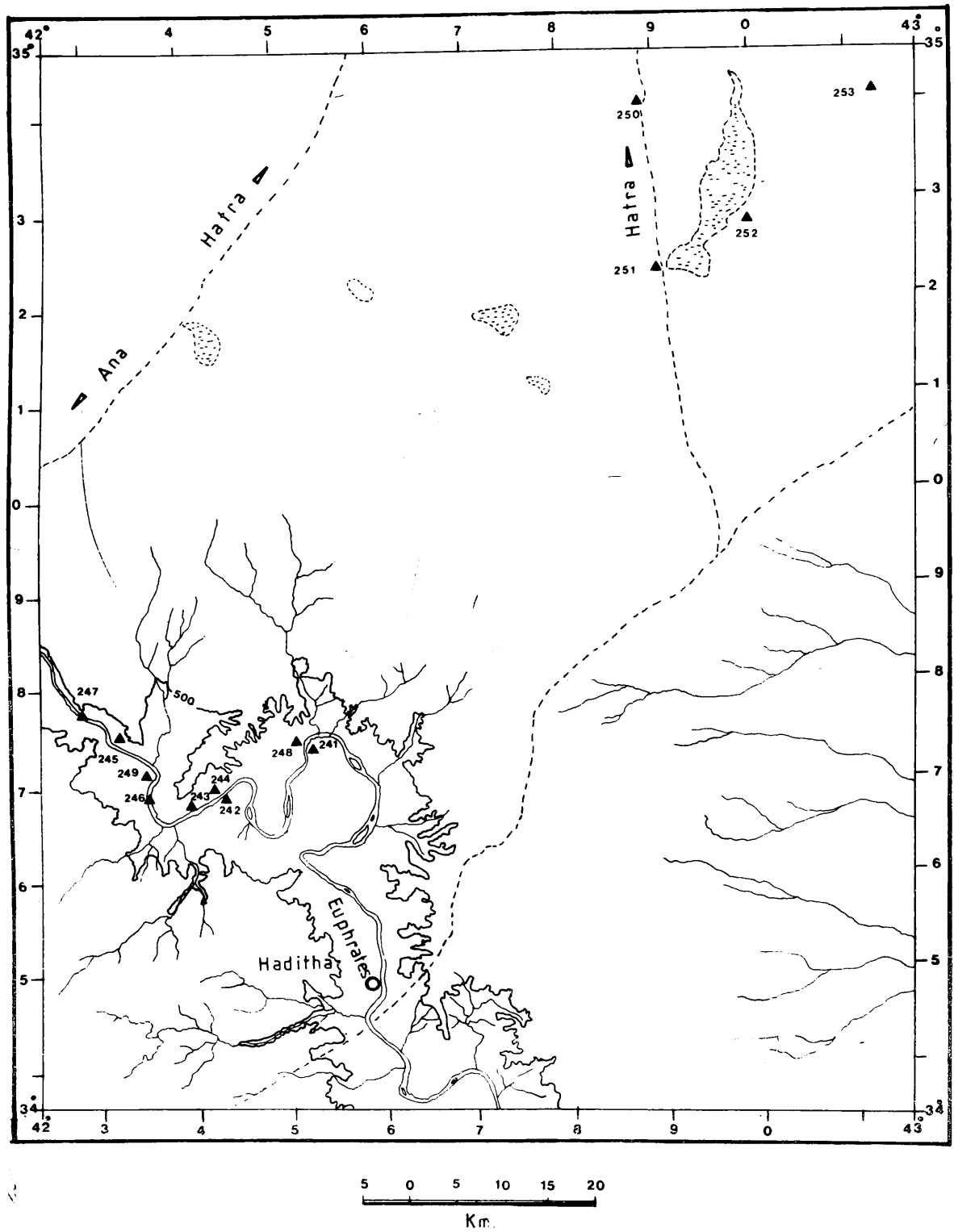
Jazirah site survey, Area 3 (nos. 94-103)



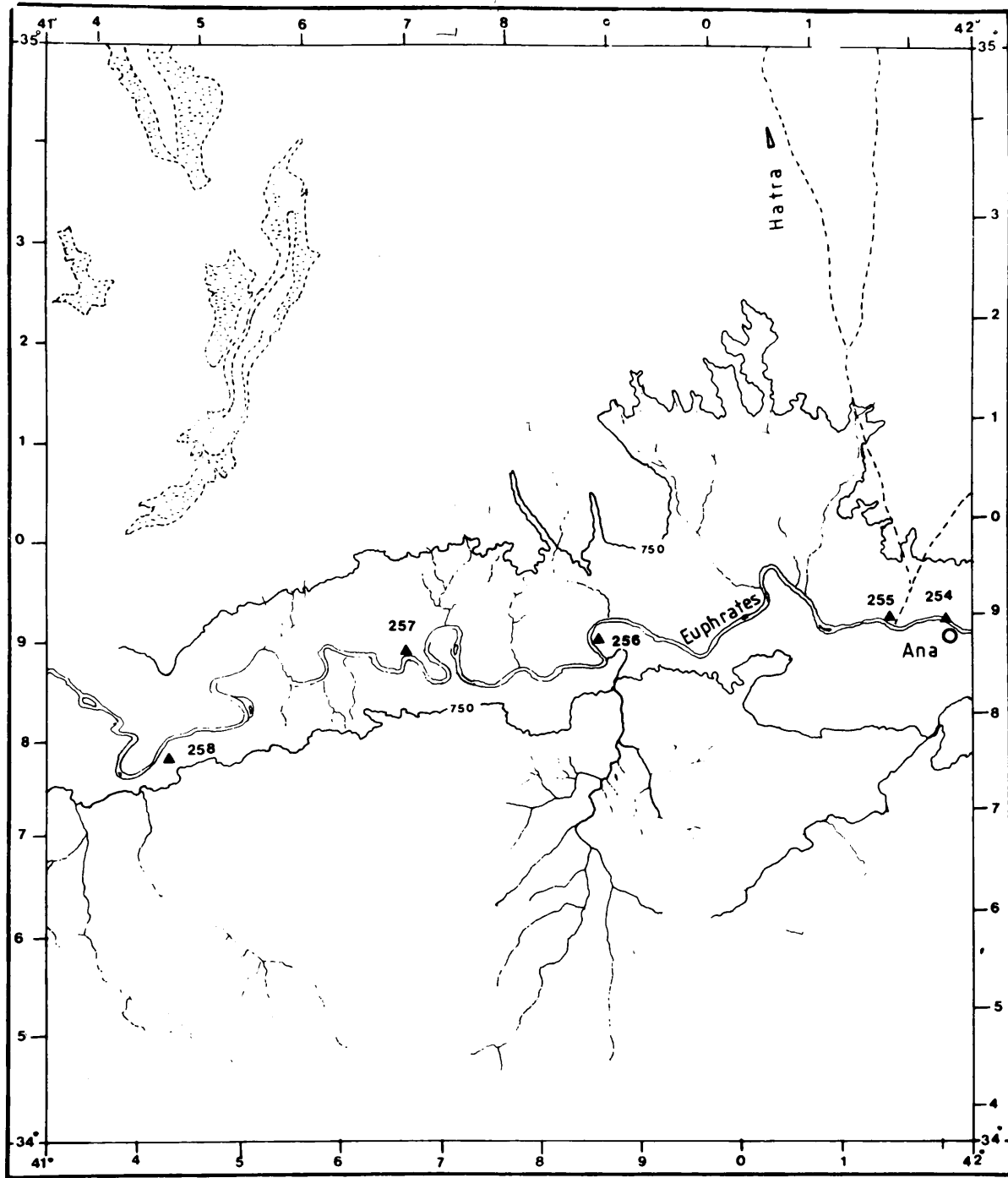
Jazirh site survey, Area 4 (nos. 104-228)



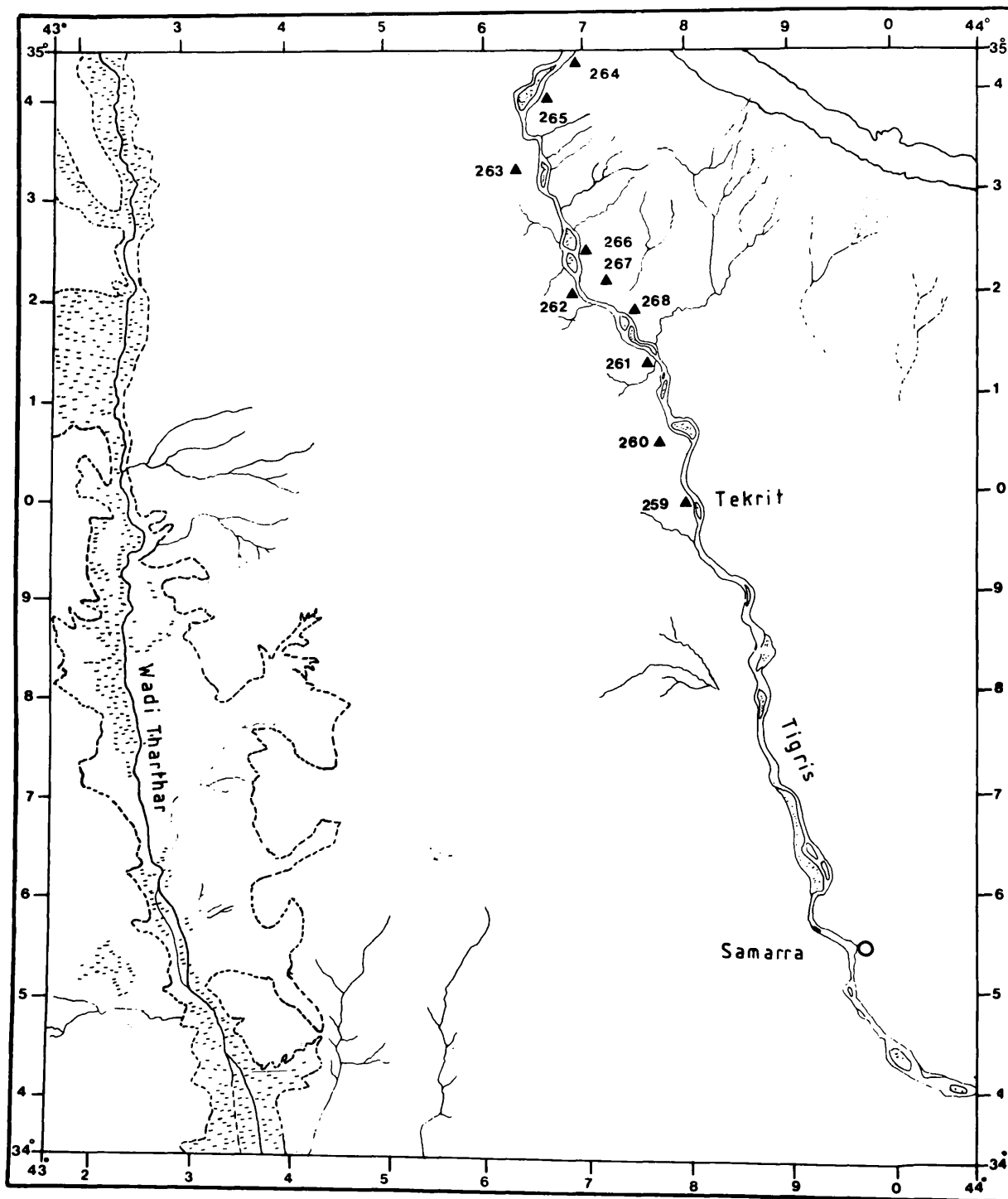
Jazirah site survey, Area 5 (nos. 229-240)



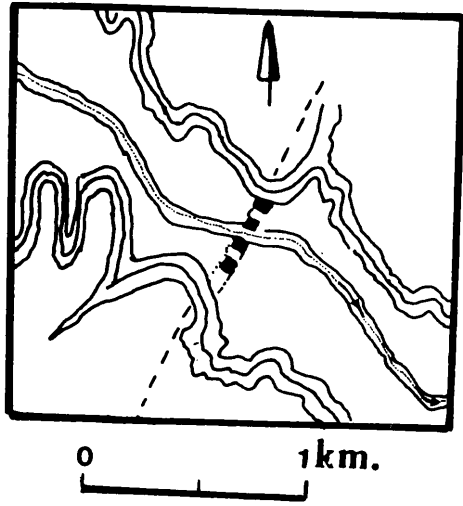
14. Jazirah site survey, Area 6 (nos. 241-253)



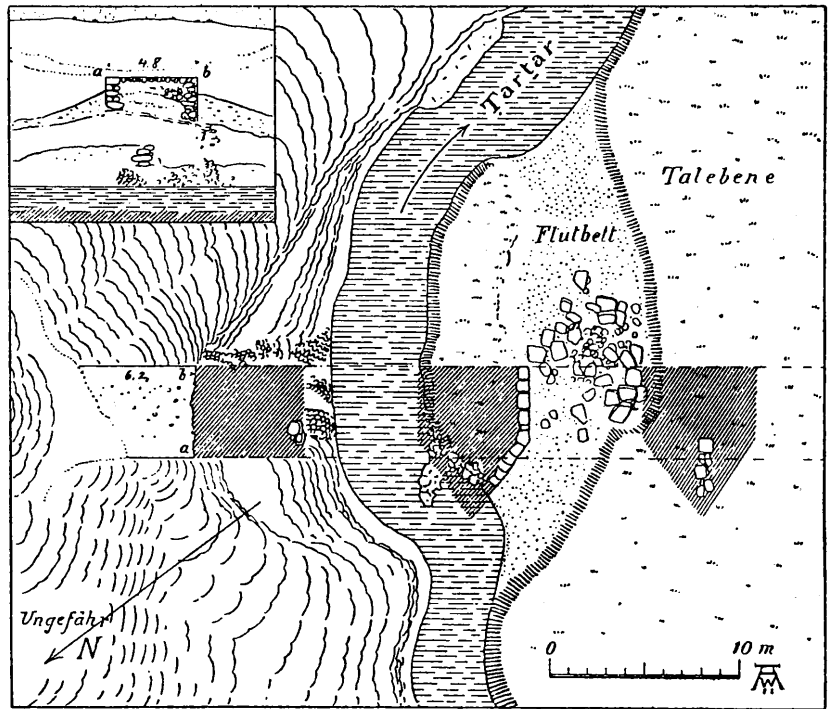
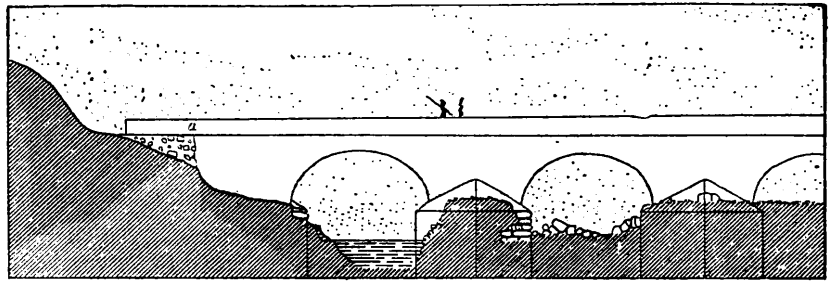
15. Jazirah site survey, Area 7 (nos. 254-258)



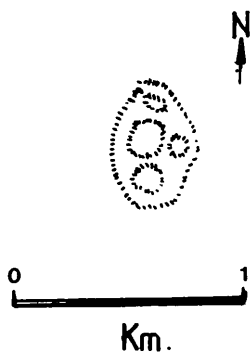
Jazirah site survey, Area 8 (nos. 259-268)



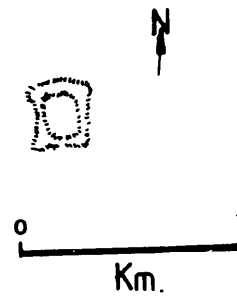
(a) no.2



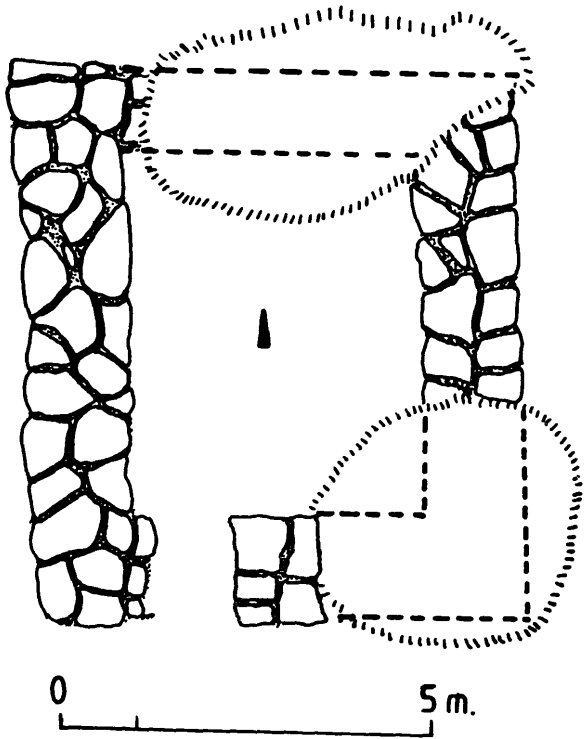
(b) no.2



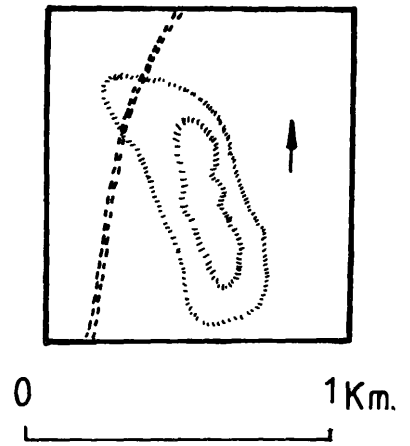
(c) no.3



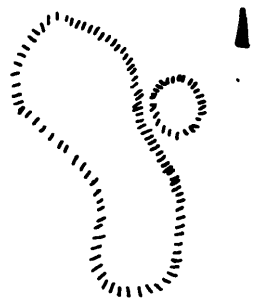
(d) no.4



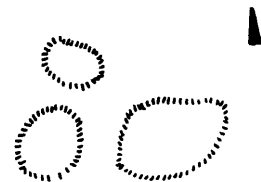
(a) no.9



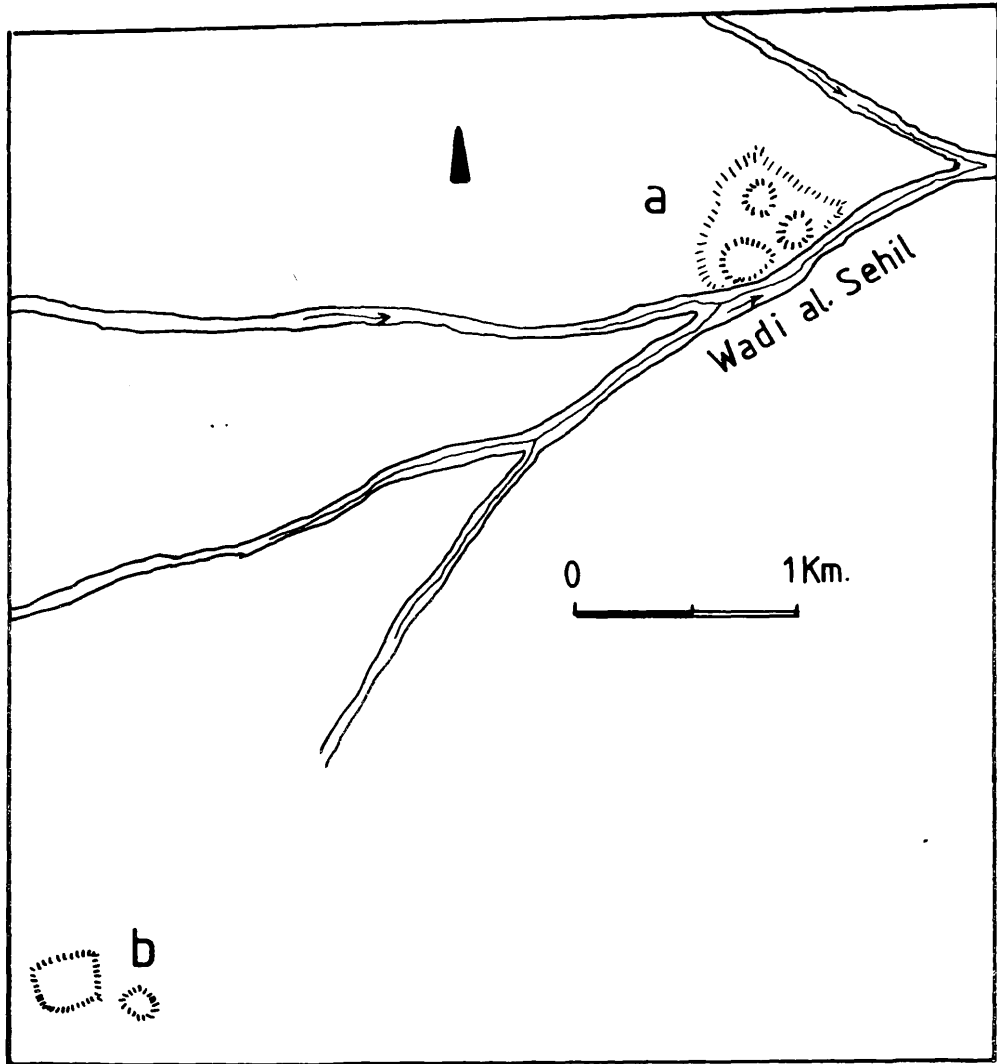
(b) no. 12



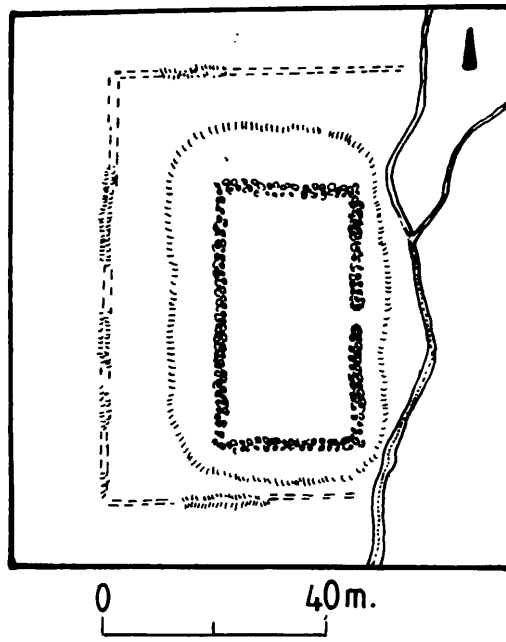
(c) no. 13



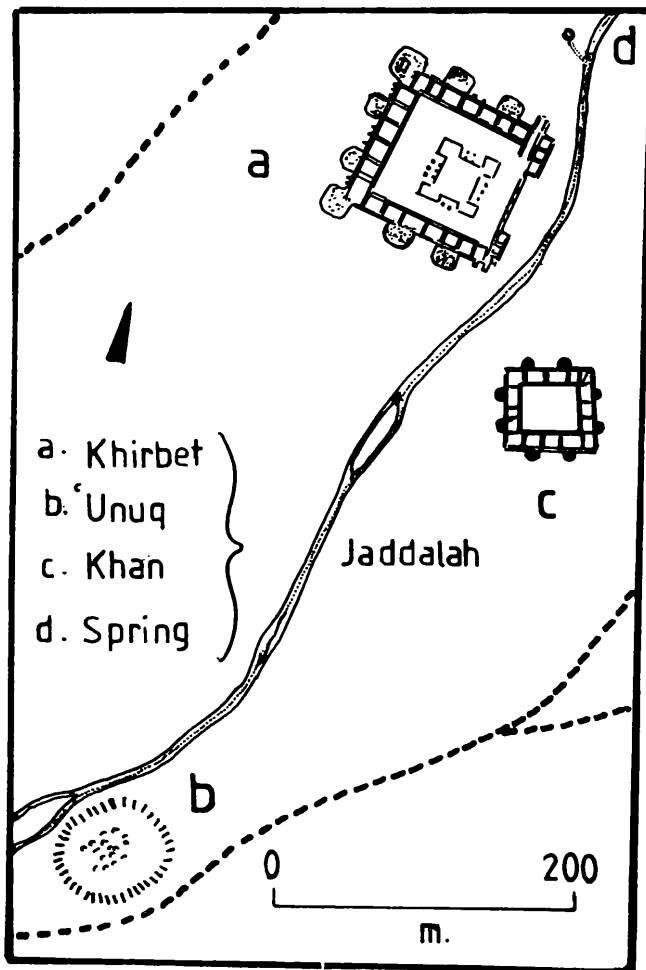
(d) no.14



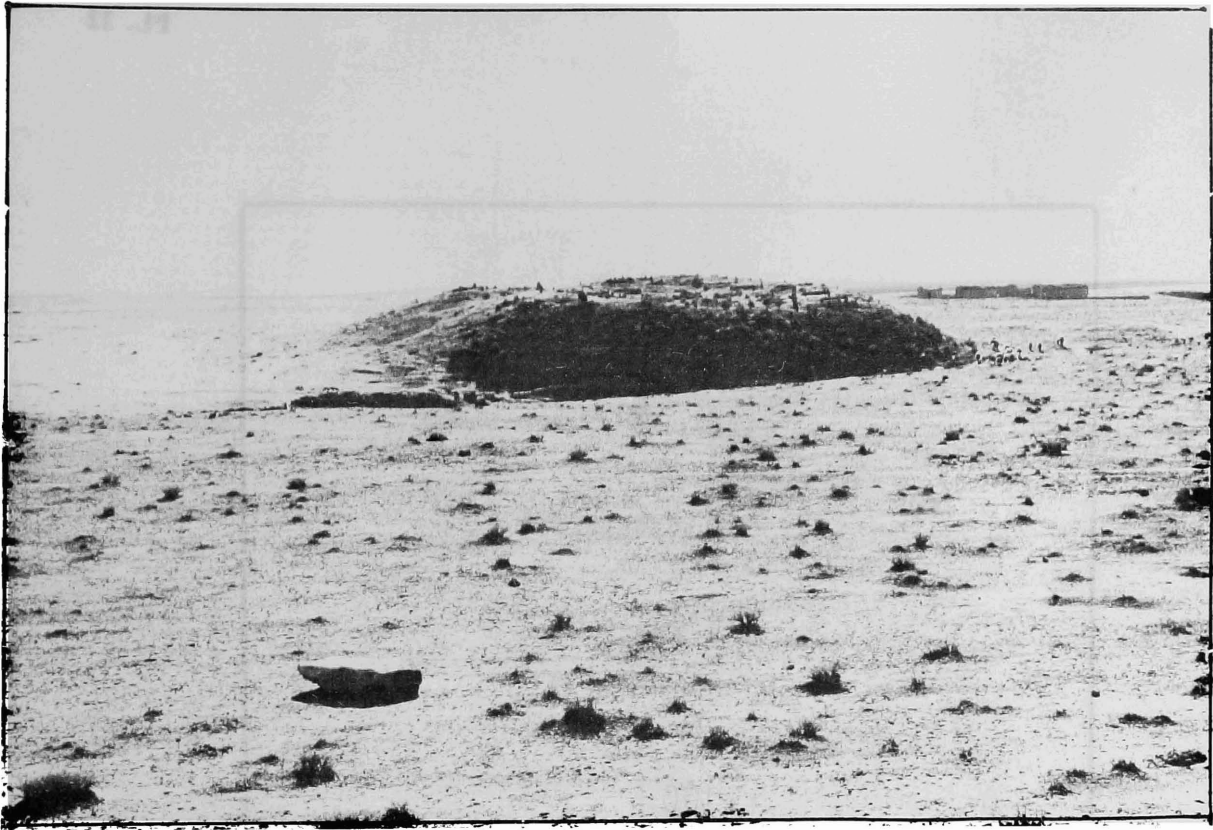
Site plan: no.7



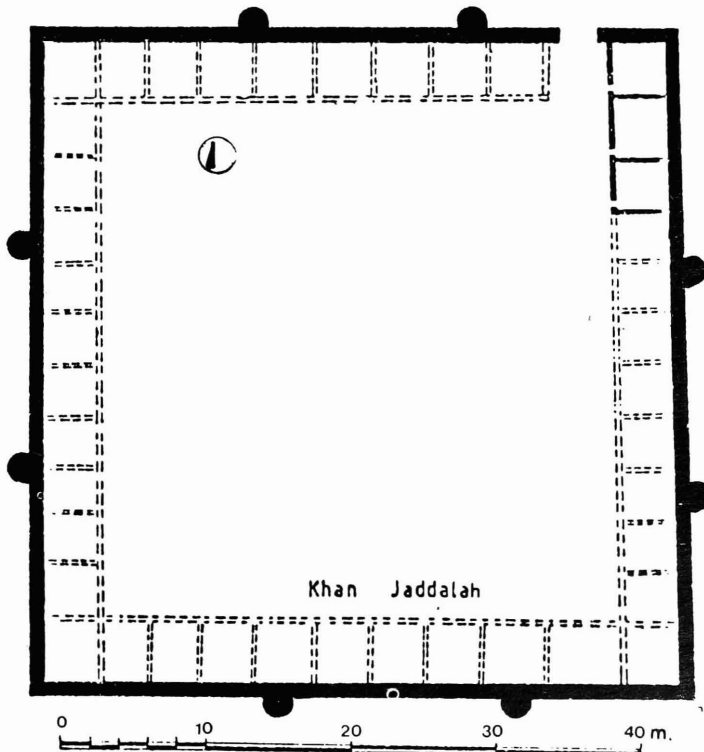
(a) no.31



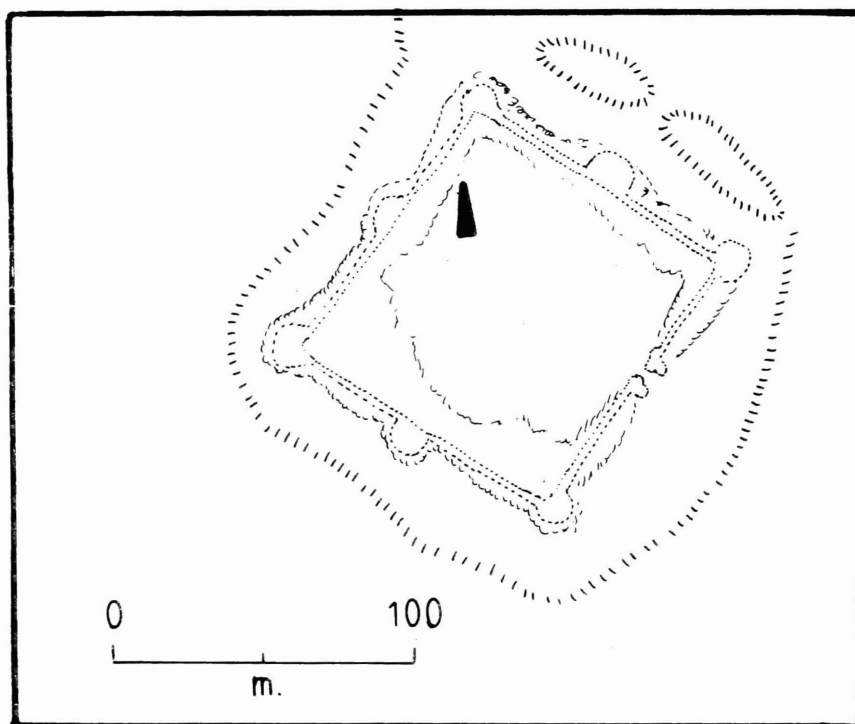
(b) no.69



(a) Site no.69 (b)



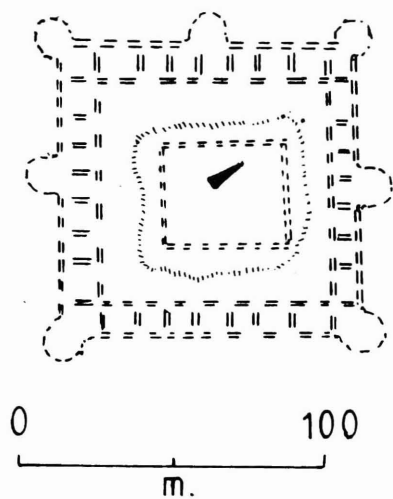
(b) Site plan,
no. 69 (c).



(a) Site plan, no. 71



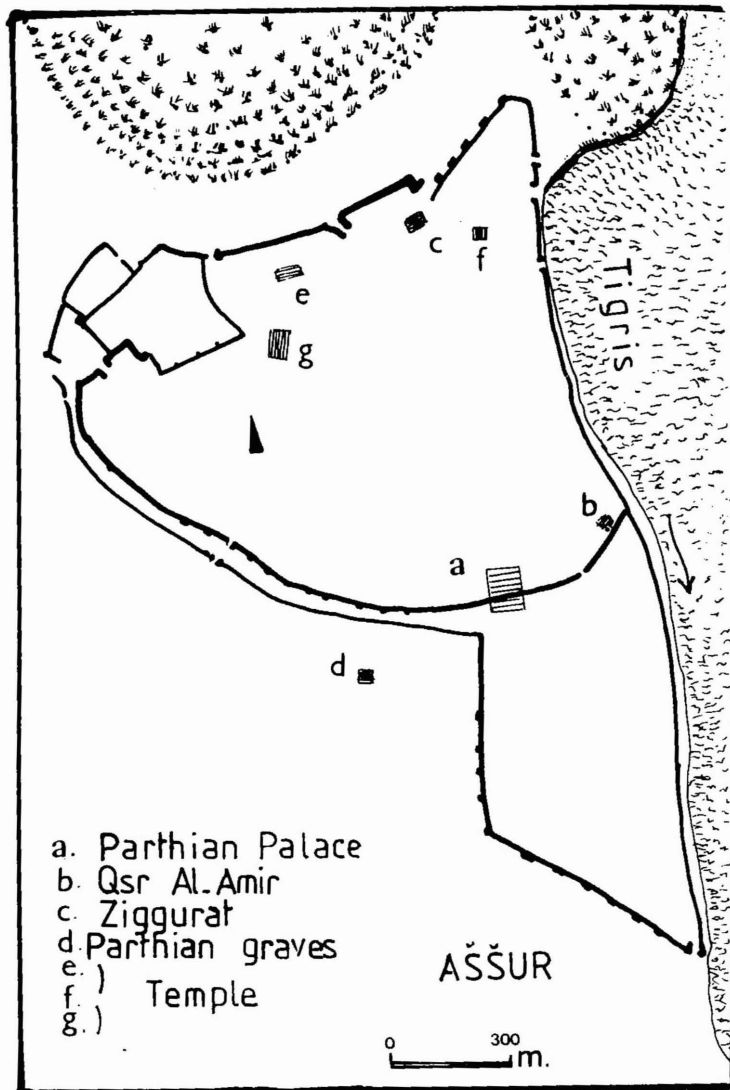
(b) Site no. 71



(a) Site plan, no. 74 (b)



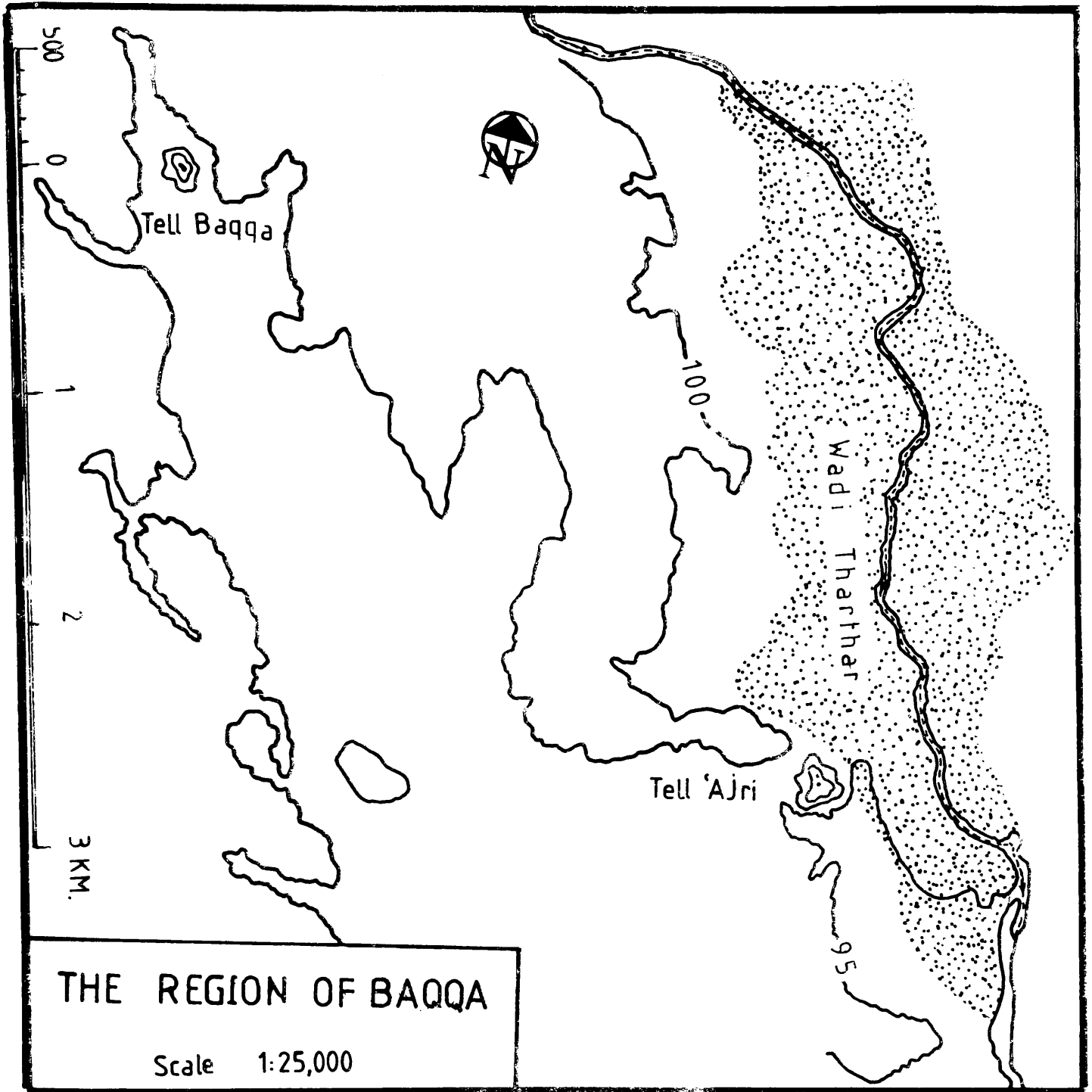
(b) Site no 74 (b)



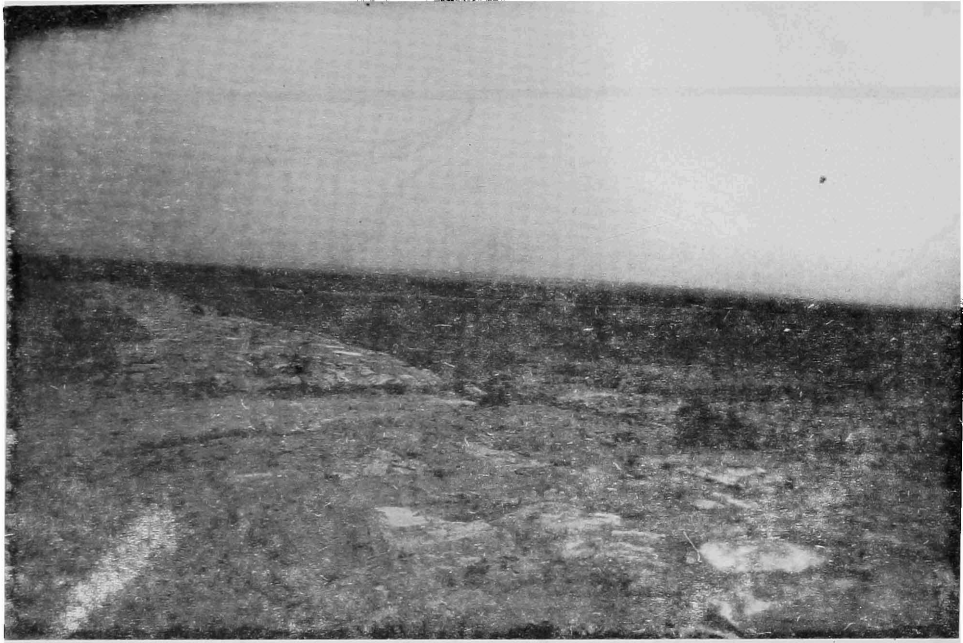
(a) Site plan, no.78 (a)



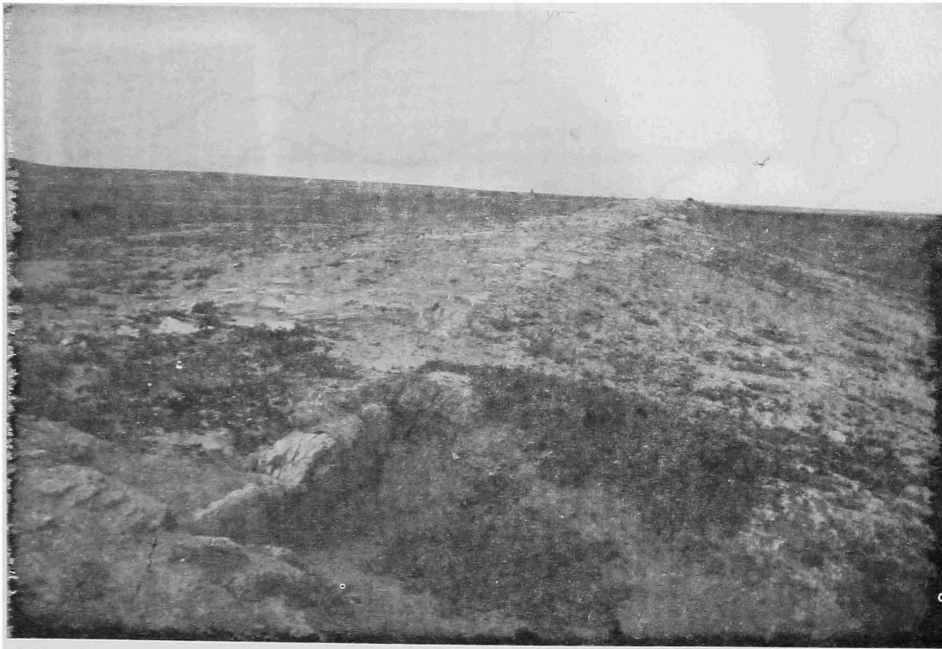
(b) Site no. 84



Topographical map, site no. 84



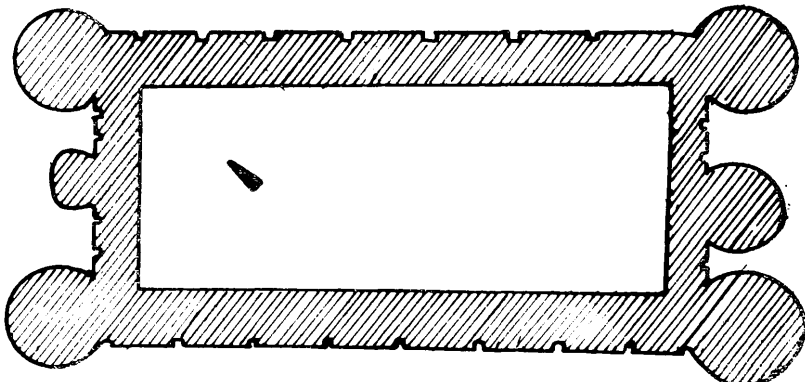
(a) Site no. 84, wall and entrance



(b) Site no. 84, wall



(a) Site no. 89



(b) Tell Bandex



(c) Site no. 89, arrowslit



(a) Site no. 89, fort



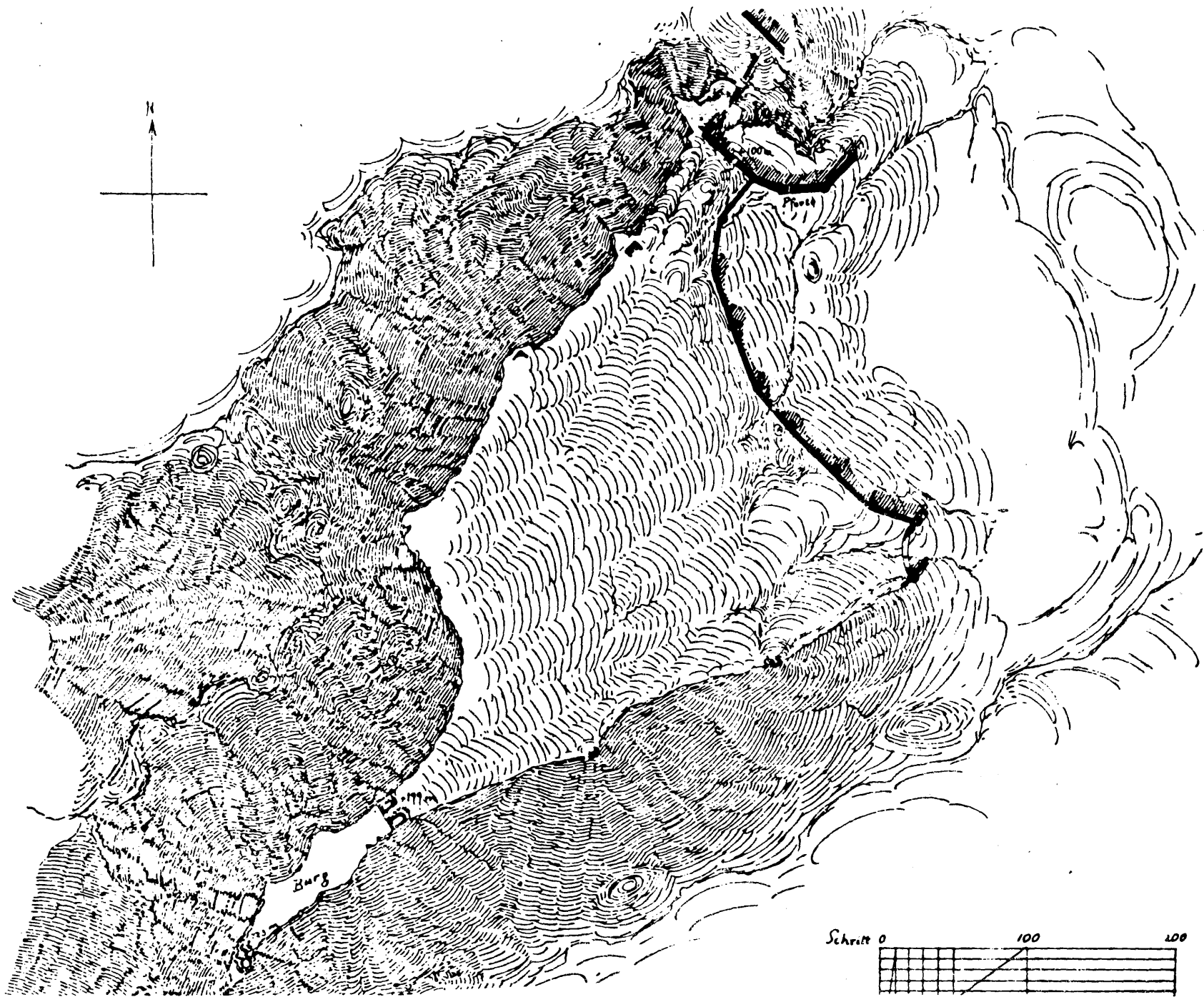
(b) Site no. 89, ditch.



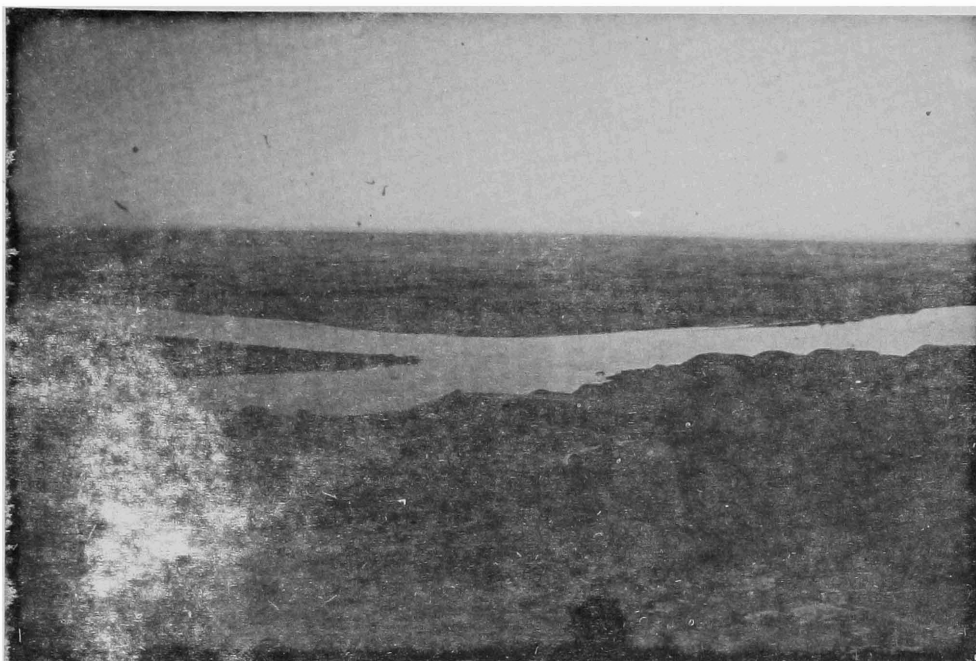
(a) Site no. 89, south section



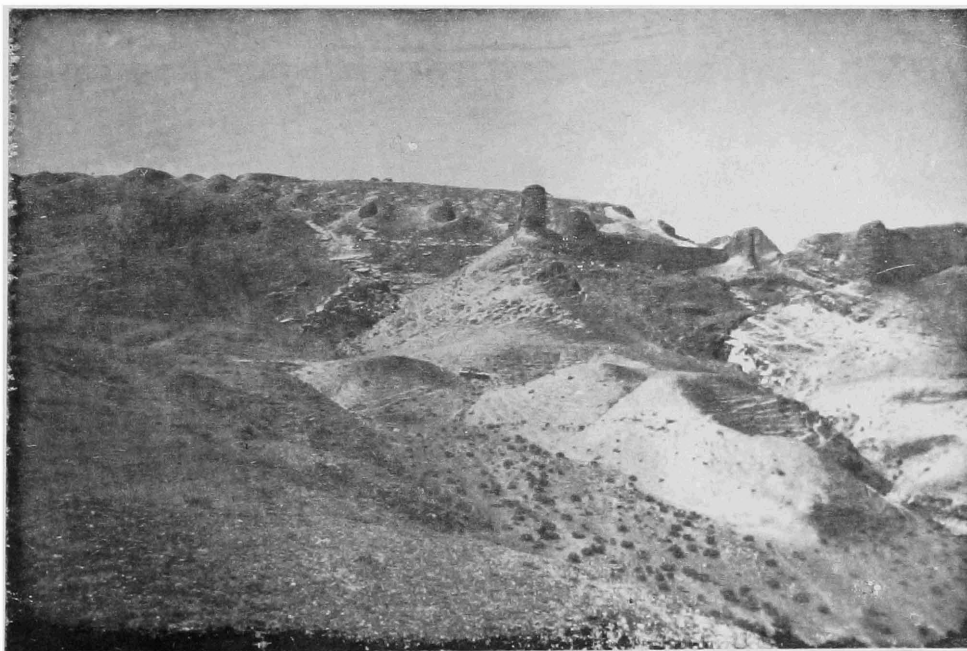
(b) Site no. 89, east section. with arrowslits.



30. Site plan. no. 90.



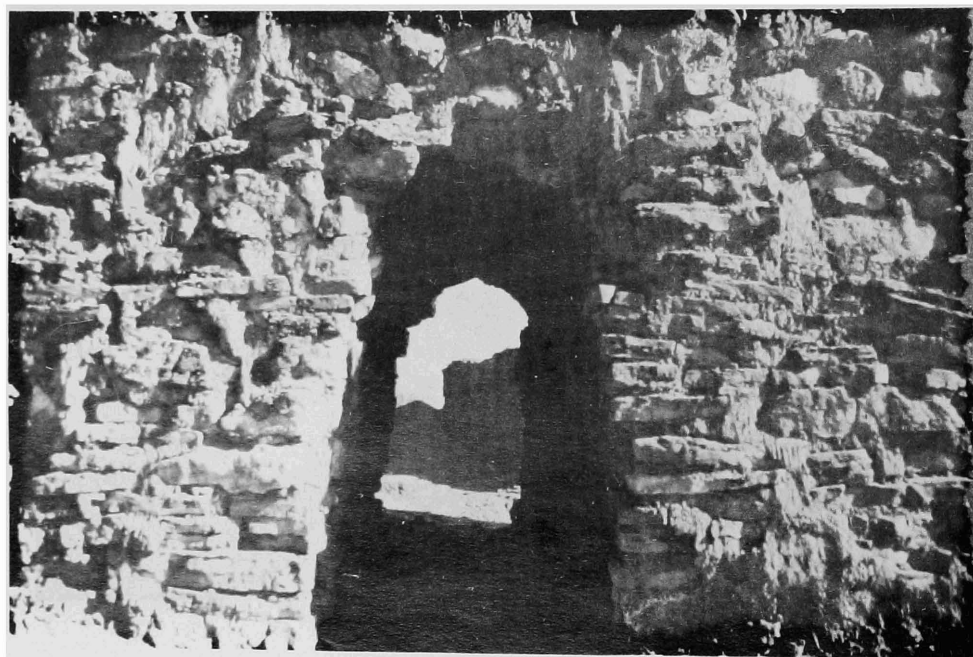
(a) Site no. 90, above Tigris



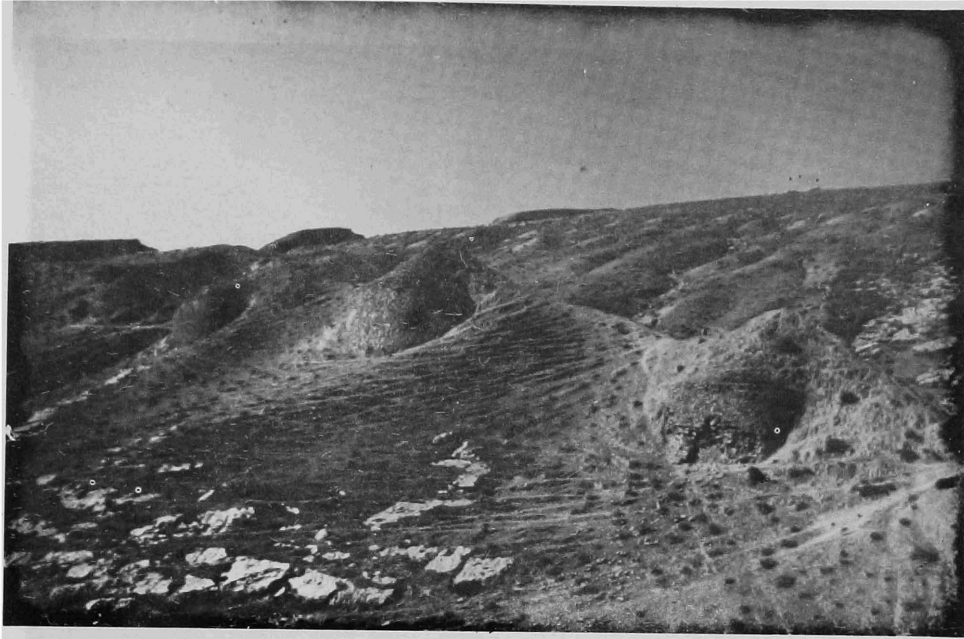
(b) Site no. 90, east side



(a) Site no. 90, east side with gate



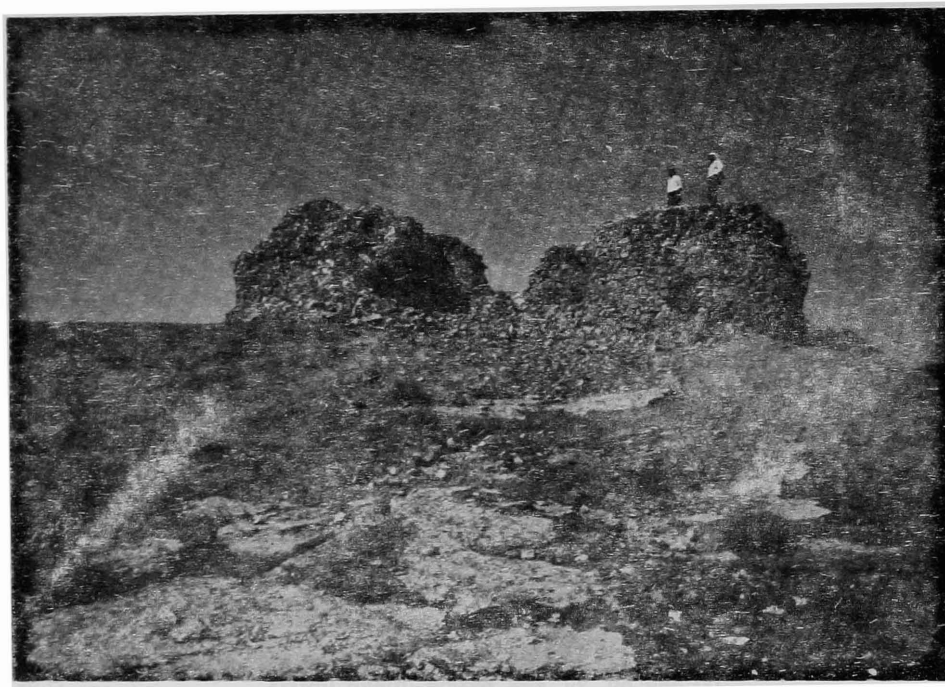
(b) Site no. 90, gate in the east section.



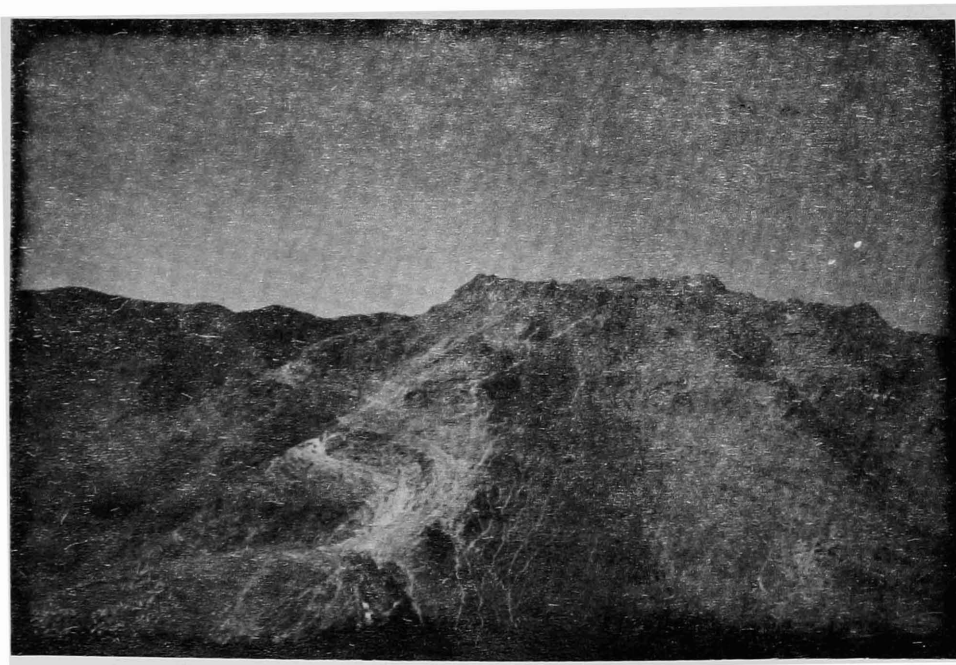
(a) Site no. 90, ~~east~~ section, round towers



(b) Site no. 90, gateways in the west section.

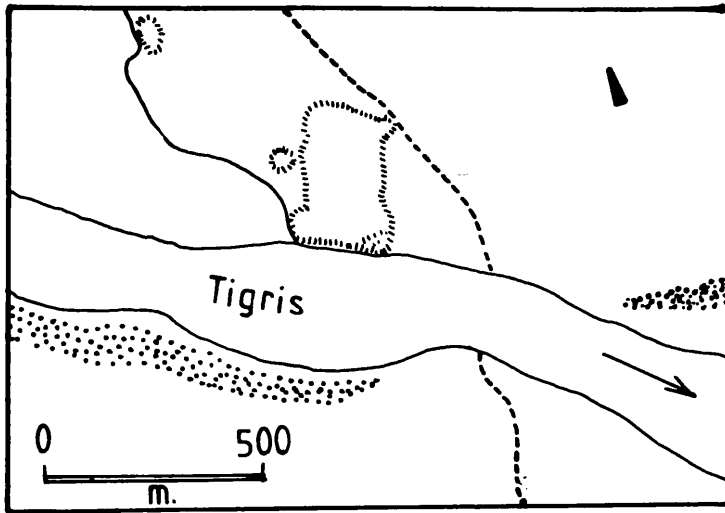


(a) Site no. 90. gateway in the centre

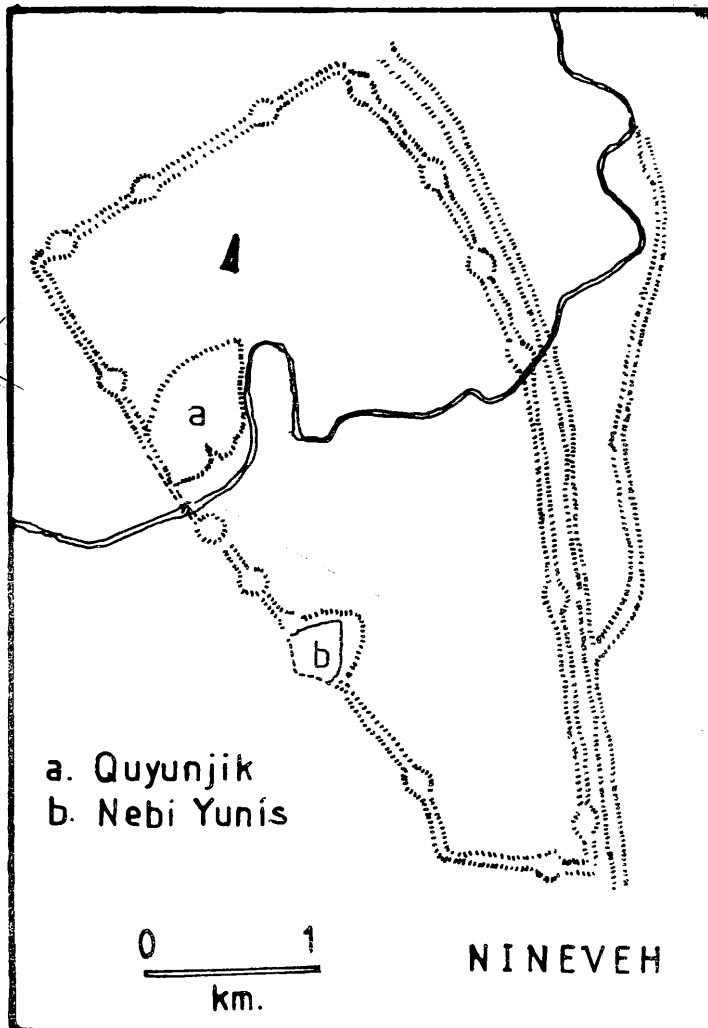


(b) Site no. 90, west section.

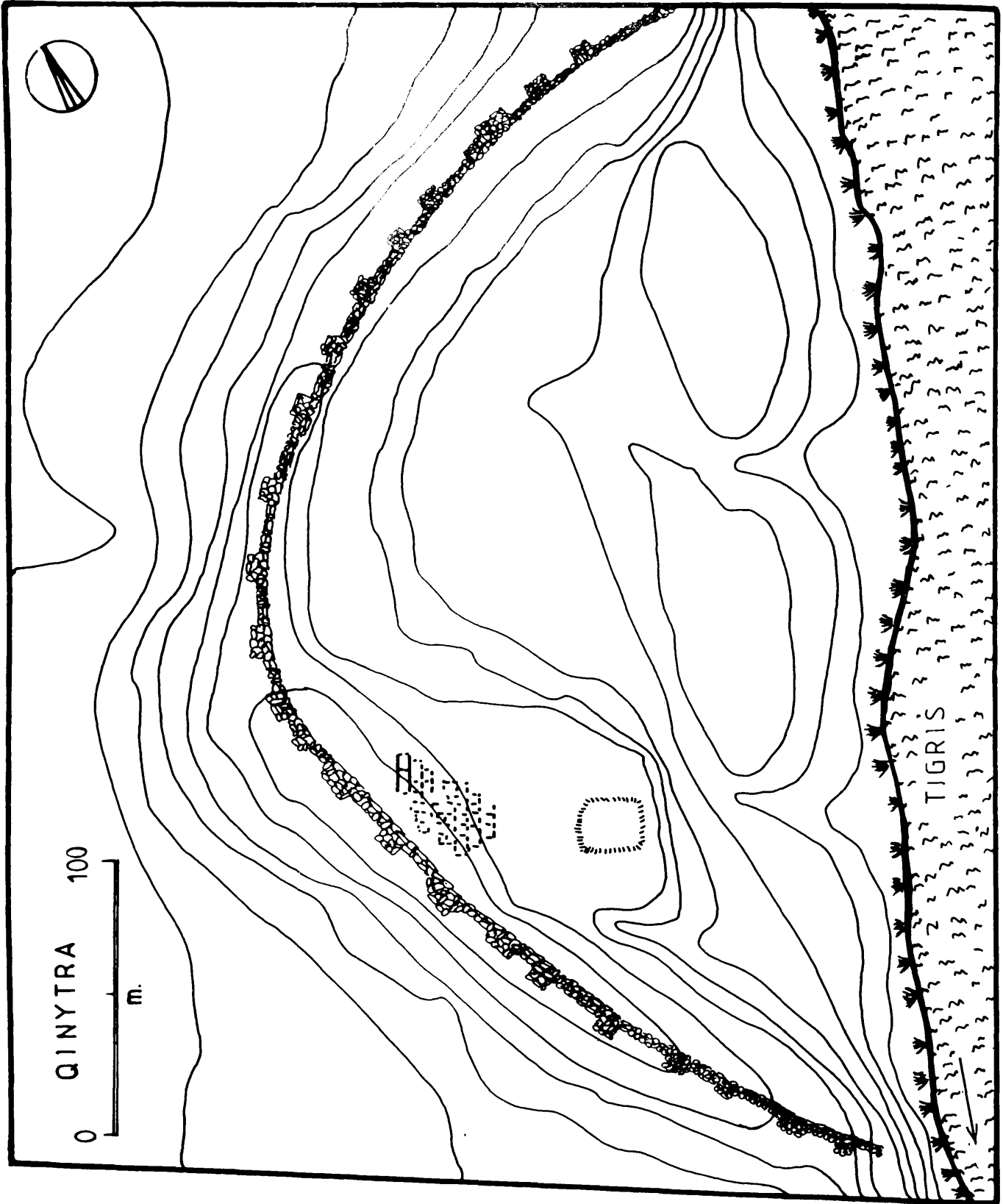
PL. 35



(a) no. 93



(b) no. 94

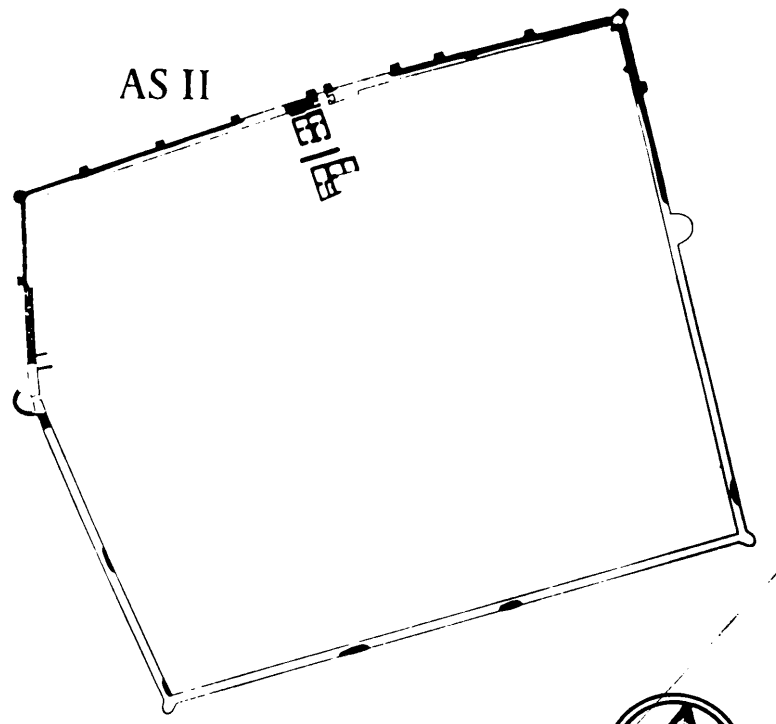
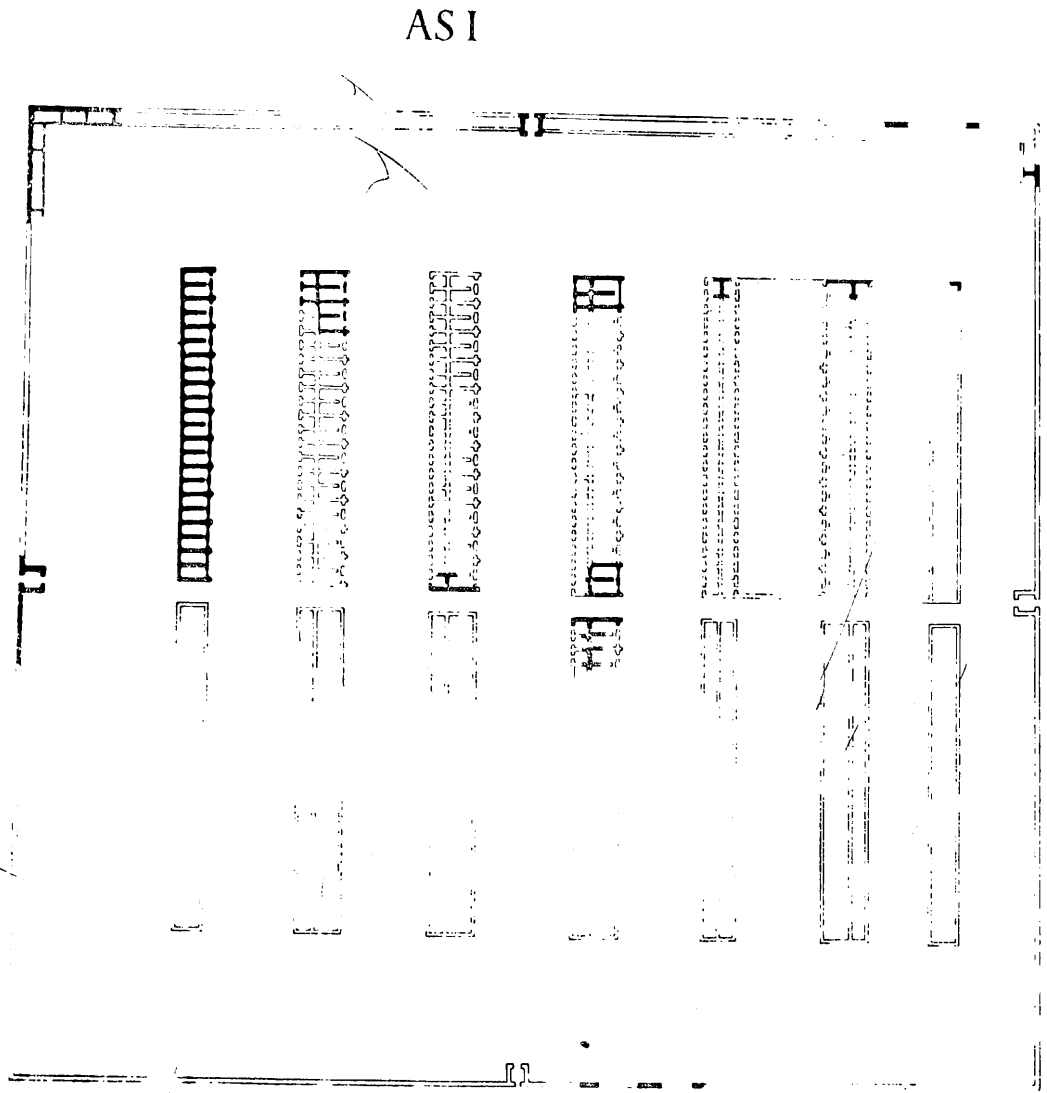


Site plan, no. 95.



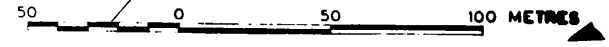
(a) Site no. 100



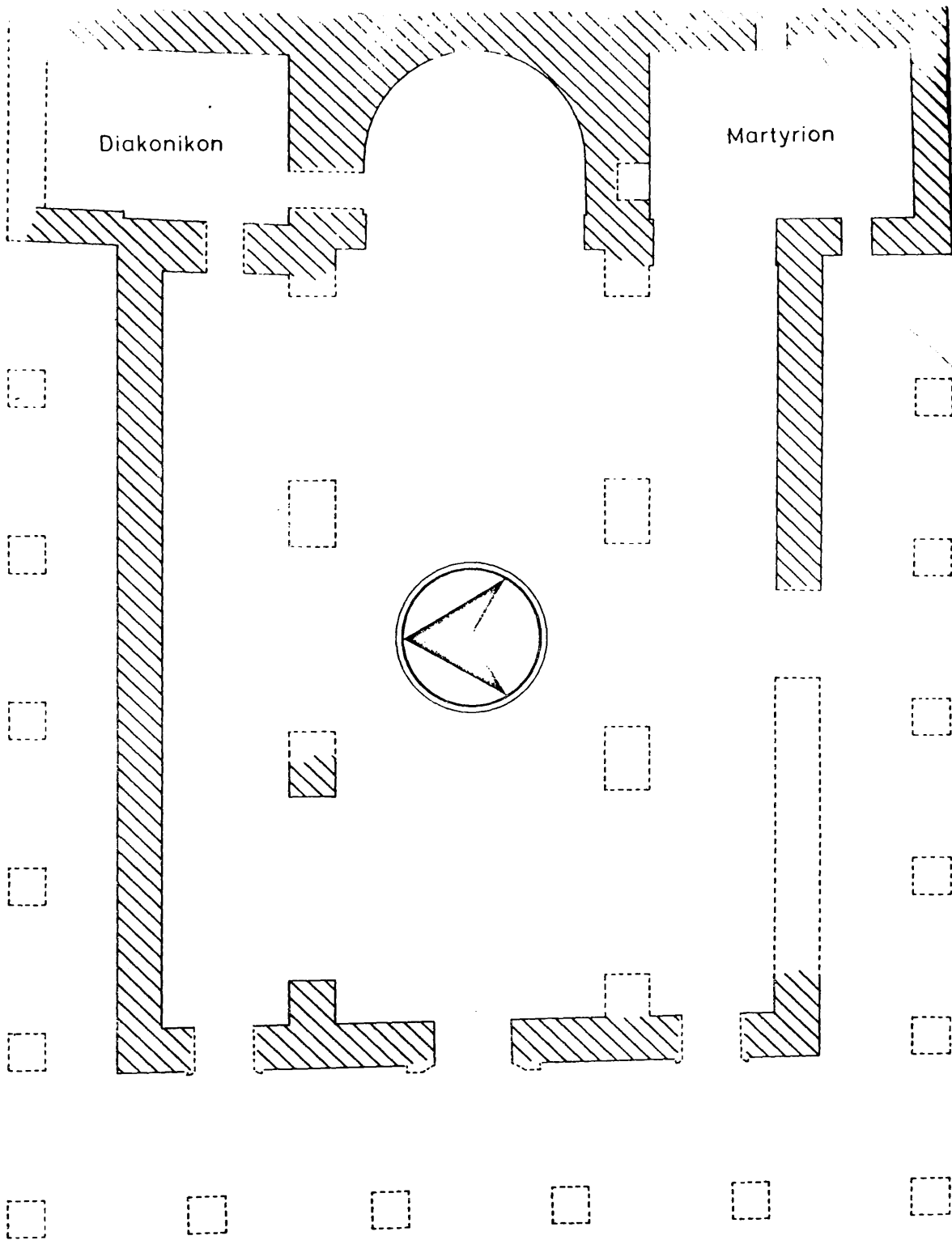


AIN SINU ZAGURAE

— WALLS EXCAVATED
 - - - WALLS PLOTTED FROM SUPERFICIAL EVIDENCE



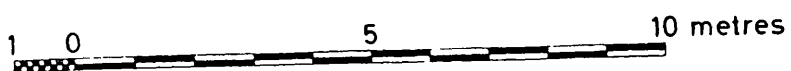
Site plan, no. 208.

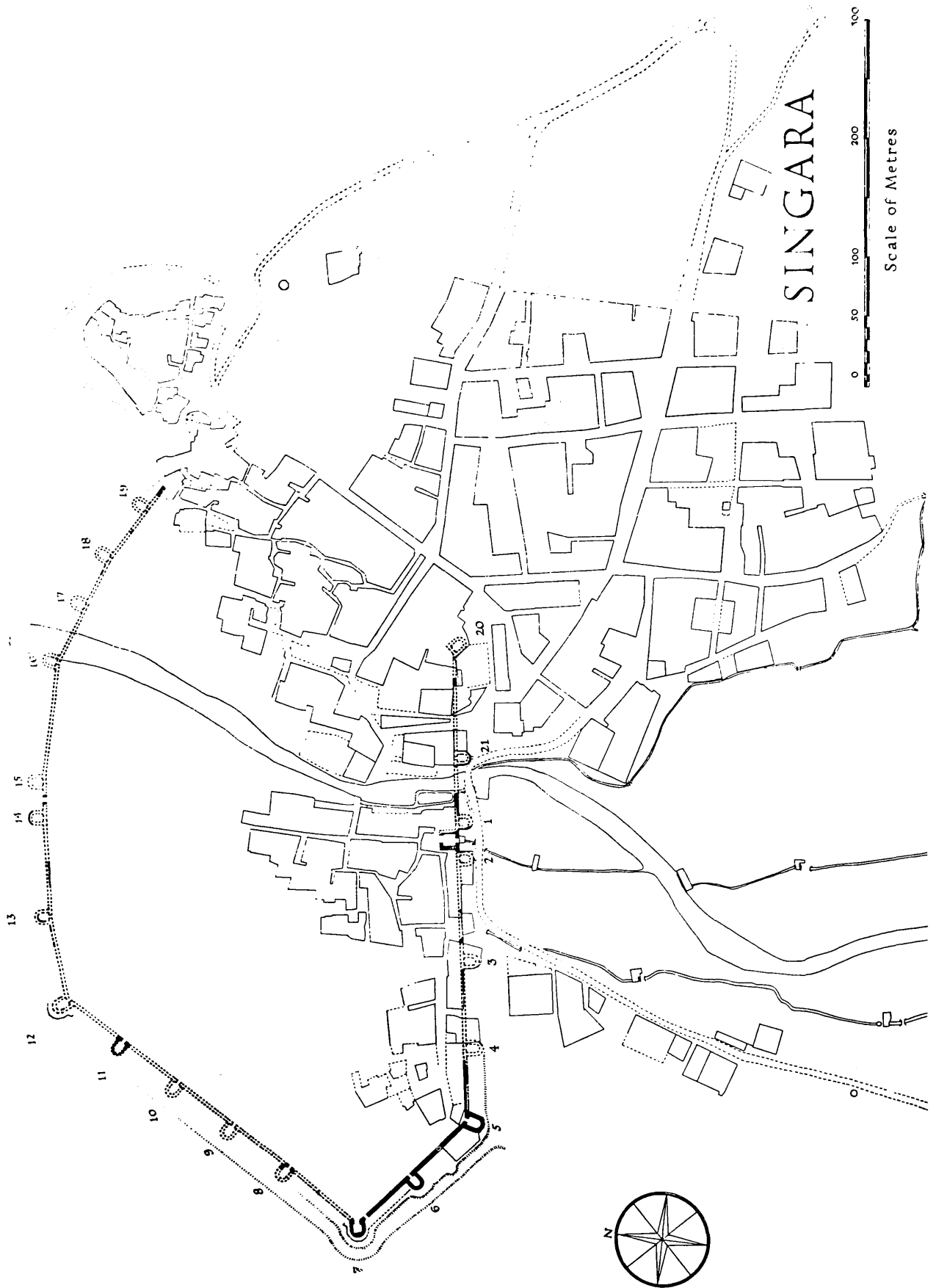


QASR SERIJ

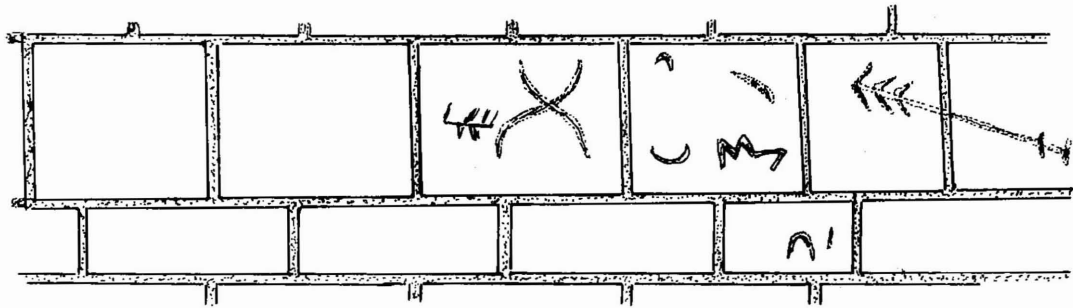
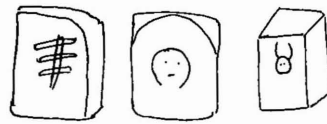
Plan at 1.50 metres above estimated floor level

Hatching indicates masonry surviving above present ground level





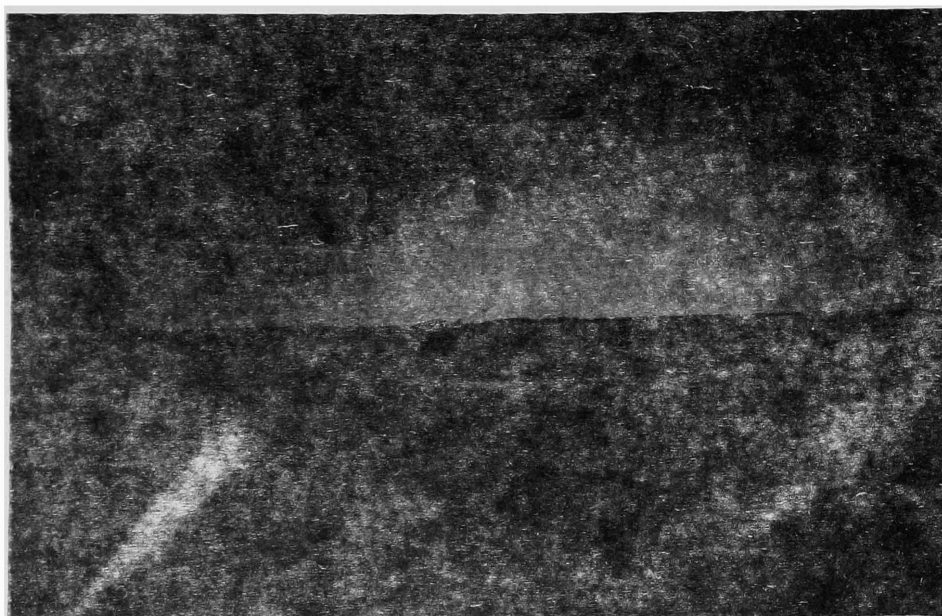
Site plan, no. 229.



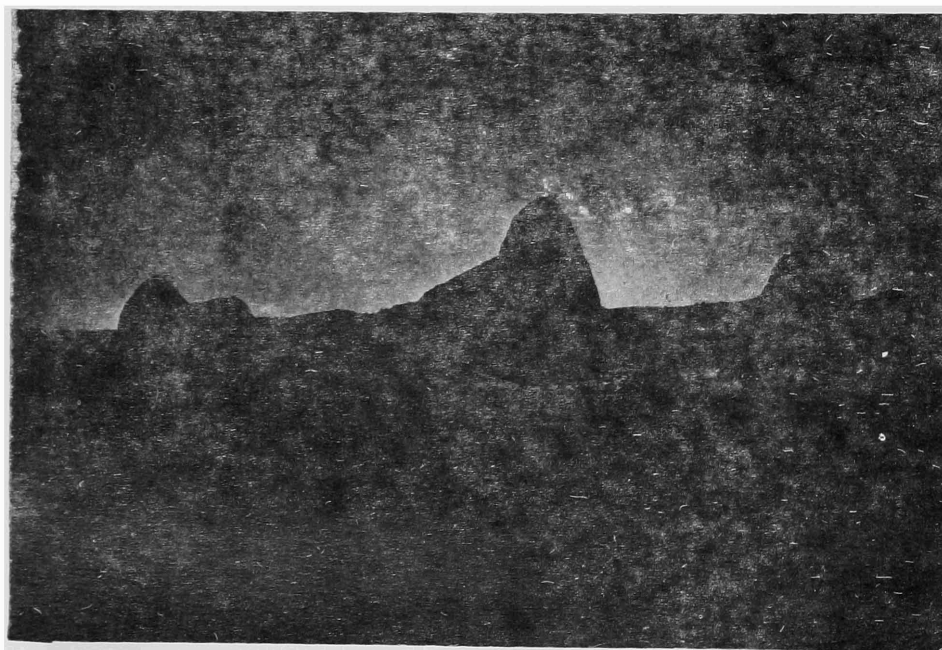
(a) Site no. 252, carved signs



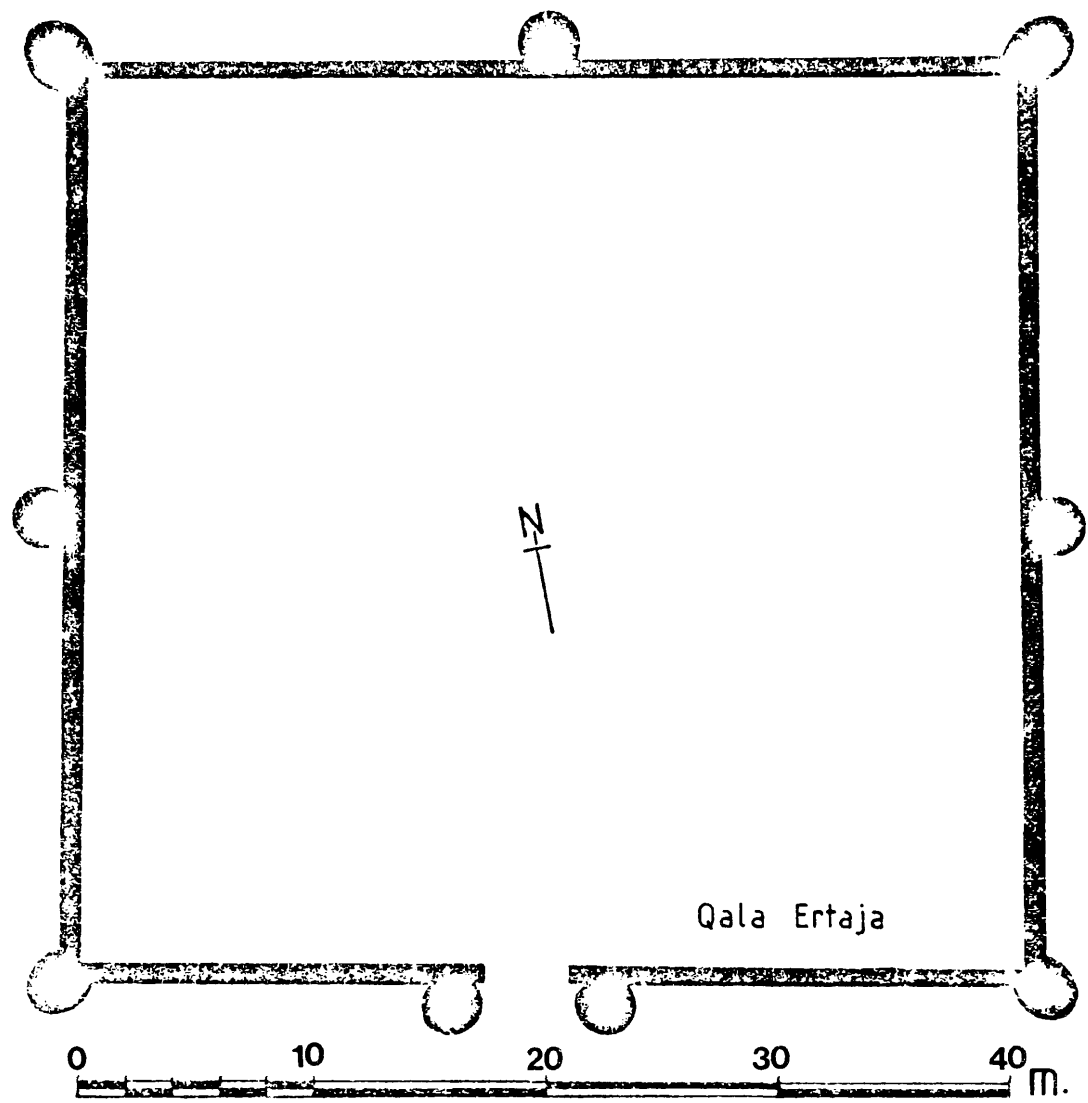
(b) Site no. 254, excavation.



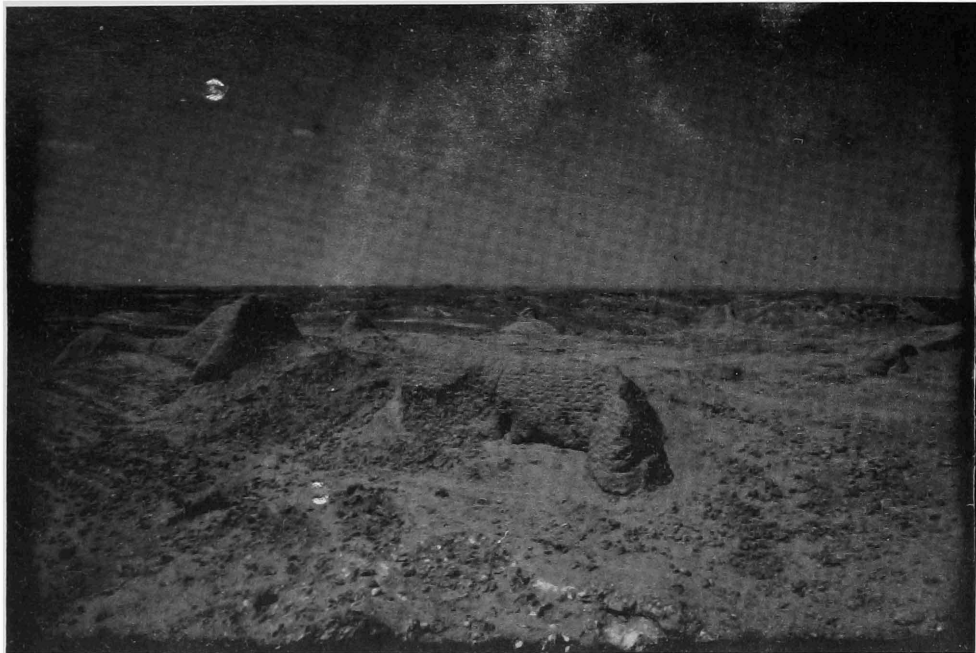
(a) Site no. 227 (a) and (b)



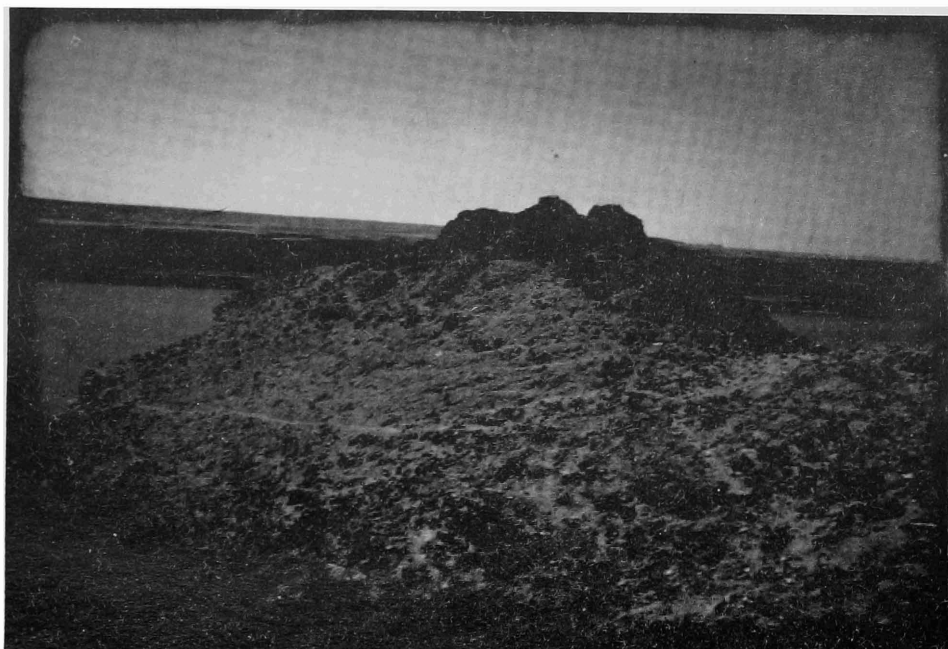
(b) Site no. 227 (a)



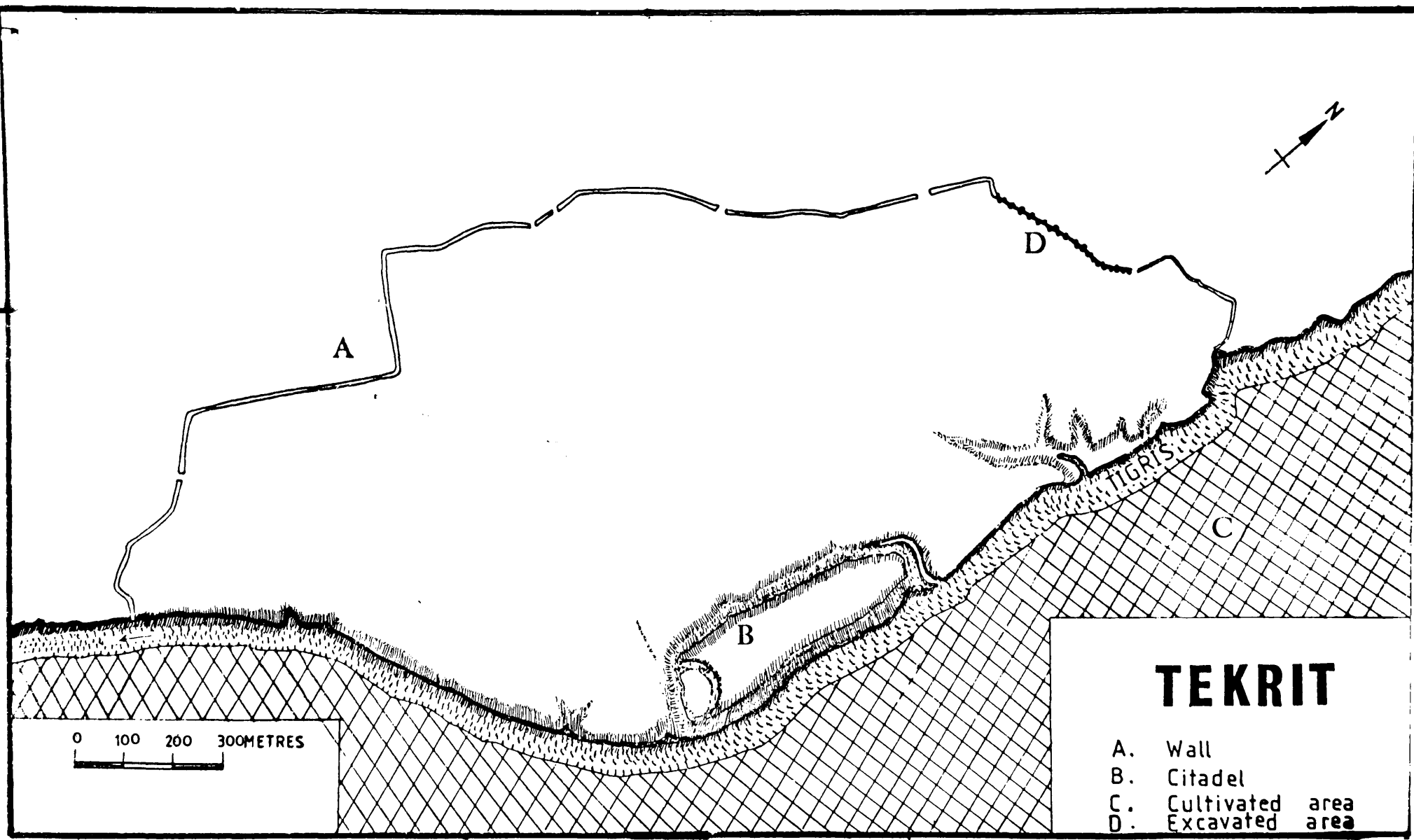
Site plan, no. 257 (a).



(a) Site no. 257 (a).



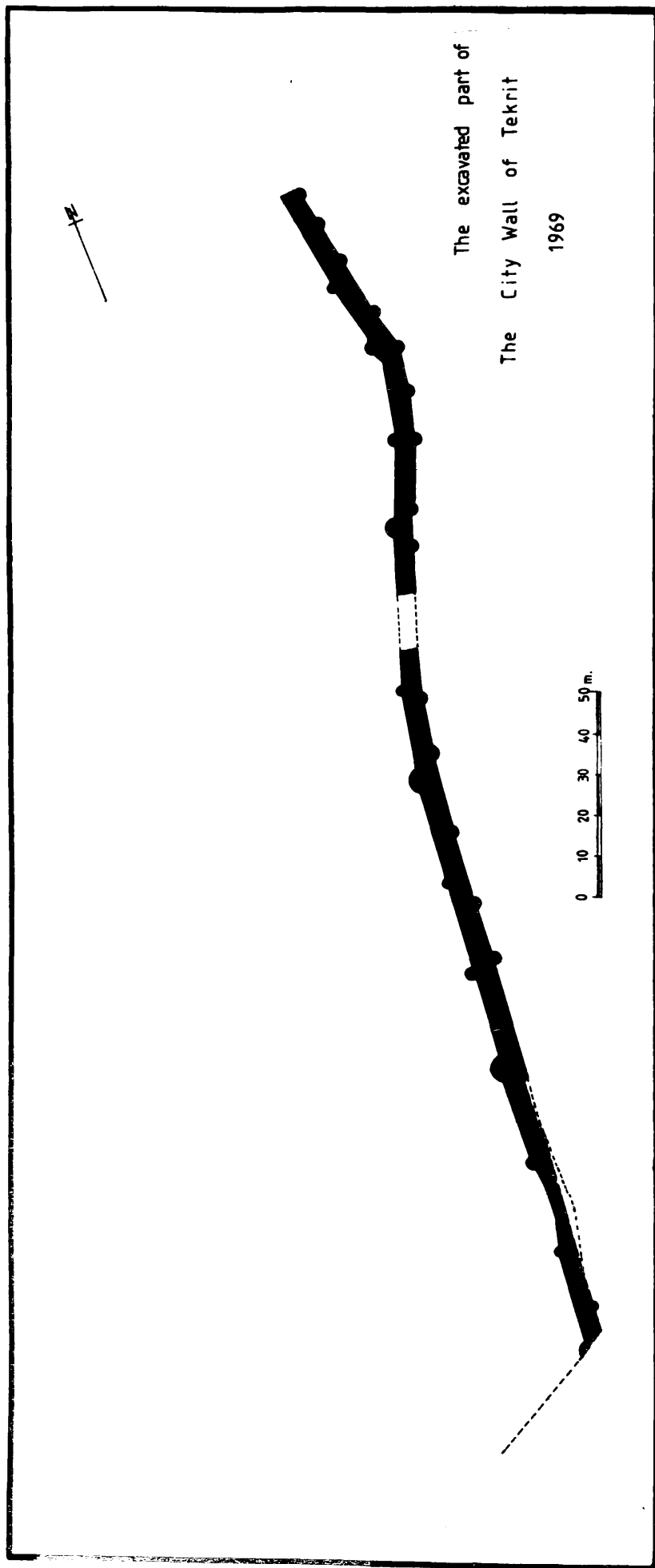
(b) Site no. 257 (b).



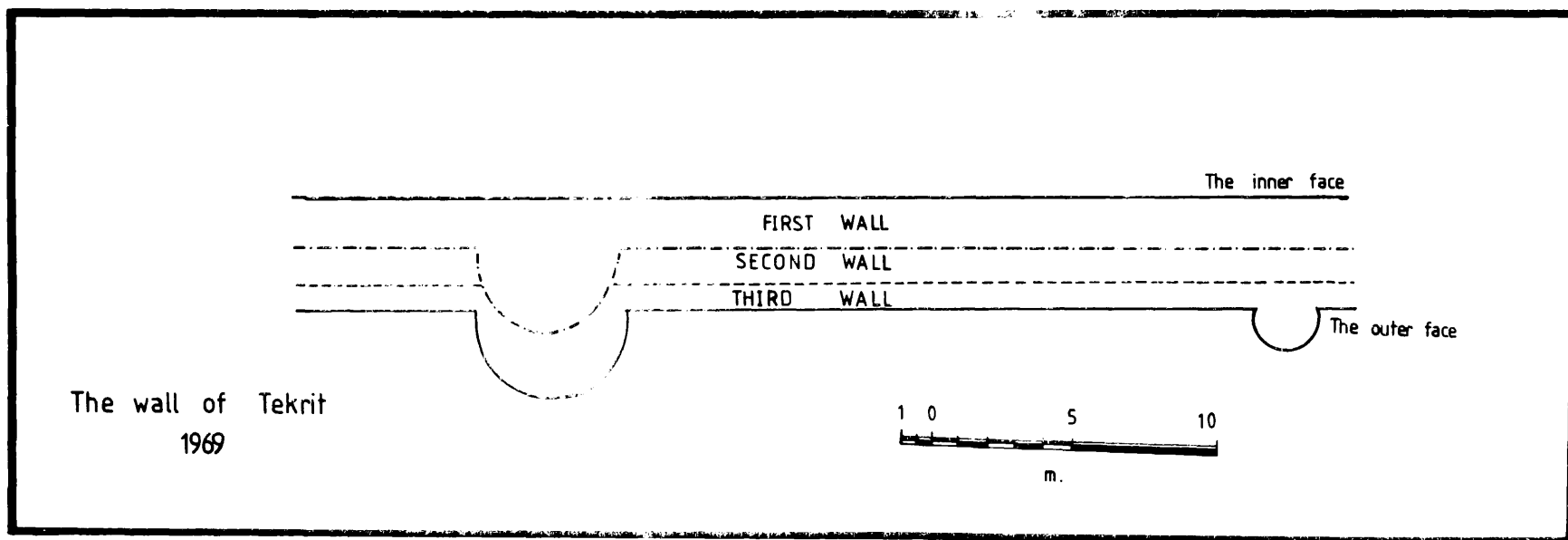
TEKRIT

- A. Wall
- B. Citadel
- C. Cultivated area
- D. Excavated area

Site plan, no. 259.



Site no. 299, plan of excavated part of city wall.



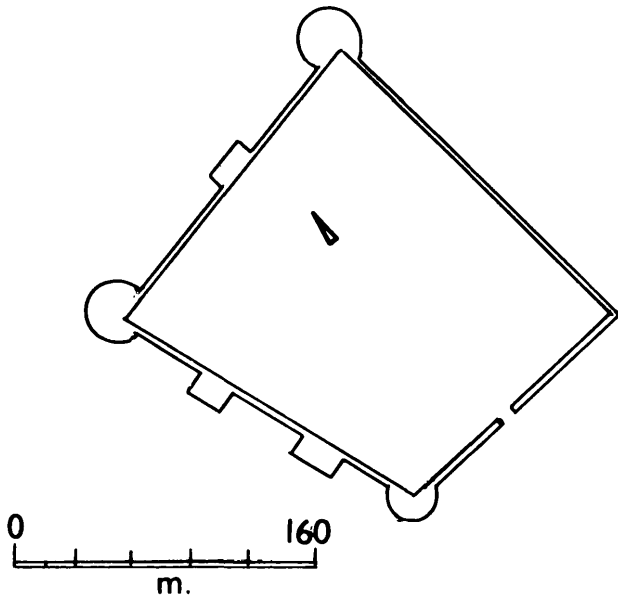
Site no. 259, plan of excavated part of city wall 3 faces.



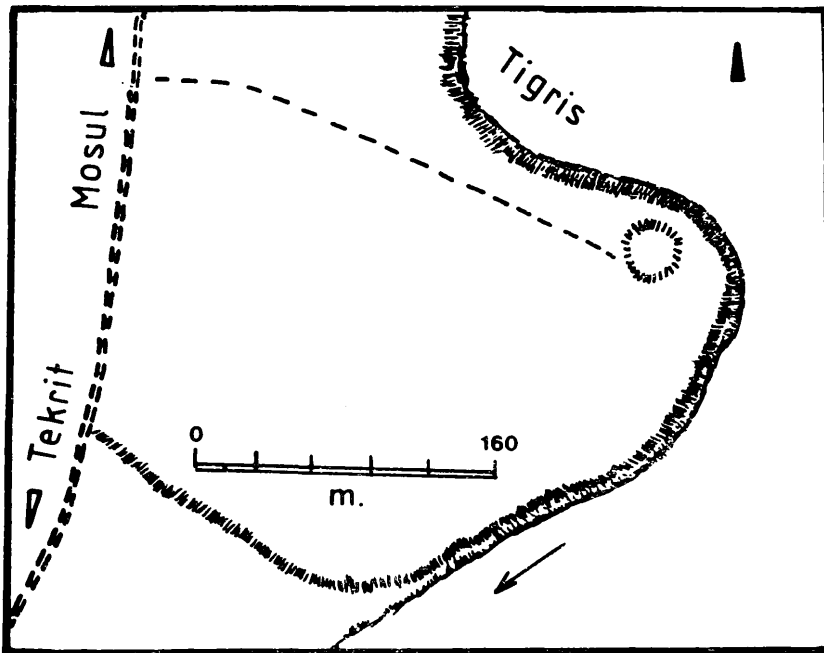
(a) Site no. 259, city wall



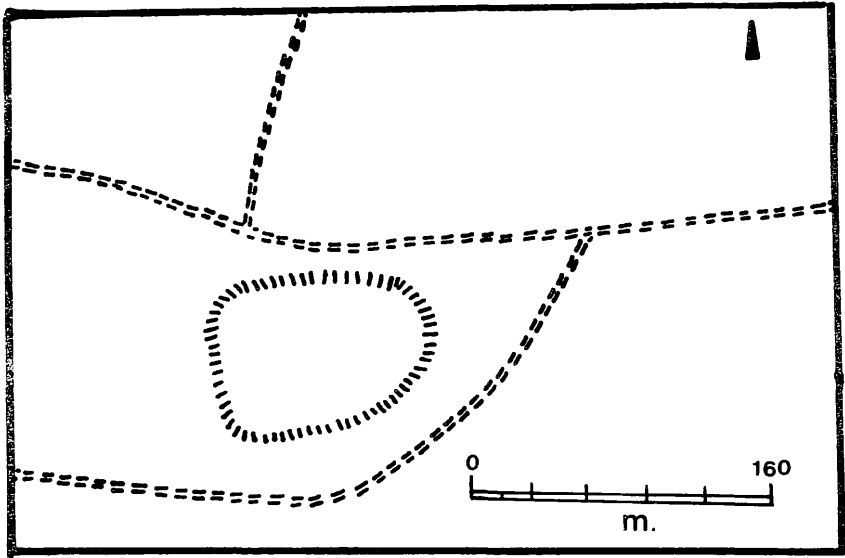
(b) Site no. 259. 3 faces of city wall.



(a) no. 260



(b) no. 261.



Site plan, no. 263.

Table of sites and their periods of occupation (nos. 1-134).

(x = occupied).
(? = occupied ?).

Site no.	Pre-Late Assyrian	Late Assyrian	Neo-Babylonian	Achaemenian	Hellenistic	Parthian/Roman	Sasanian	Islamic	Site no.	Pre-Late Assyrian	Late Assyrian	Neo-Babylonian	Achaemenian	Hellenistic	Parthian/Roman	Sasanian	Islamic	Site no.	Pre-Late Assyrian	Late Assyrian	Neo-Babylonian	Achaemenian	Hellenistic	Parthian/Roman	Sasanian	Islamic
1				x					46									91	x	x						
2				x					47	x	x							92								
3									48									93						x	x	
4									49									94	x	x		x	x			
5	x	x							50									94a	x	x		x				
6									51		x							95								
7	x	x		x	x		x		52		x							96	x	x						
8									53	x	x							97		x						
9									54	x								98							x	x
10		x							55									99							x	
11	x	x							56	x	x							100	x	x						
12	x								57									101		x					x	
13		x							58		x							102								
14									59		x							103								
15									60	x	x							104							x	
16	x	x							61		x							105	x							
17		x							62		x							106								
18									63		x							107								
19									64		x							108	x							
20	x	x							65	x	x							109								
21		x							66		x							110							x	
22	x								67		x							111								
23									68									112	x	x						
24									69									113	x	x						
25	x	x							70		x							114	x							
26	x	x							71									115	x							
27		x							72		x							116	x	x						
28									73									117								
29	x	x							74									118	x							
30		x							75		x							119								
31									76	x	x							120		x						
32		x							77									121	x	x						
33		x							78	x	x							122		x						
34									79	x	x							123	x							
35	x	x							80	x	x							124	x							
36	x	x							81	x	x							125								
37	x	x							82	x	x							126	x							
38	x	x							83	x	x							127	x							
39	x								84		x							128								
40		x							85		x							129								
41		x							86									130		x						
42	x	x							87									131	x	x						
43		x							88	x	x							132	x	x						
44		x							89									133	x							
45		x							90									134								

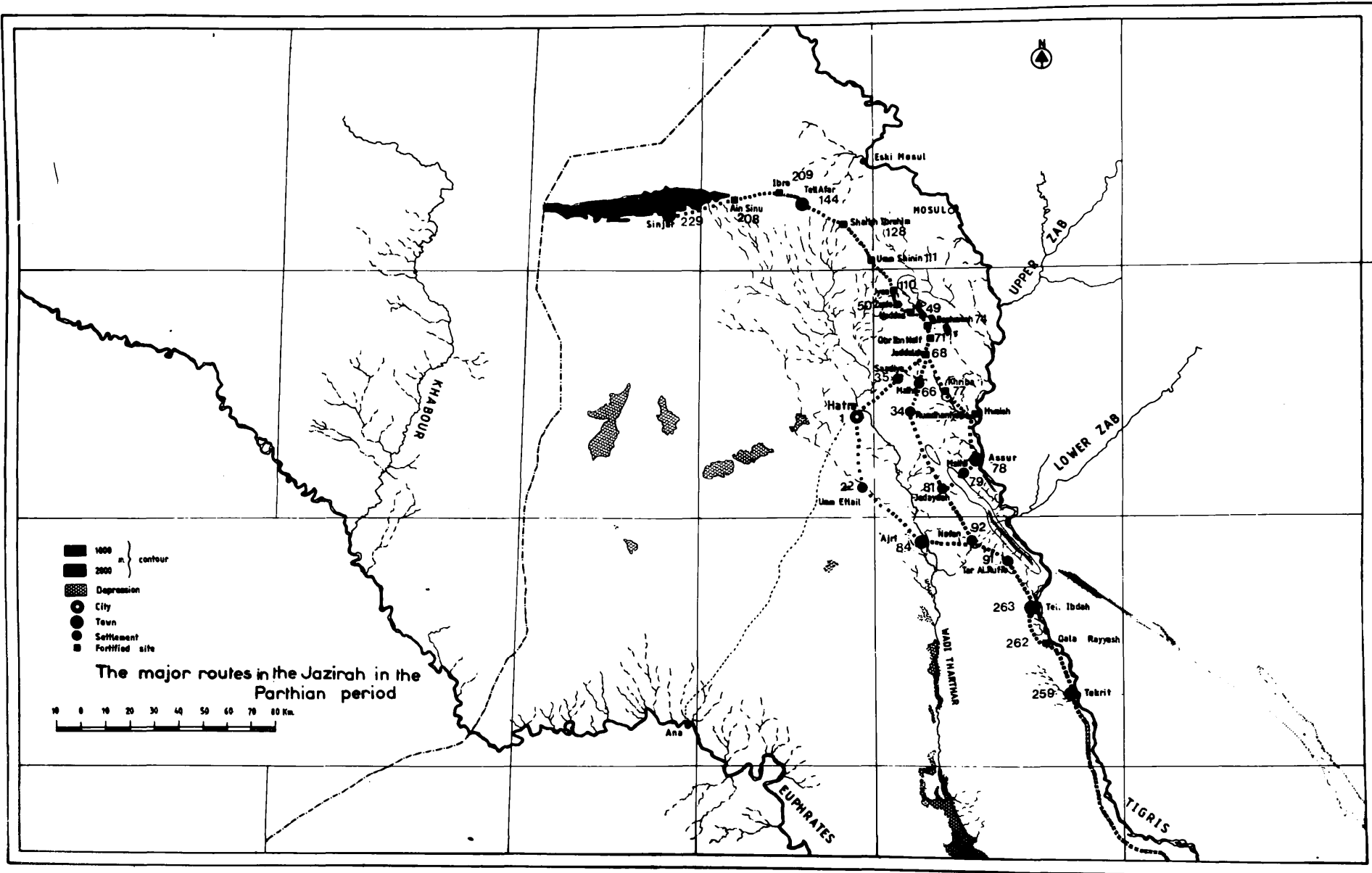
Table of sites and their periods of occupation (nos. 135-268).

(continued)

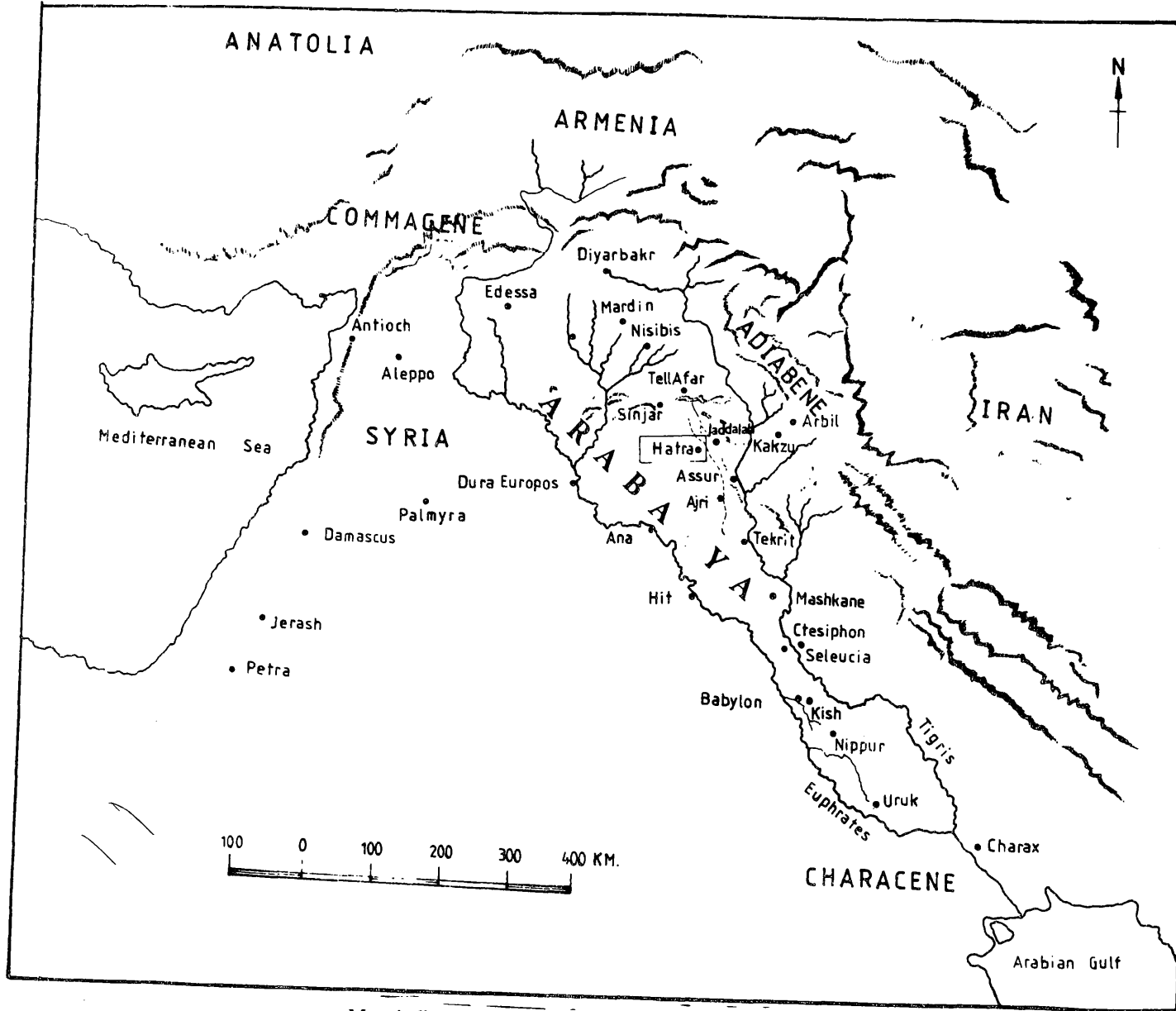
(x = occupied)

(? = occupied ?)

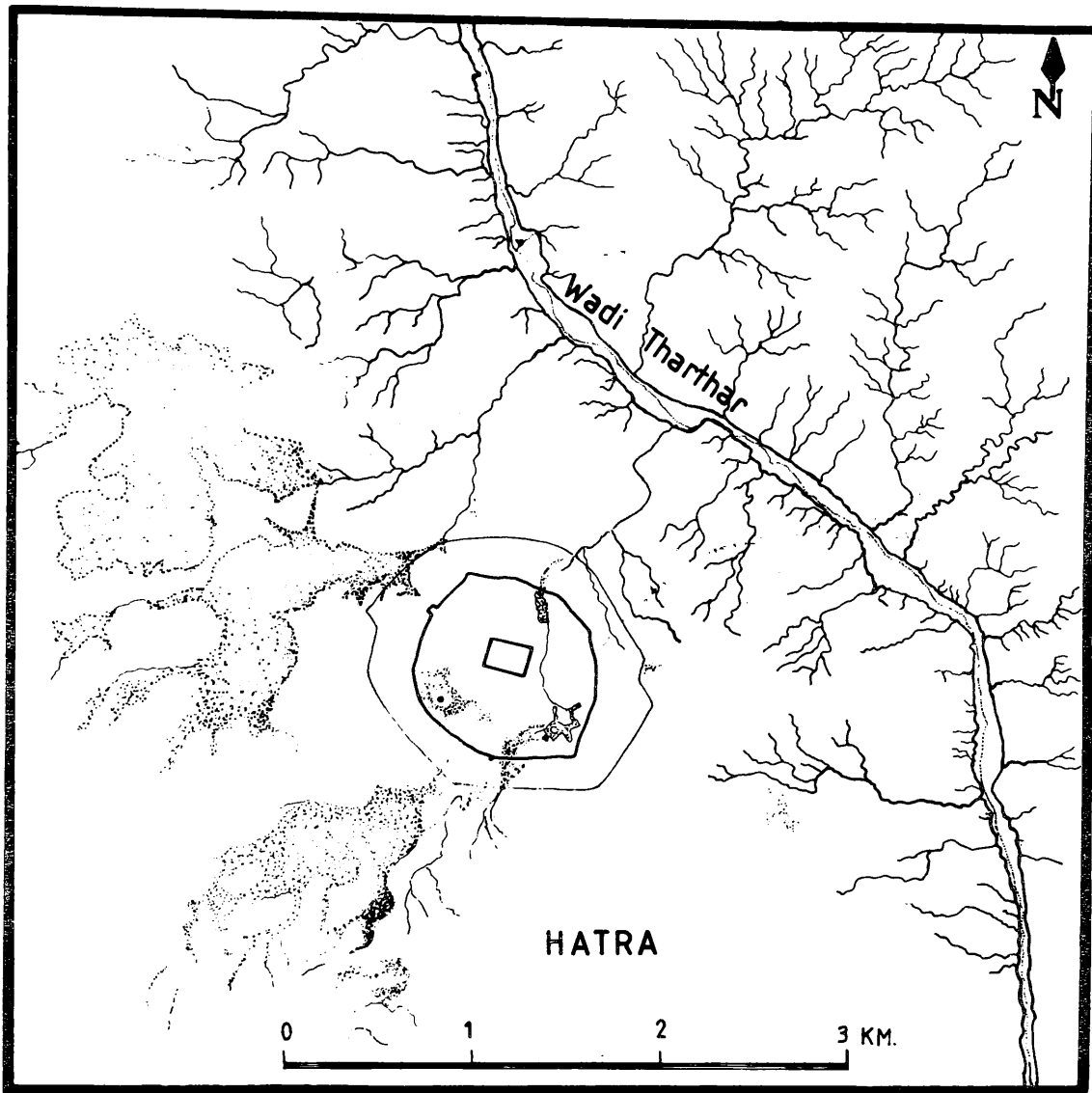
Site no.	Pre-Late Assyrian	Late Assyrian	Neo-Babylonian	Achaemenian	Hellenistic	Parthian/Roman	Sasanian	Islamic	Site no.	Pre-Late Assyrian	Late Assyrian	Neo-Babylonian	Achaemenian	Hellenistic	Parthian/Roman	Sasanian	Islamic	Site no.	Pre-Late Assyrian	Late Assyrian	Neo-Babylonian	Achaemenian	Hellenistic	Parthian/Roman	Sasanian	Islamic
135							x x		180	?								225							x x x	
136							x x		181	x x								226							x x	
137							x		182	?					?	x ?		227	x							
138							x x		183	x x					?	?	x	228	x						x	
139							x x		184	x x						x		229	x x	?	?	?	x x x			
140							x		185	x x					x x			230	x						x	
141							?	?	186	x ?					?			231	x						x x	
142							x		187	x					x x			232							? x	
143	x						x x		188	x x					x			233							x	
144	x						x	x	189						x x x			234							x	
145	x						x		190	x					x x			235							x x	
146							x		191	x x					?	?	x	236							x x	
147	x						x x	?	?	?					?	?		237	x x						x	
148							?	?	192	x x					x			238							? x	
149	x x						?	x x	193						x			239	x						x	
150	x x						x x	x x	194	x x					x x			240	x						x	
151							x		195						x x			241							x x	
152							x		196						x x			242	x x						x	
153							x		197						x x			243	x x						x	
154	x x						x x		198	x					x			244	x x						x	
155	x						x ?	?	199	x					x			245							x x x	
156	x x						?	?	200	x					x			246	x						x x x	
157	x						x	x	201	x					x x			247							x x	
158	x						x x		202						x			248							x	
159	x x						x		203						x			249	x x							
160	x						x		204	x x					x			250							?	
161	x						x		205	x		x			?	?		251	x x						?	
162	x x						?	?	206	x					x			252	x						x	
163	x						?	?	207	x					x x			253								
164	x						x		208						x			254	x						x	
165	x						x ?	?	209	x					x			255							x x	
166	x						x ?	?	210						x			256	x x						x x	
167	x						?	?	211						x			257							?	
168	x						x		212						?			258							?	
169	x x						x		213	x x					x			259	x x	?	?	?	x x			
170	x						?	?	214						x			260							x	
171	x						x	?	215	x					x			261							x	
172	x x						?		216	x x					x			262							x	
173							x		217	x					x x			263	x						x	
174	x x						x		218						x x			264							x	
175	x						x		219	x					x			265	x						x	
176	x						x		220	x					x			266							x x	
177	?						?		221	x					x x			267							x x	
178	?						?		222	x x					x			268							x x x	
179	x						?		223	x					x			269							x	
									224						x x x											



53. _ Plan of major routes in the Jazirah in the Parthian period.



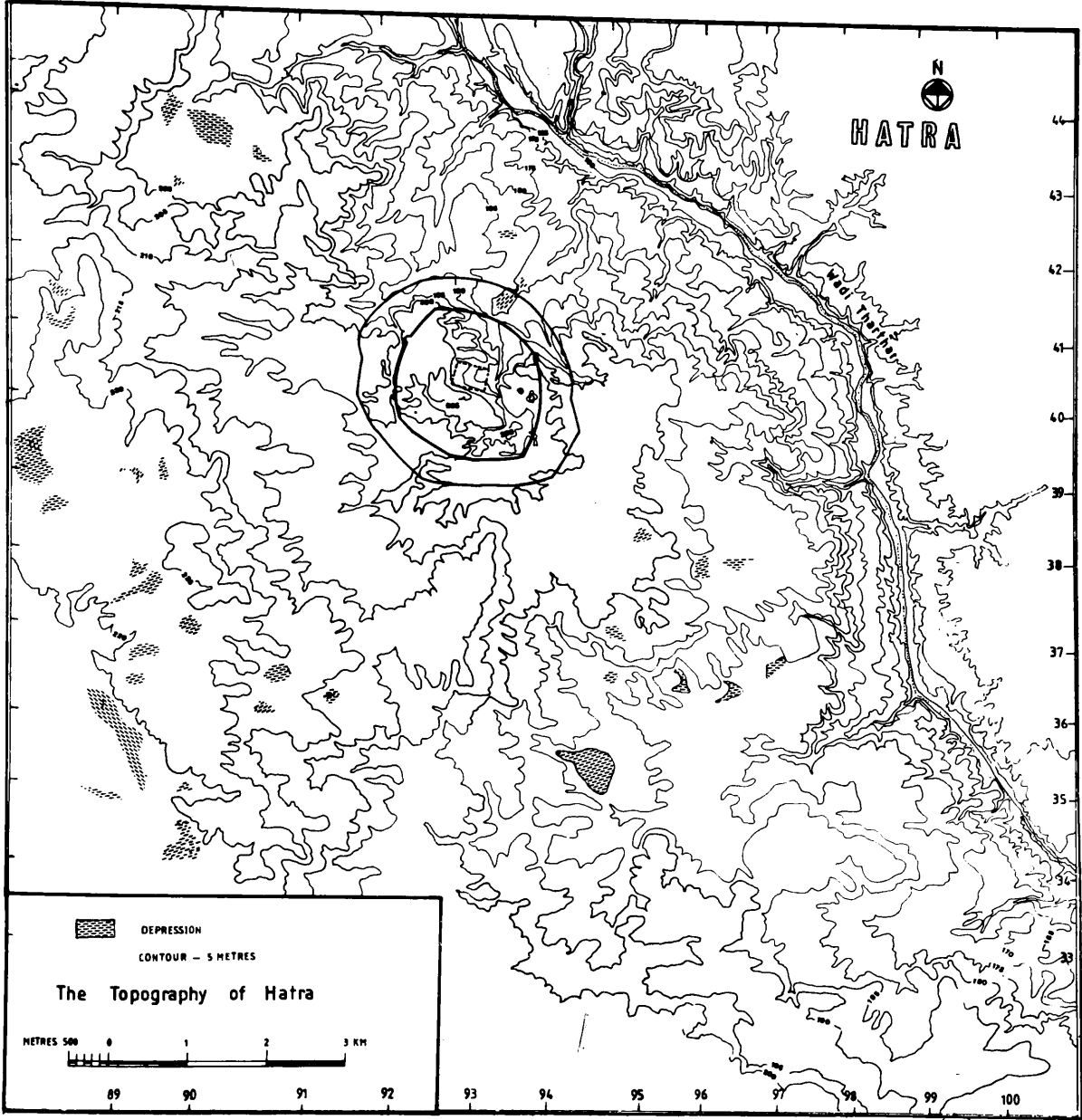
Map indicating the position of Hatra in the Middle East.



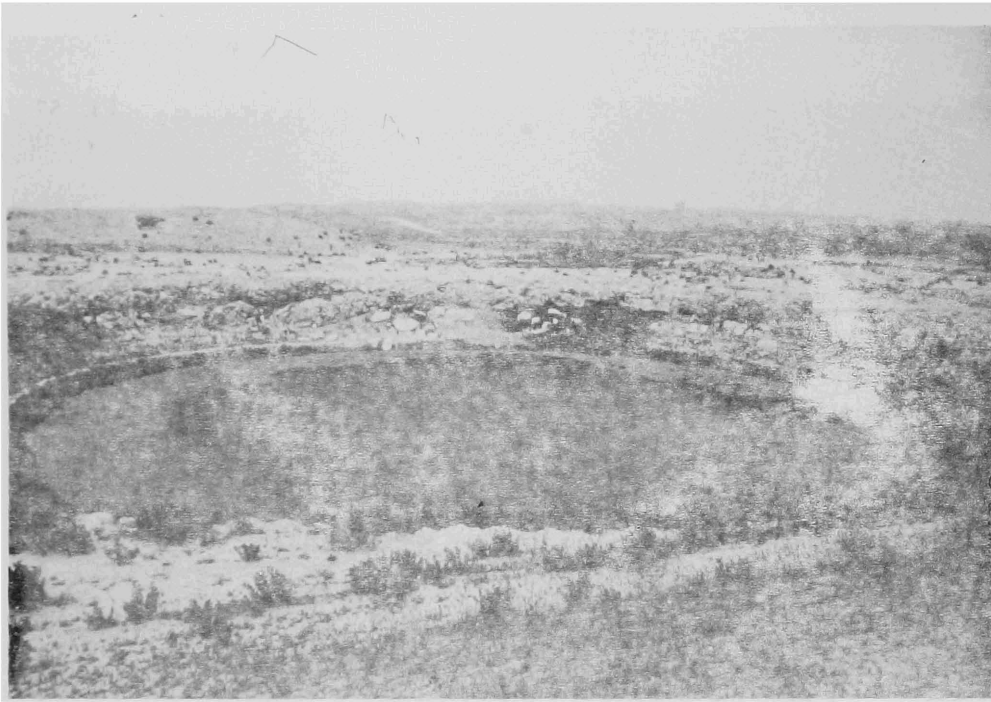
Topographical map of Hatra.



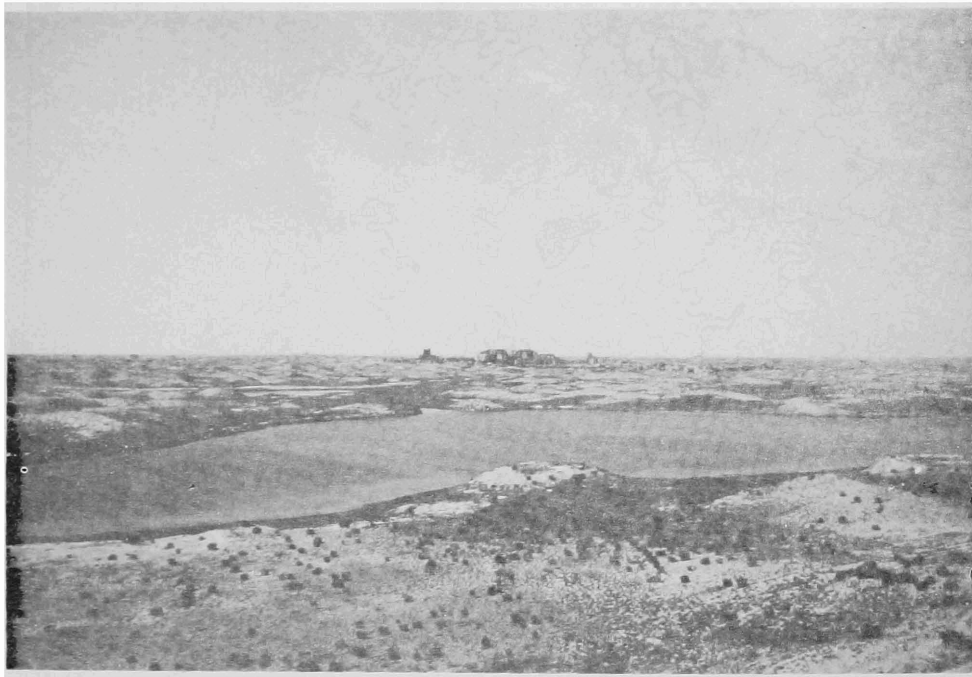
Aerial photograph of Hatra and the Wadi Tharthar.



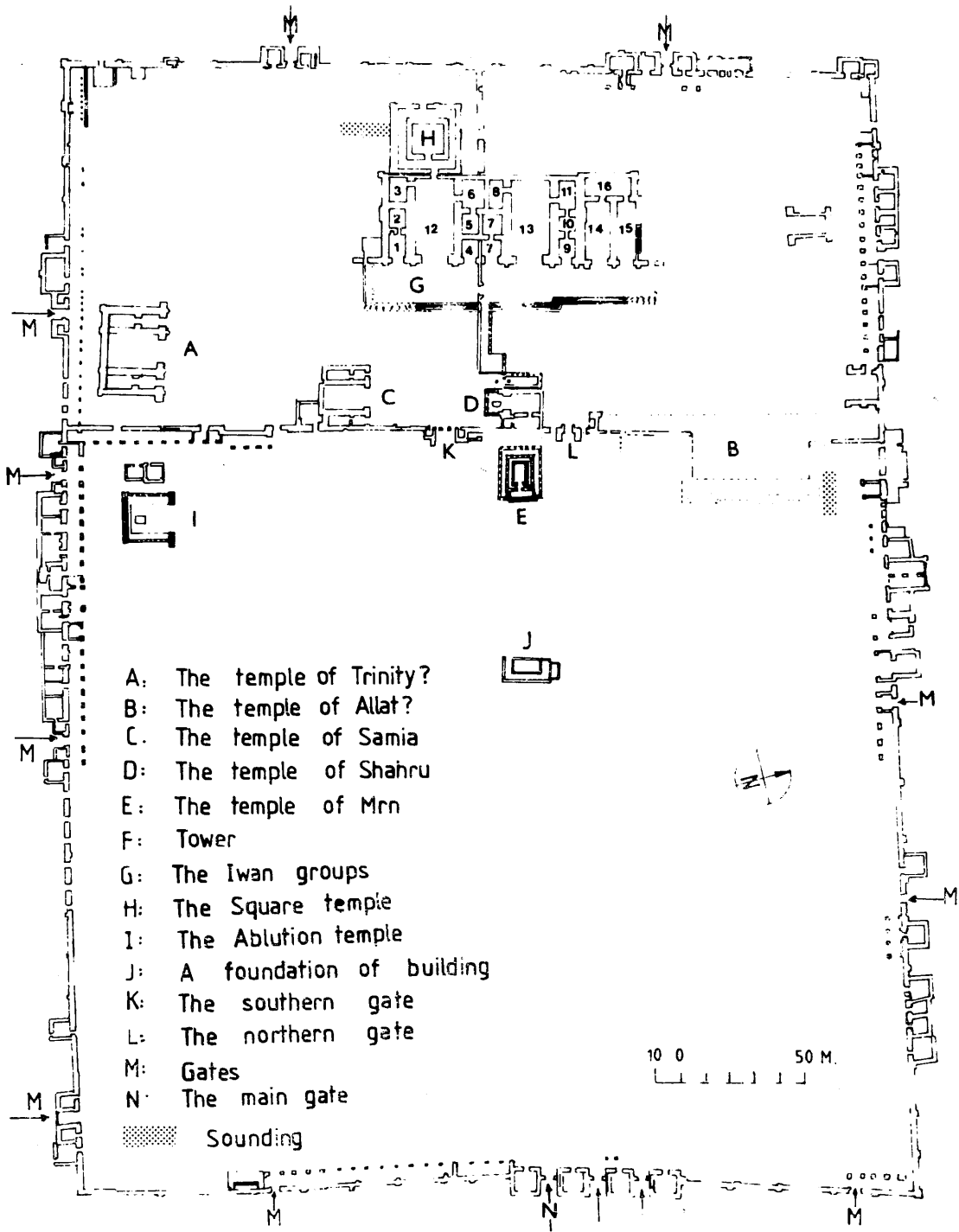
57. Contour map of Hatra.



58. (a) The lake of Hatra



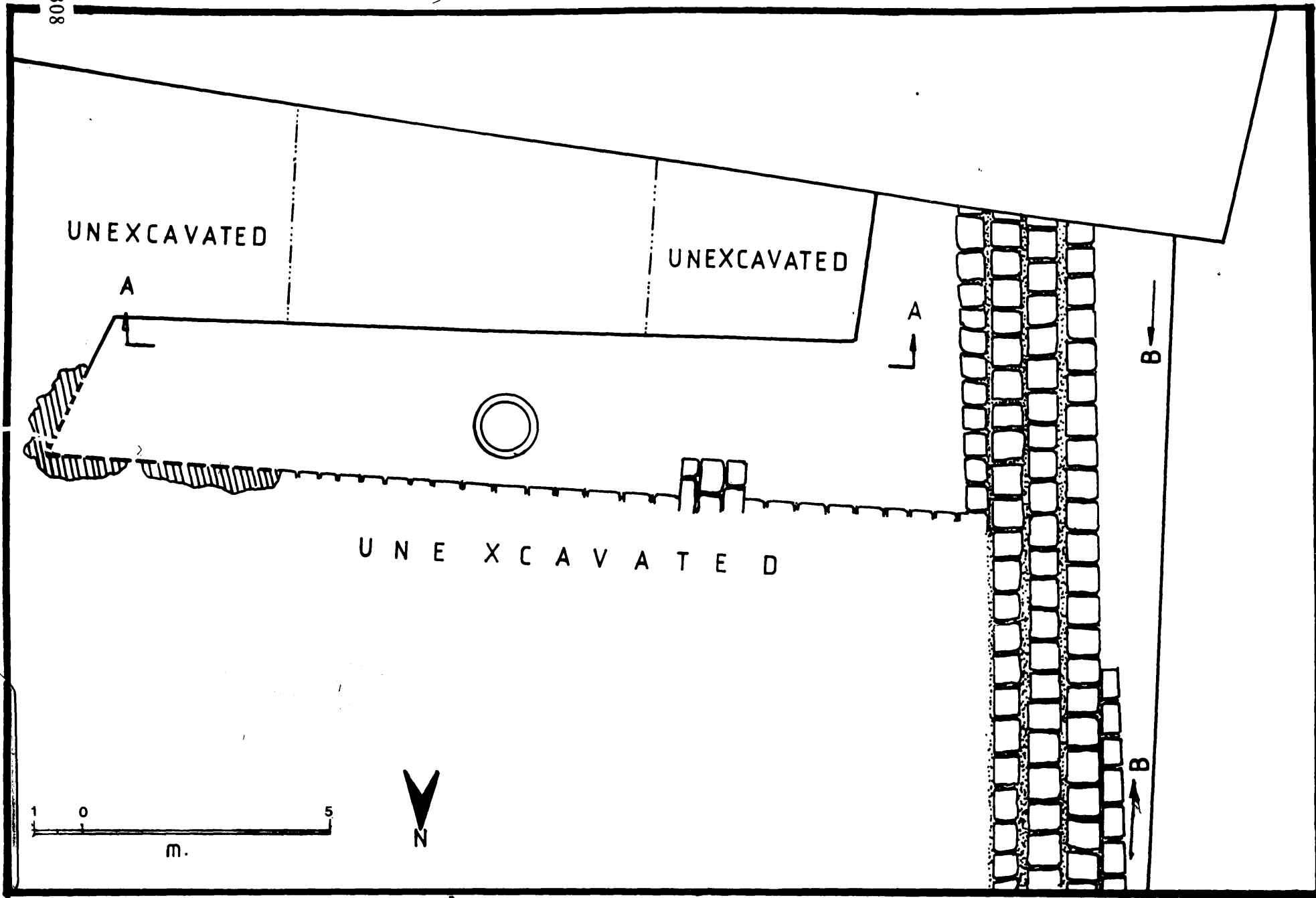
(b) The depression at Hatra.



- A: The temple of Trinity?
- B: The temple of Allat?
- C: The temple of Samia
- D: The temple of Shahru
- E: The temple of Mrn
- F: Tower
- G: The Iwan groups
- H: The Square temple
- I: The Ablution temple
- J: A foundation of building
- K: The southern gate
- L: The northern gate
- M: Gates
- N: The main gate
- ▨ Sounding

10 0 50 M.

Plan of the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha) at Hatra.



60. Plan of Sounding I in the main sanctuary at Hatra.



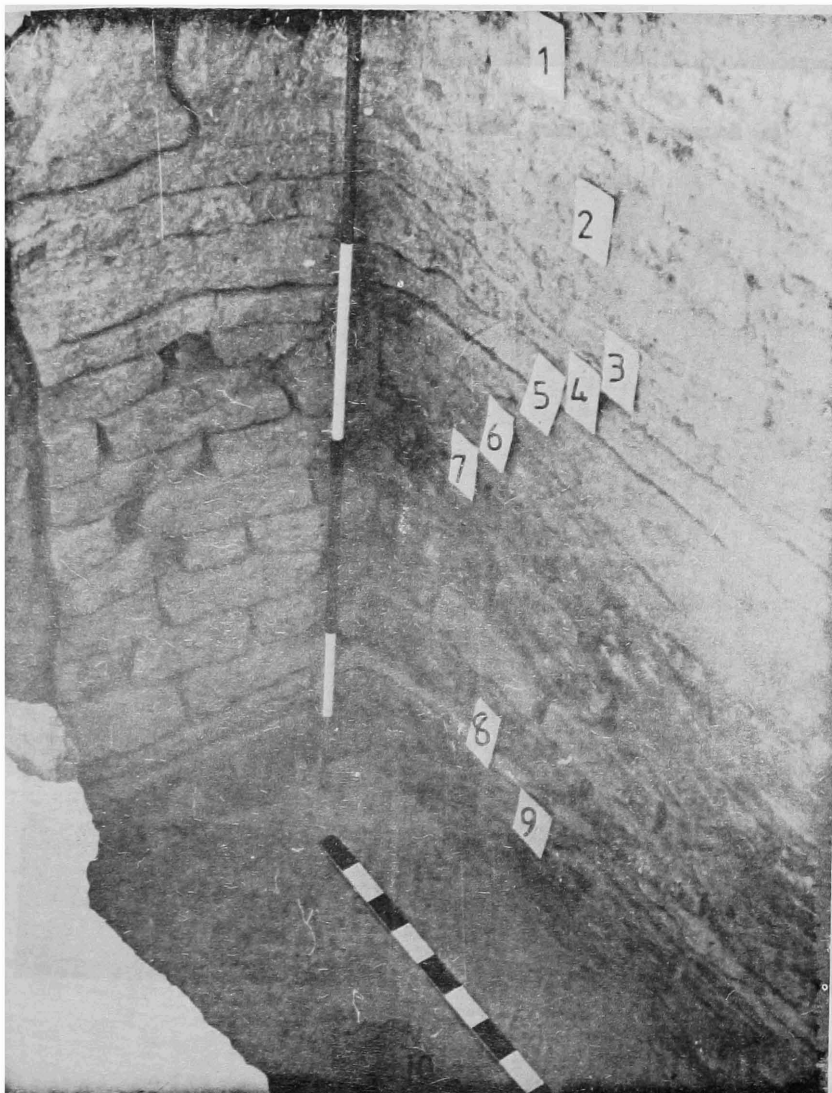
(a) Sounding I at Hatra, view



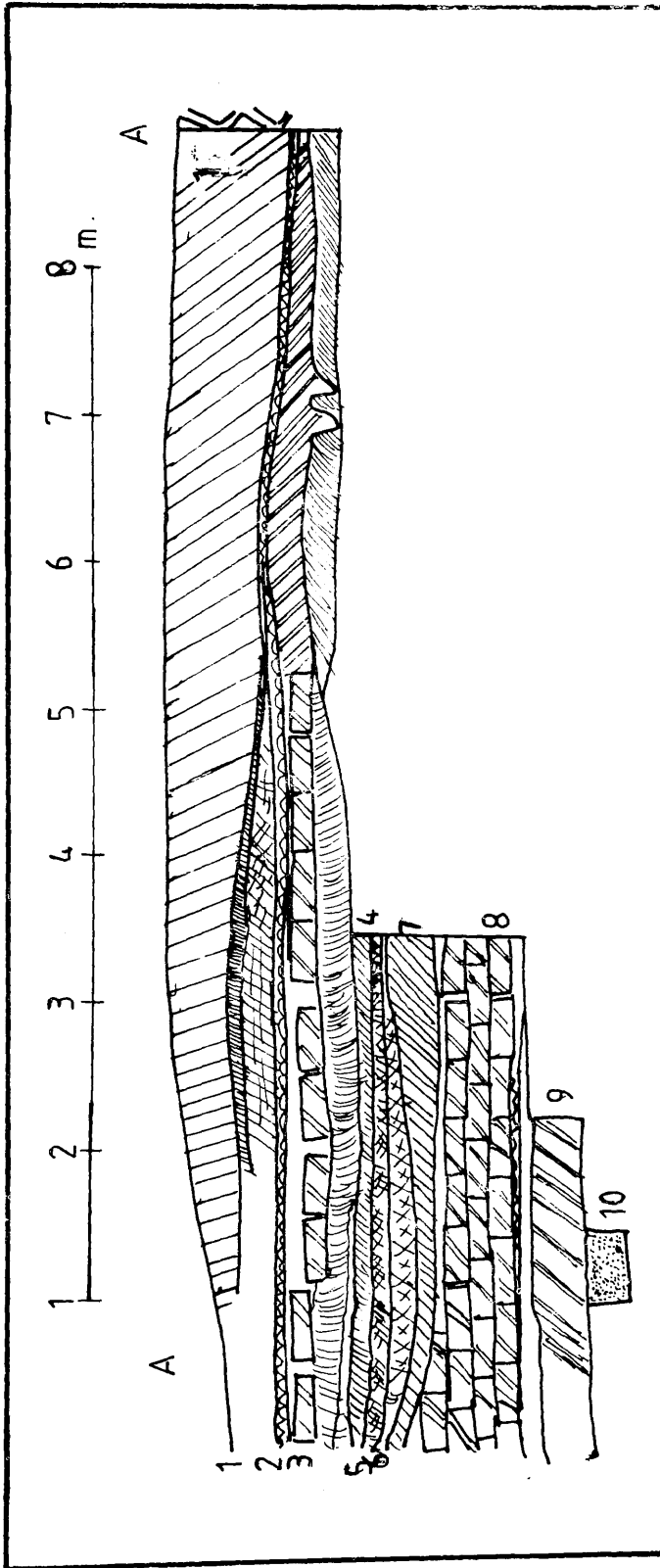
(b) Sounding I at Hatra, occupation levels (marked "L").



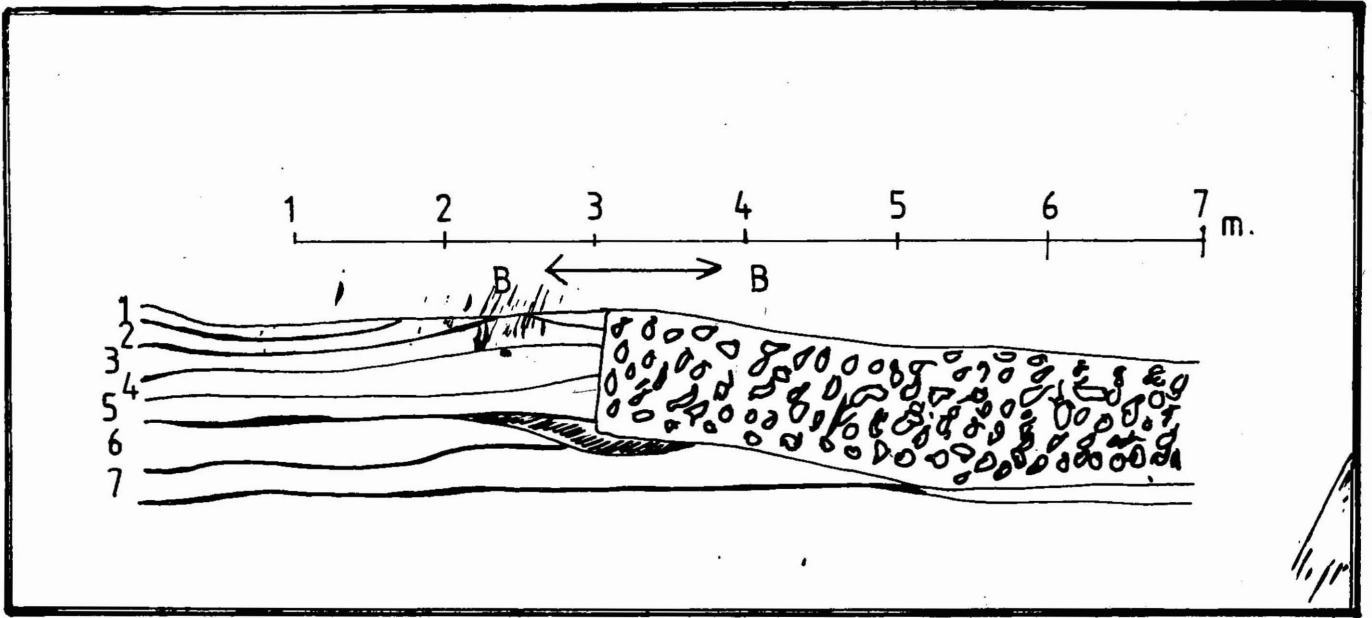
(a) Sounding I at Hatra, Level II



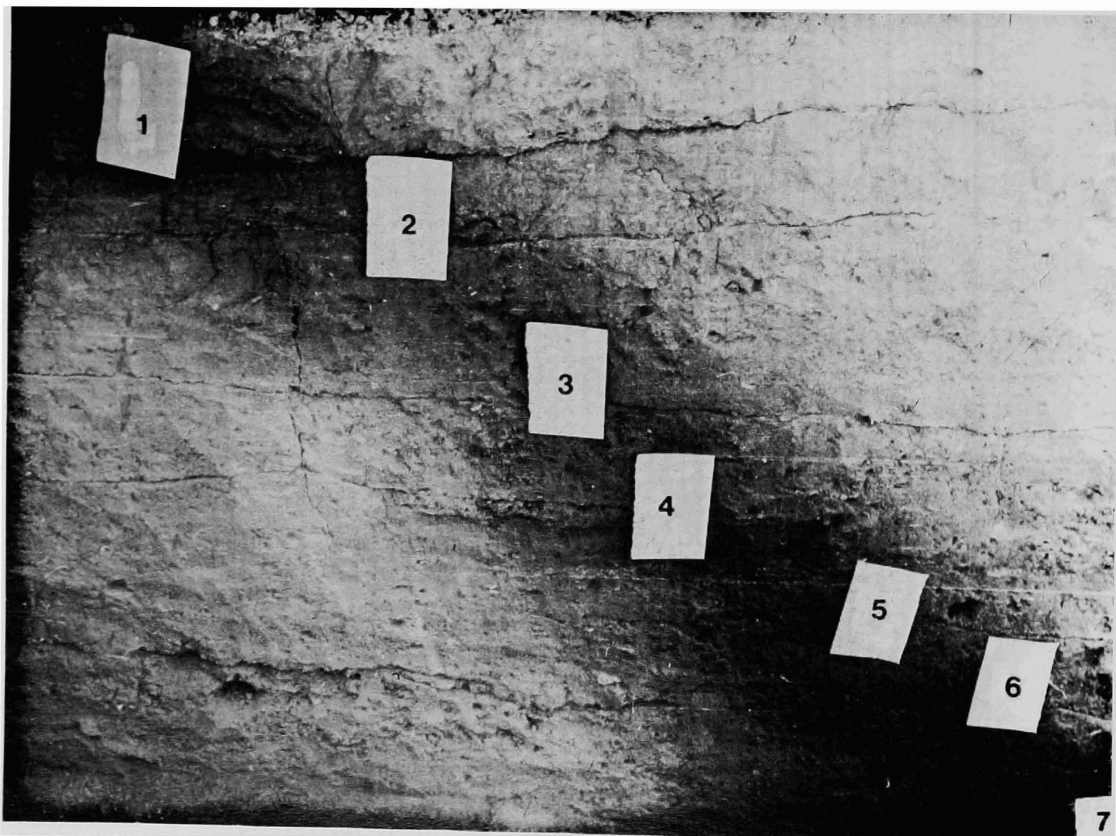
(b) Sounding I at Hatra, floors.



63. Section of floors in Sounding I. Hatra.

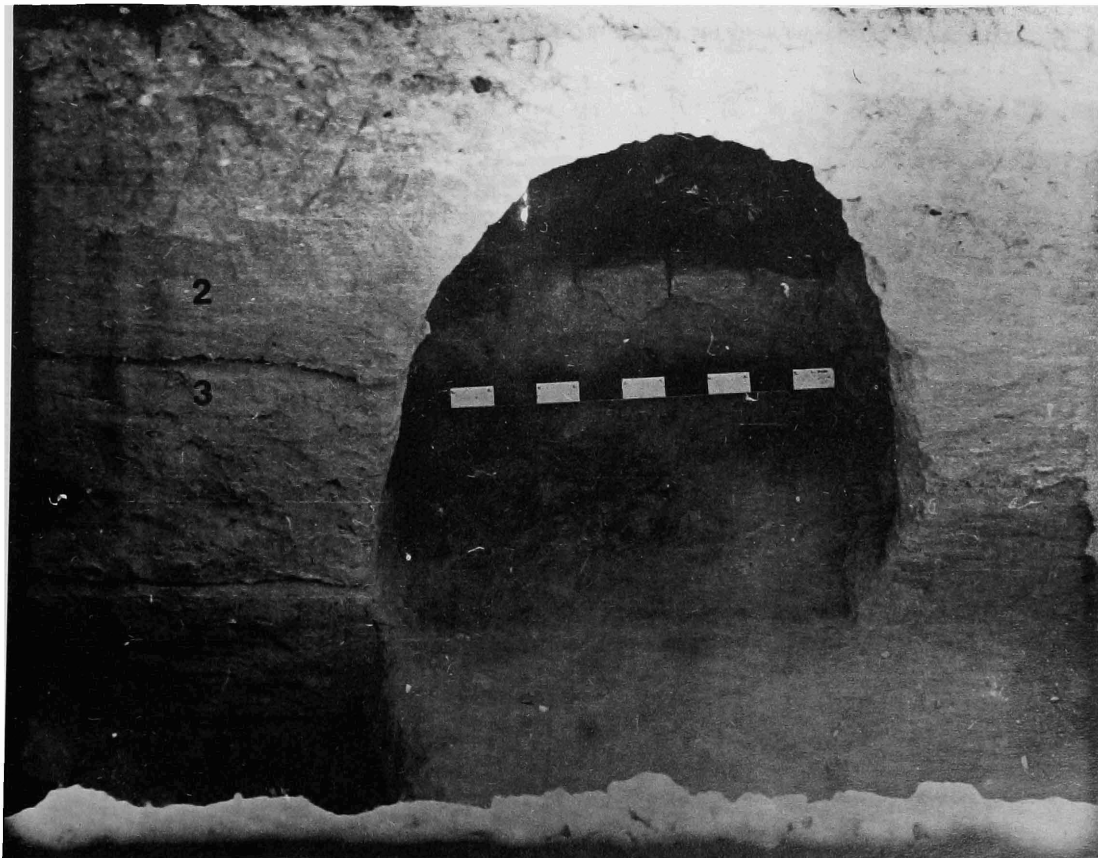
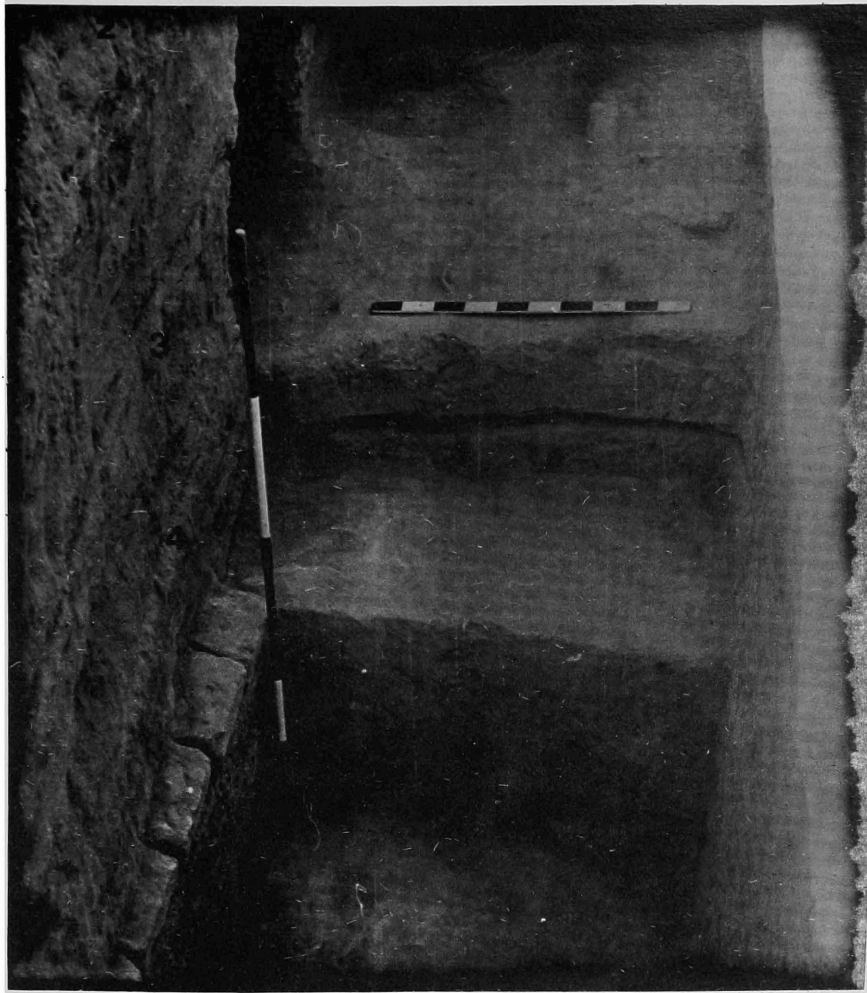


(a) Section B-B, Sounding I, Hatra



(b) Floors 1-7, Section B-B, Sounding I, Hatra.

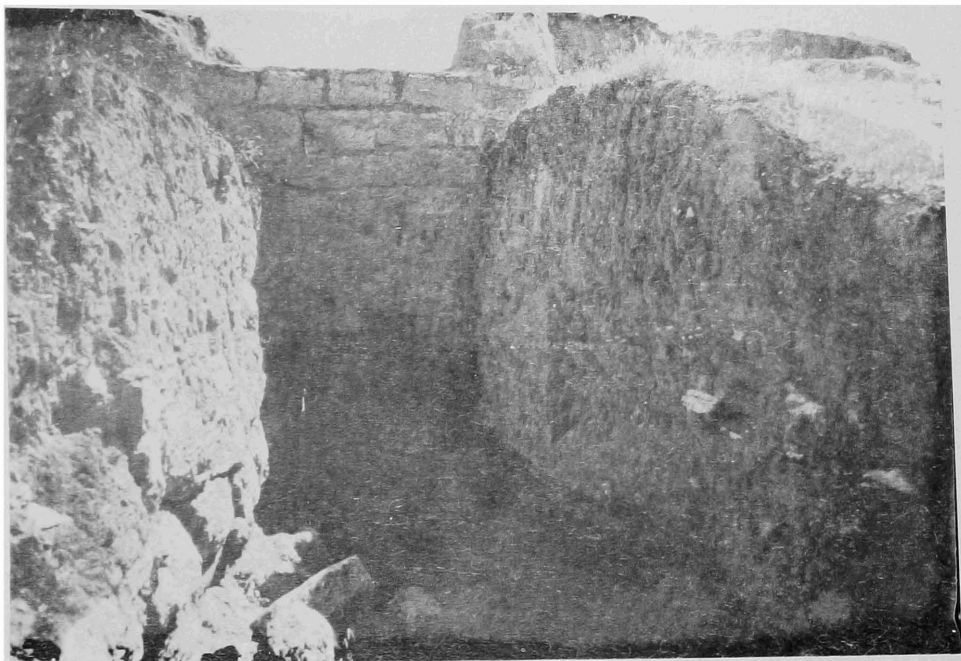
(a) Sounding II at
Hatra, view



(b) View of part of Sounding II at Hatra.

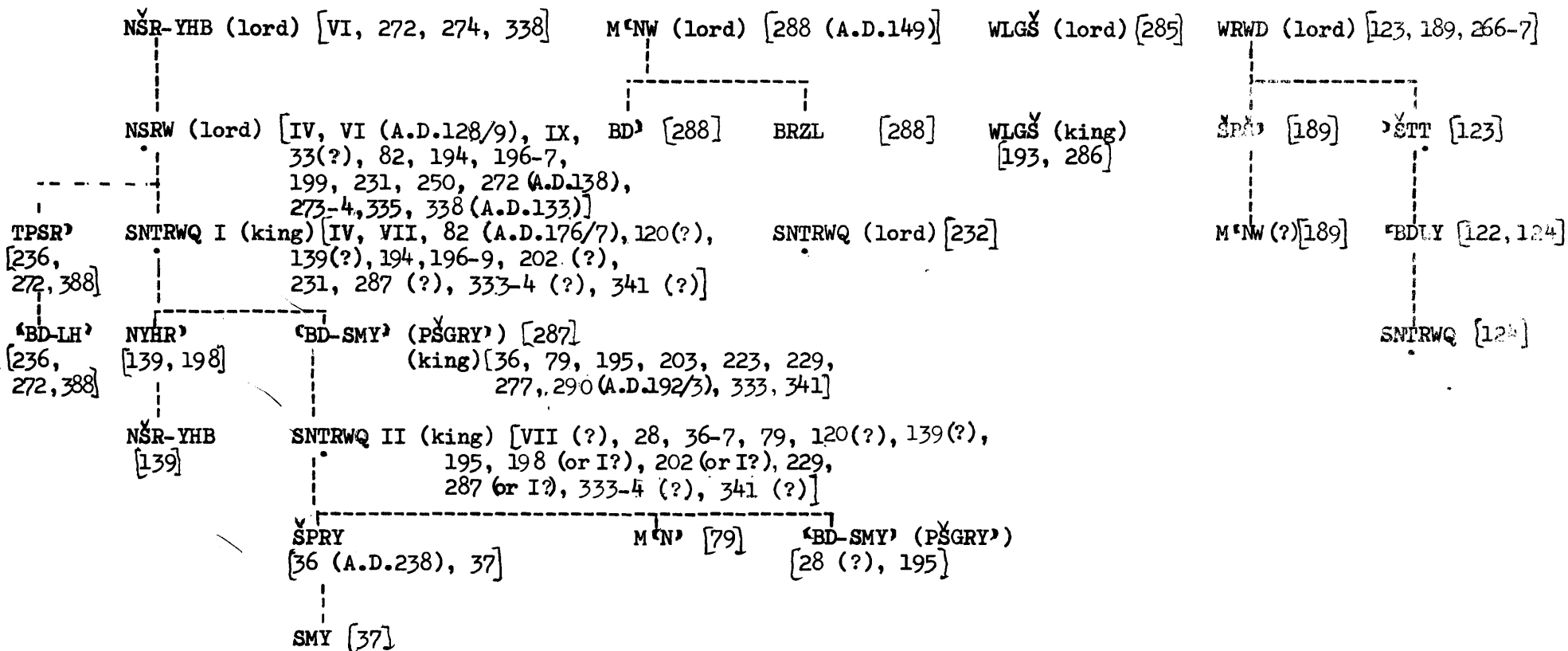


(a) Excavation of the house of M'NW, Hatra



(b) Excavation of the house of M'NW, Hatra, showing occupation levels.

Genealogies of MRY' ("maria" or "lords") and MLK' ("kings") Hatra



----- = relationship definite

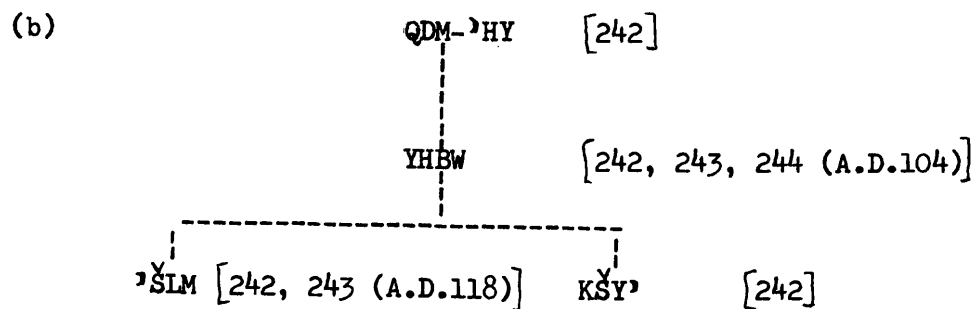
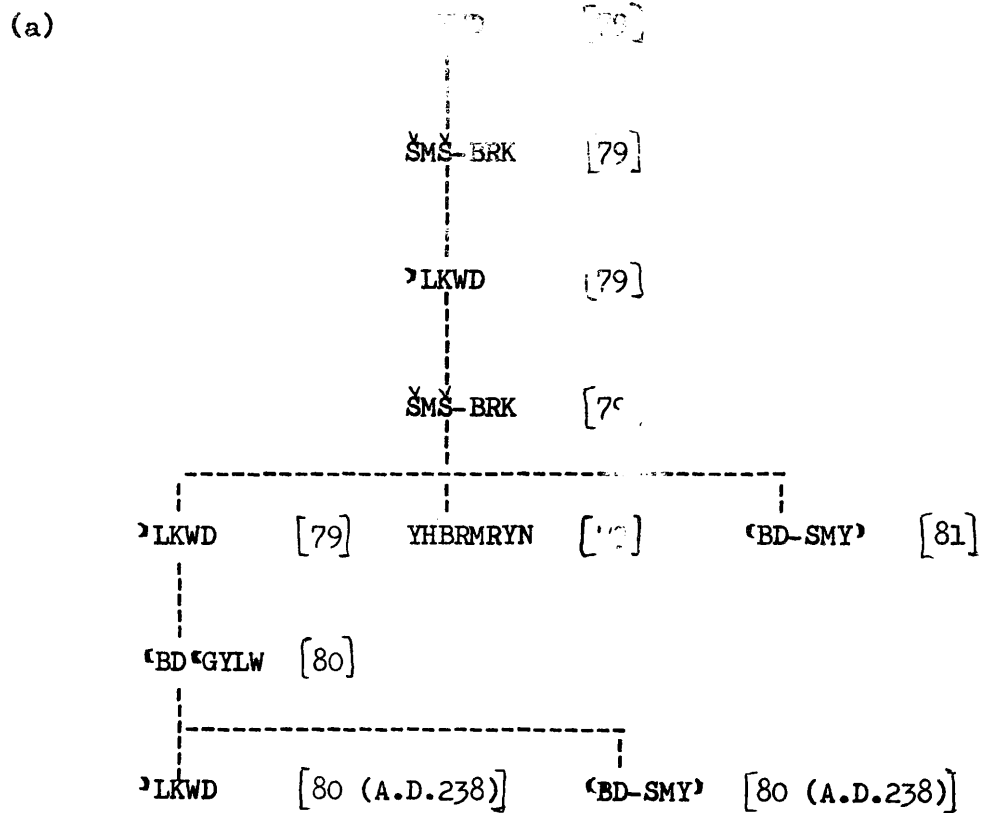
- - - - - = relationship uncertain



Relief from Temple B ("of Allat") in the main sanctuary at
Hatra, with inscription [VII].

(a)	$\text{PHW-}\overset{\vee}{\text{S}}\overset{\vee}{\text{M}}\overset{\vee}{\text{S}}$ \vdots $\overset{\vee}{\text{S}}\overset{\vee}{\text{M}}\overset{\vee}{\text{S}}\text{-HRYT}$ \vdots KHW \vdots $\text{LH-}\overset{\vee}{\text{S}}\overset{\vee}{\text{M}}\overset{\vee}{\text{S}}$ \vdots $\overset{\vee}{\text{S}}\overset{\vee}{\text{M}}\overset{\vee}{\text{S}}\text{-}\overset{\vee}{\text{Q}}\overset{\vee}{\text{B}}$	<p>[10]</p> <p>[10]</p> <p>[10]</p> <p>[10]</p> <p>[10]</p>
(b)	$\overset{\vee}{\text{S}}\overset{\vee}{\text{M}}\overset{\vee}{\text{S}}\text{-}\overset{\vee}{\text{Q}}\overset{\vee}{\text{B}}$ \vdots $\text{HRY}\overset{\vee}{\text{S}}\overset{\vee}{\text{W}}$ \vdots $[\overset{\vee}{\text{B}}\overset{\vee}{\text{D}}]\text{LY}$	<p>[156, 187]</p> <p>[156, 187]</p> <p>[160]</p>
(c)	$\overset{\vee}{\text{G}}$ \vdots STTY \vdots SLWK	<p>[5, 325]</p> <p>[5, 325]</p> <p>[5]</p>
(d)	NSR \vdots RHZW \vdots $\text{HP}\overset{\vee}{\text{Z}}\overset{\vee}{\text{W}}$ \vdots $\overset{\vee}{\text{B}}\overset{\vee}{\text{D}}\text{-SMY}$	<p>[117]</p> <p>[117]</p> <p>[121]</p> <p>[126]</p>

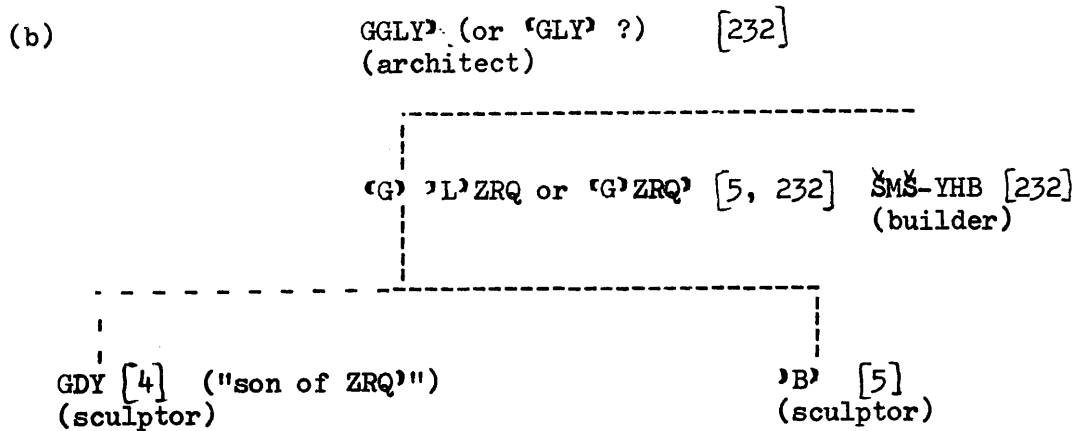
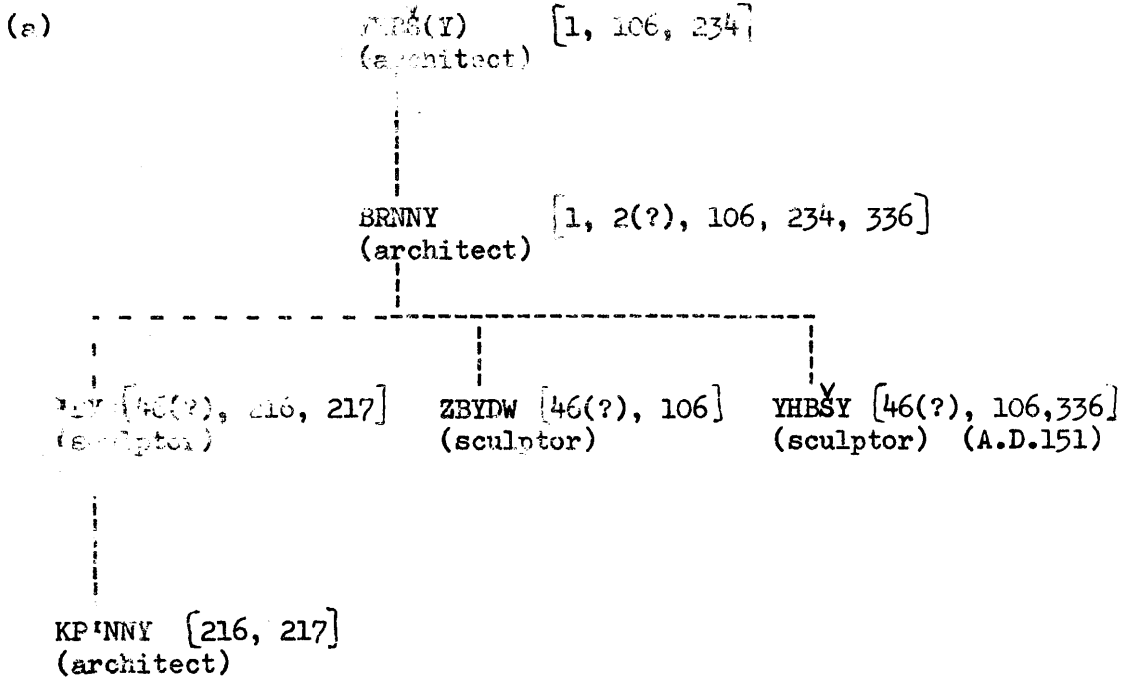
70. Genealogical tables of families of Hatra.

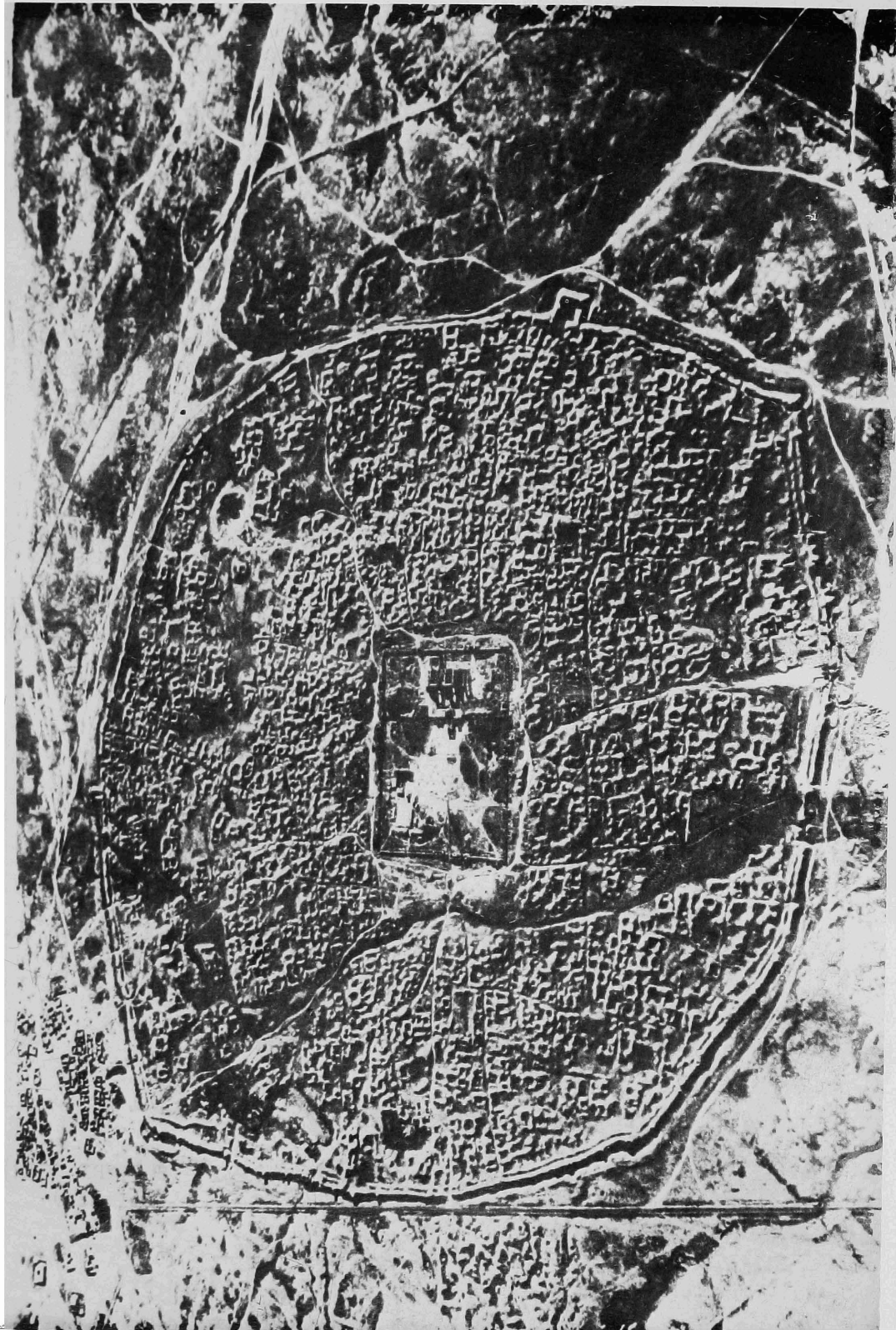


Genealogies of architects and sculptors at Hatra.

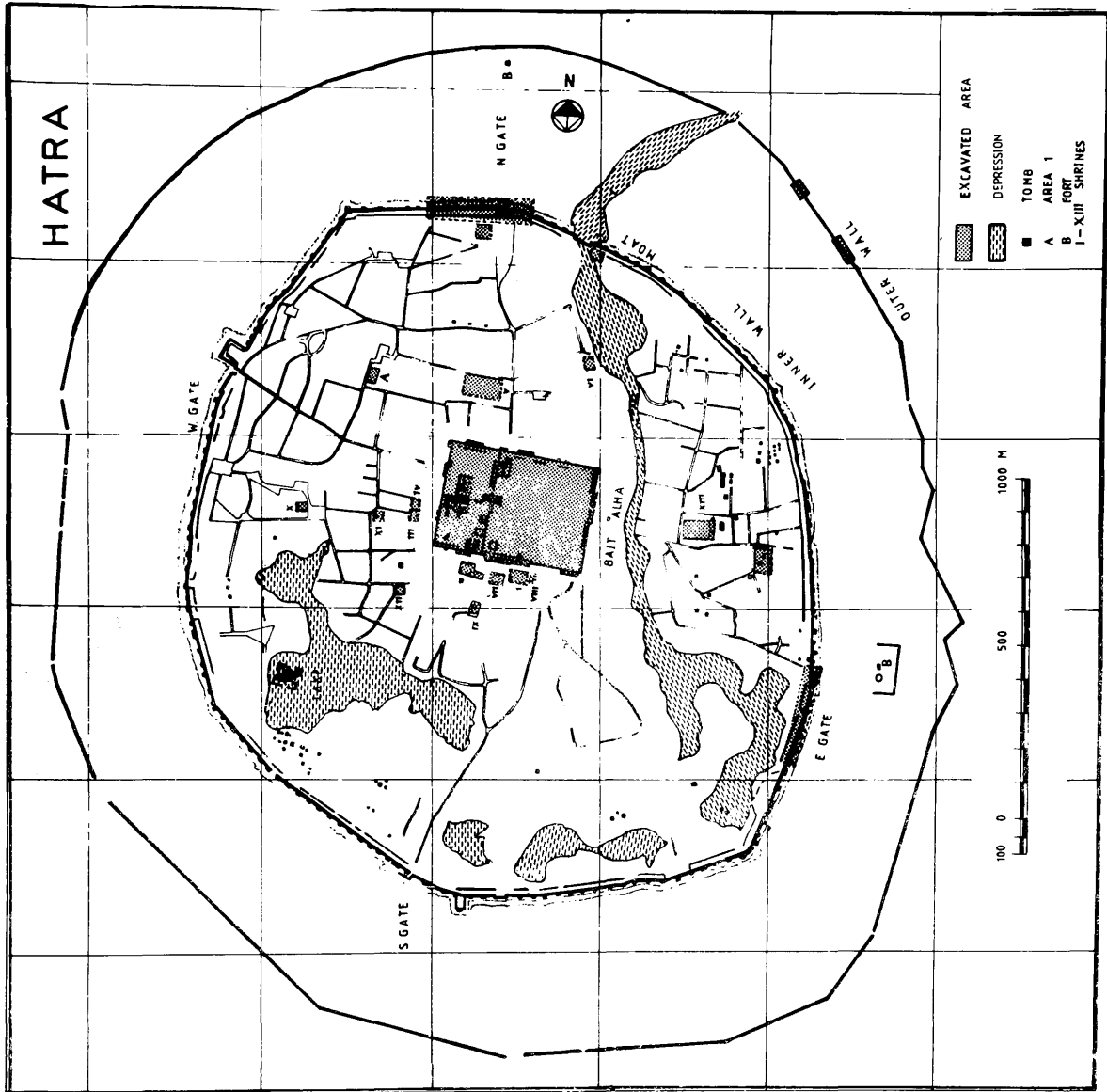
----- = relationship certain

- - - - - = relationship uncertain

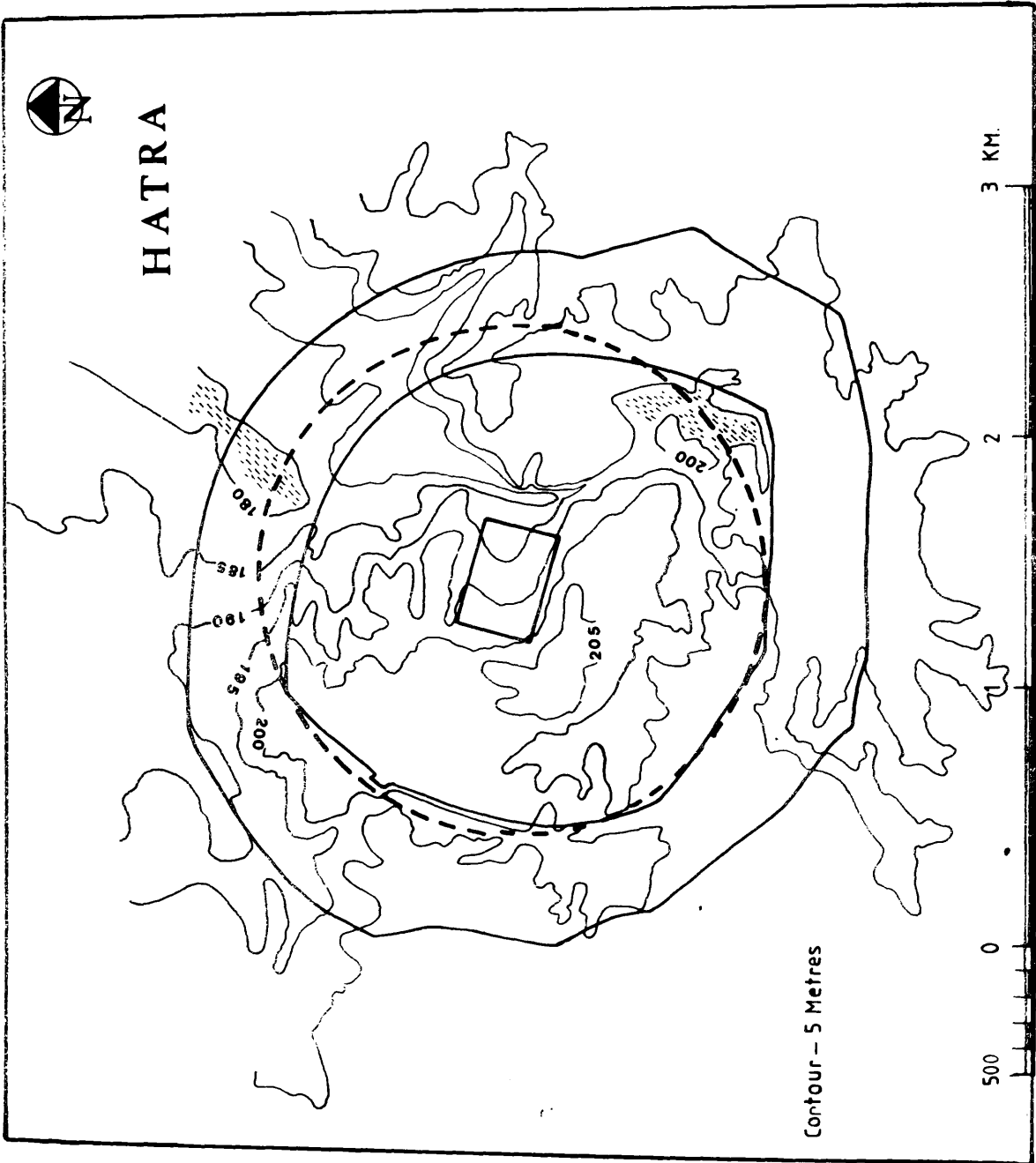




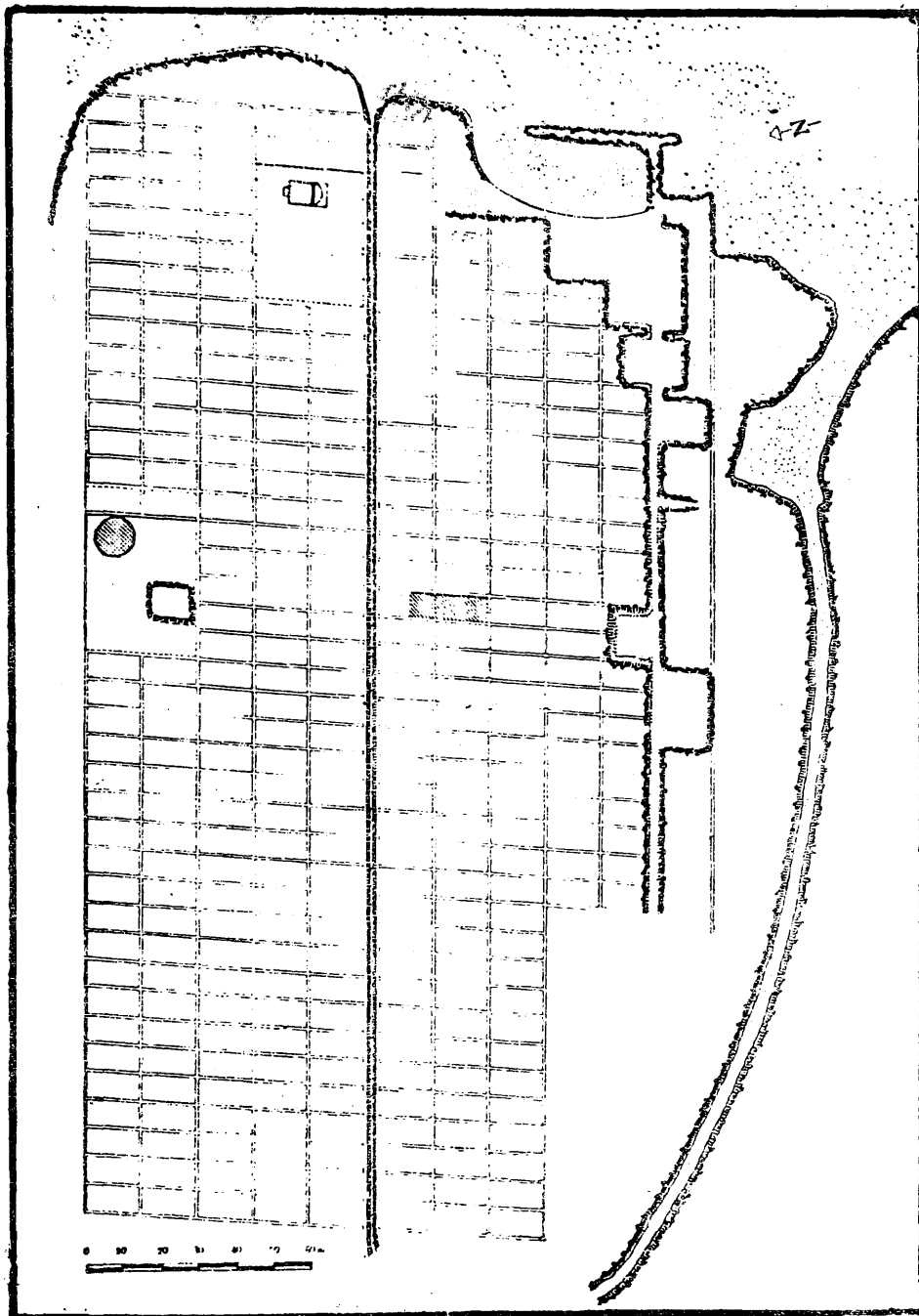
Aerial photograph of Hatra.



Site plan of Hatra.

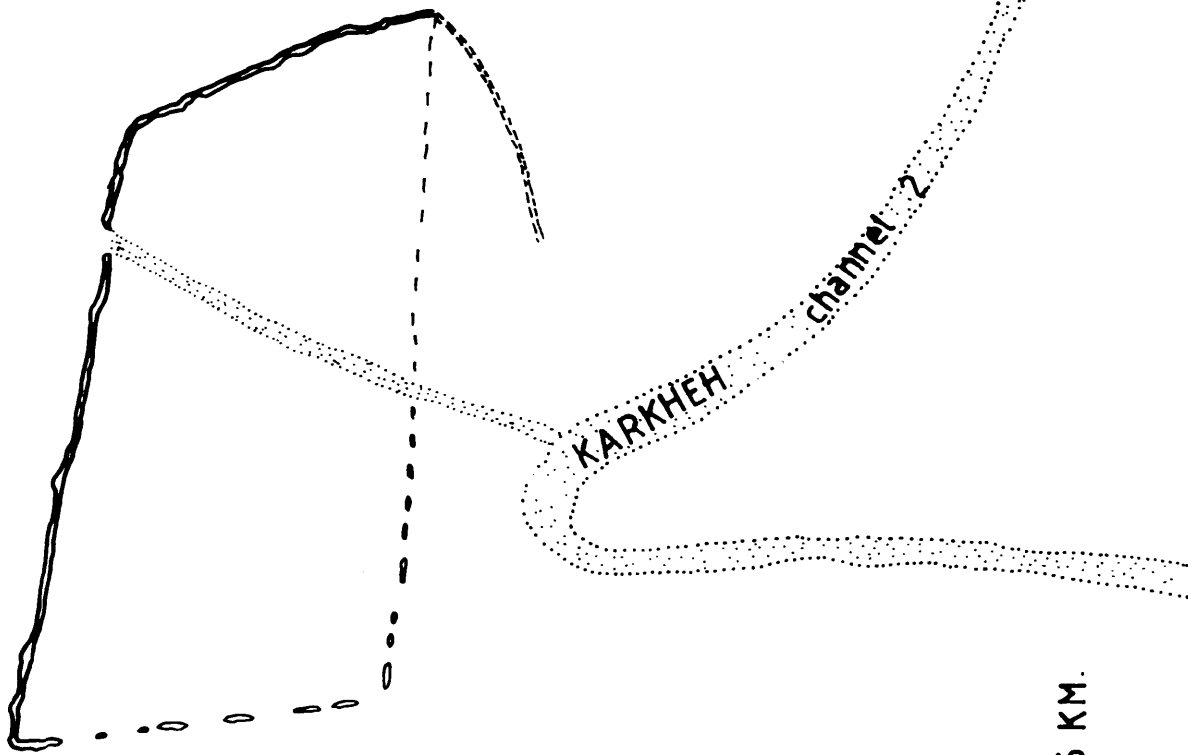
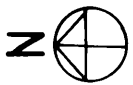


Contour map of the site of Hatra.



Site plan of Seleucia on the Tigris (from G. Gullini, Mesopotamia, 2, 1967).

NAISAN (CHARAX)



TIGRIS channel 1

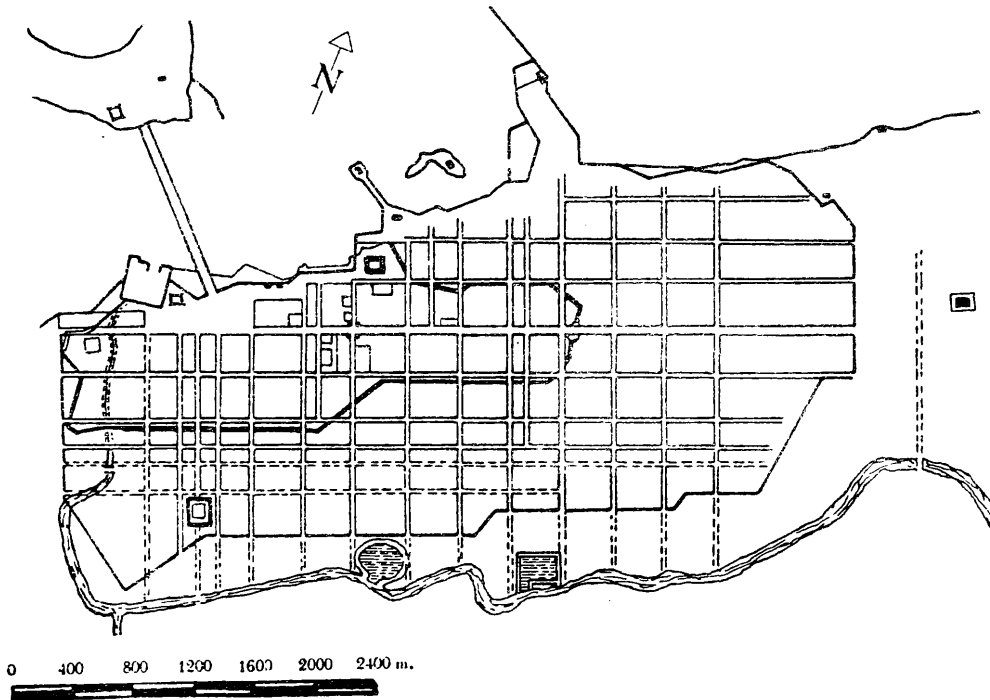
SHAT AL-ARAB



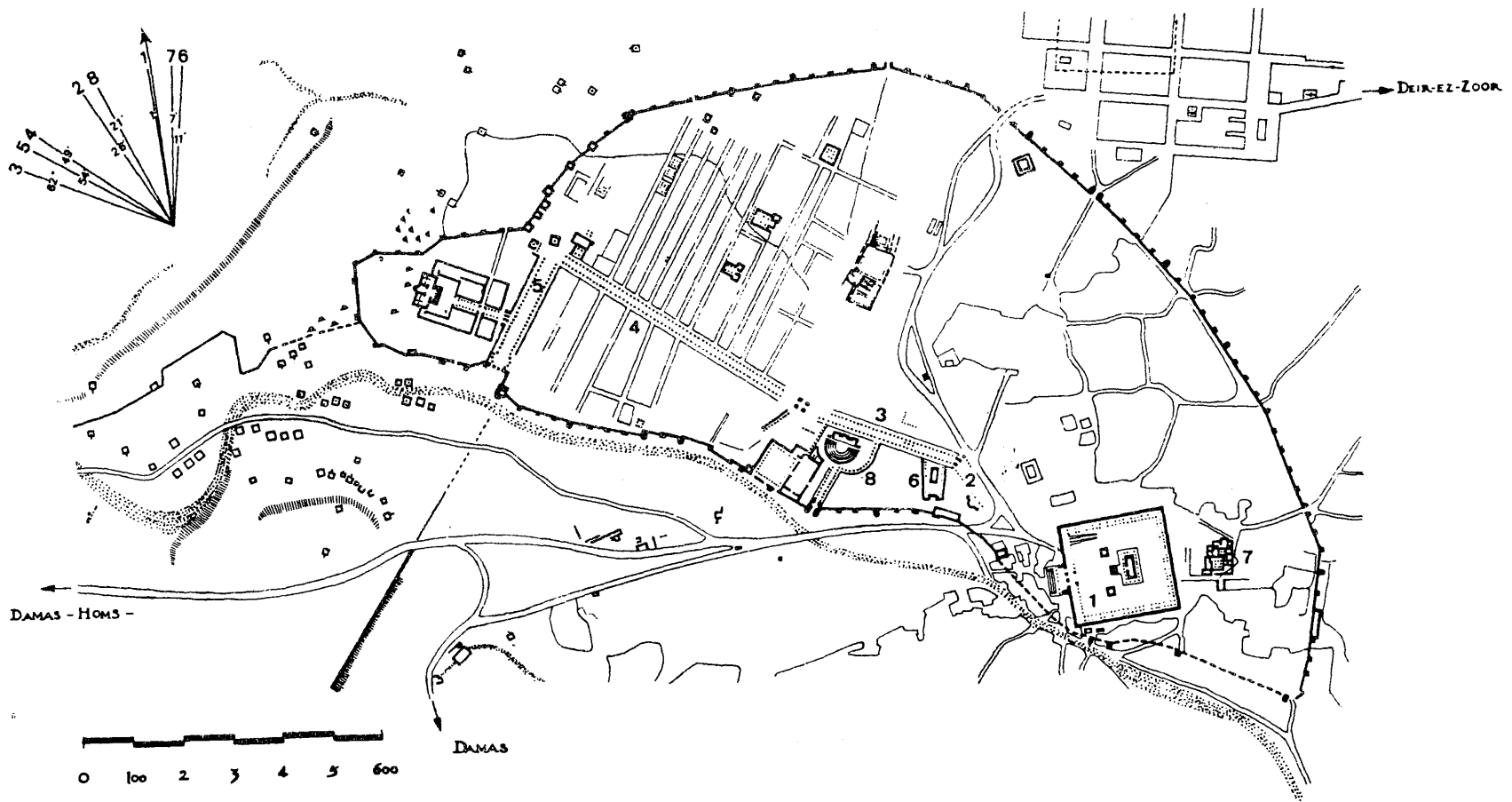
Site plan of Dura-Europos (from G. Gullini, *Mesopotamia*, 2, 1967, fig. 298).



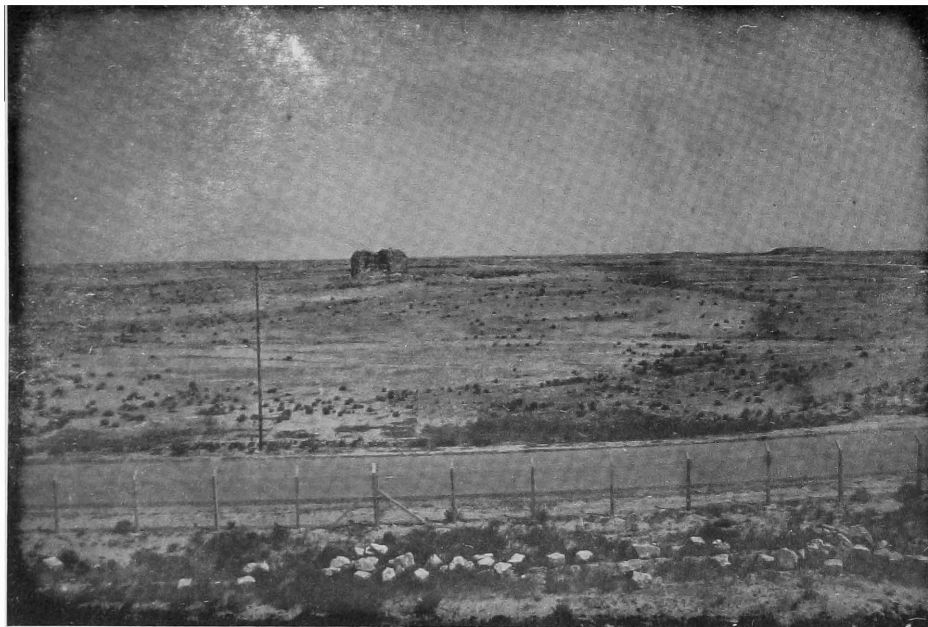
(a) Site plan of Antioch on the Orontes



(b) Site plan of Alexandria (from G. Gullini, *Mesopotamia*, 2, 1967, figs. 288-9).



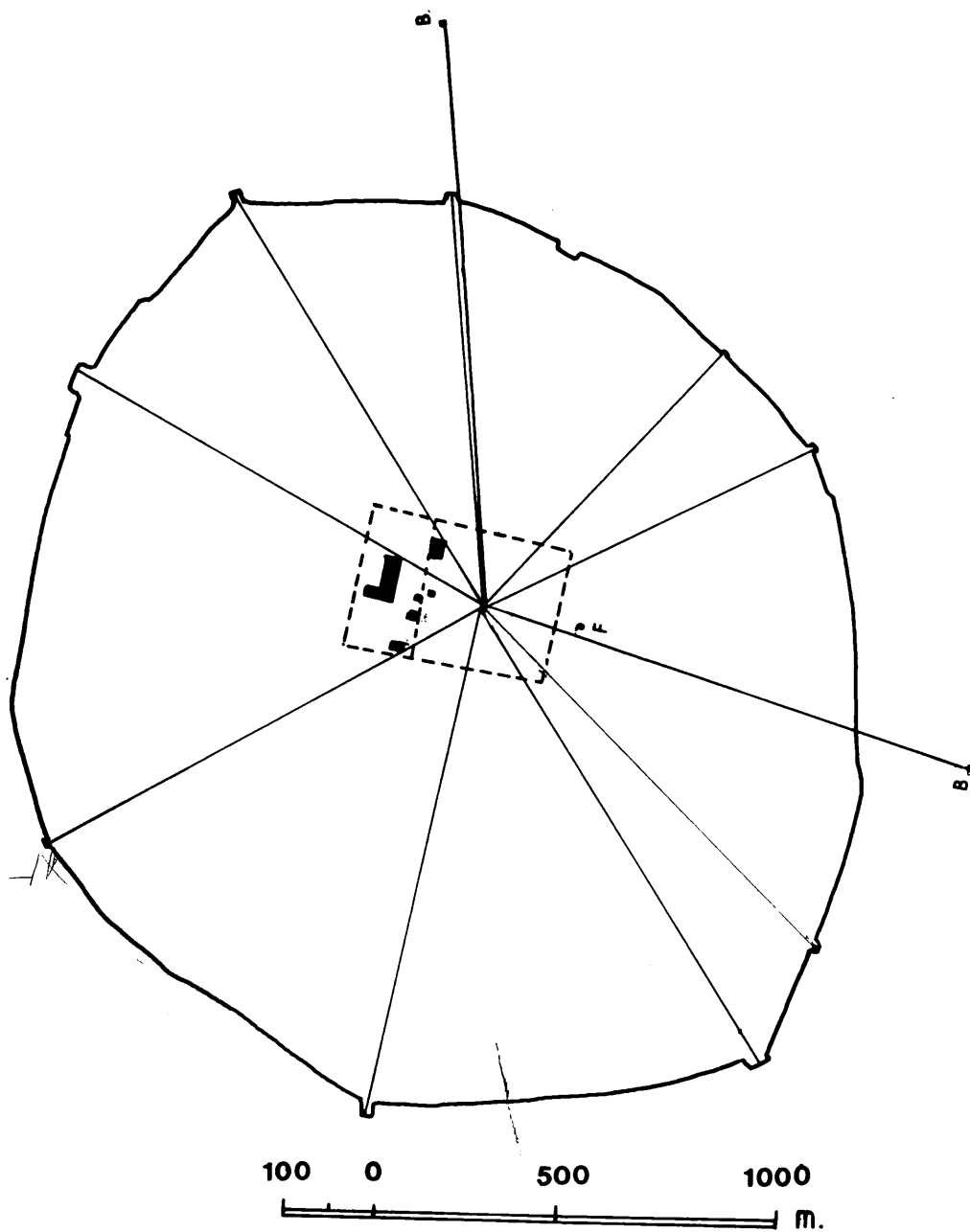
Site plan of Palmyra (from E. Frezouls (ed.), *Palmyre. Bilan et perspectives*, Strasbourg, 1976, 193, fig. 1).



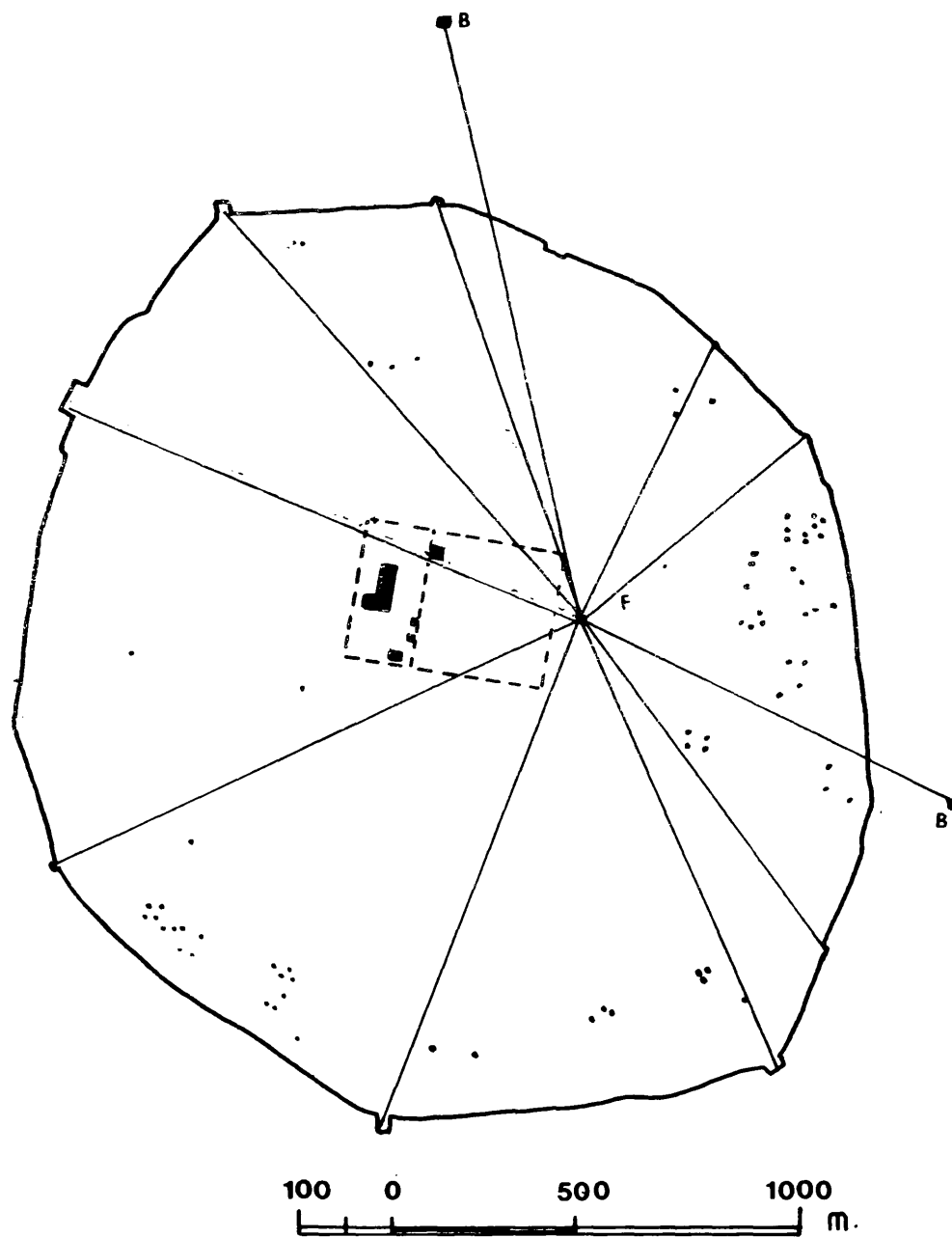
(a) Building B to the east of the eastern gate, Hatra



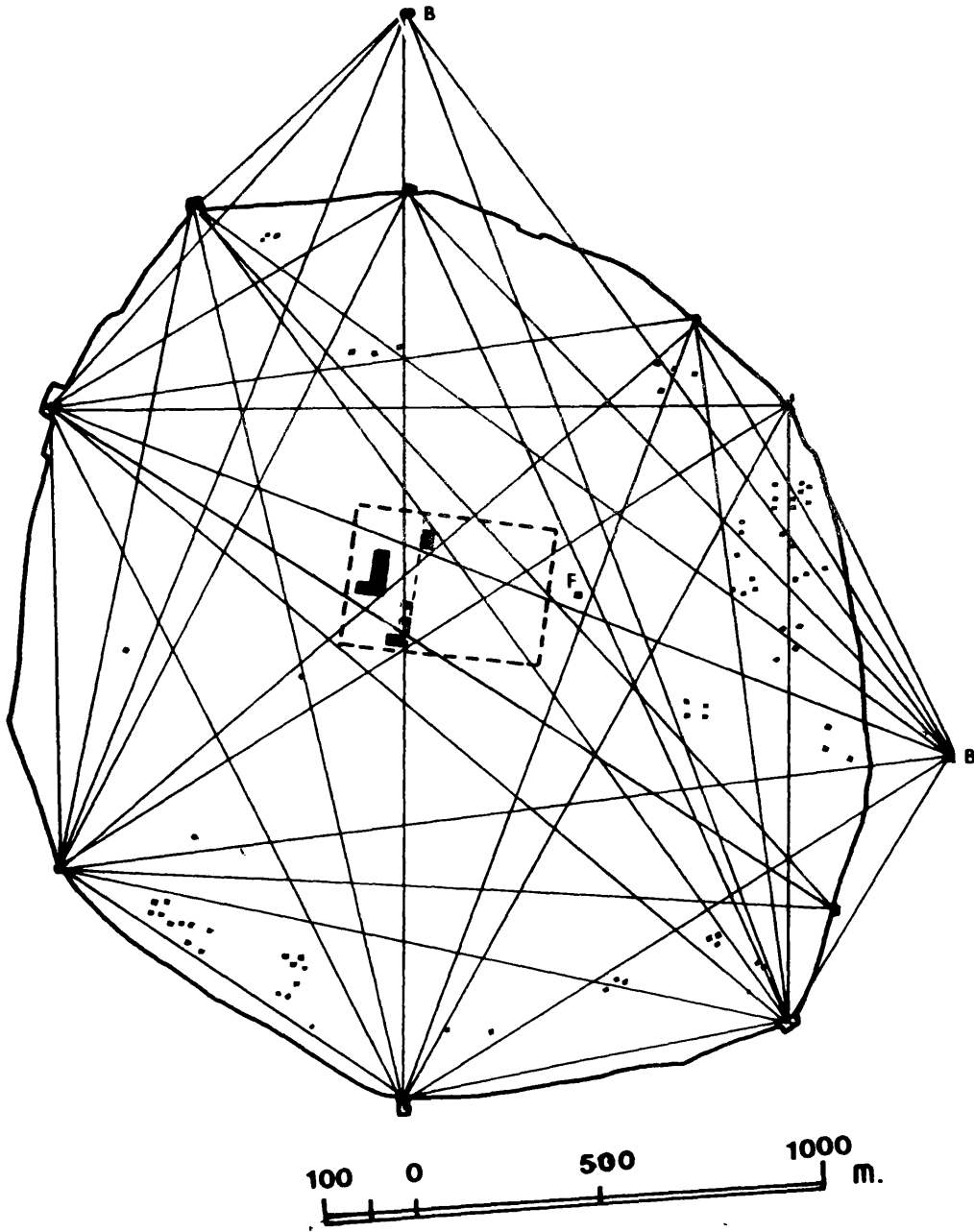
(b) View of the author's excavation of the inside of the inner wall of Hatra.



Plan demonstrating the intervisibility of main wall towers and buildings B, Hatra.



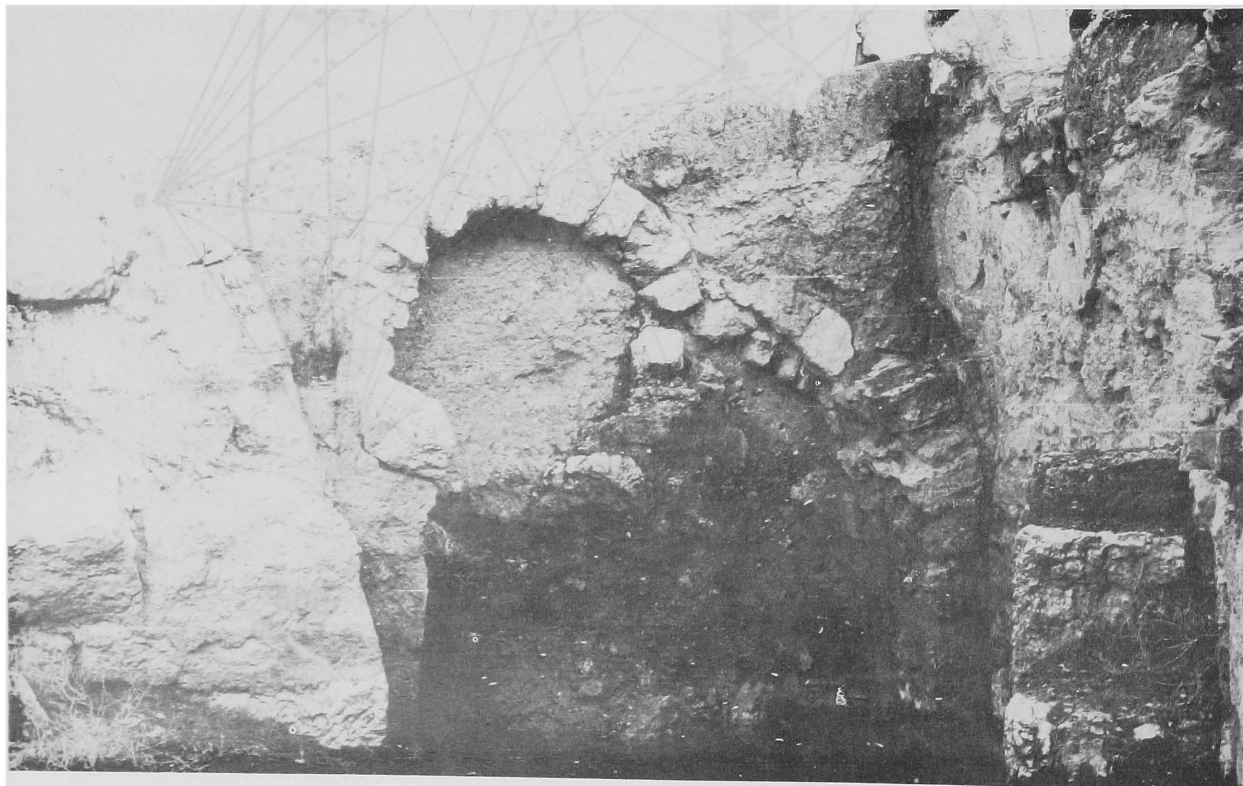
82. Plan demonstrating the visibility of main wall towers and buildings B from central tower F, Hatra.



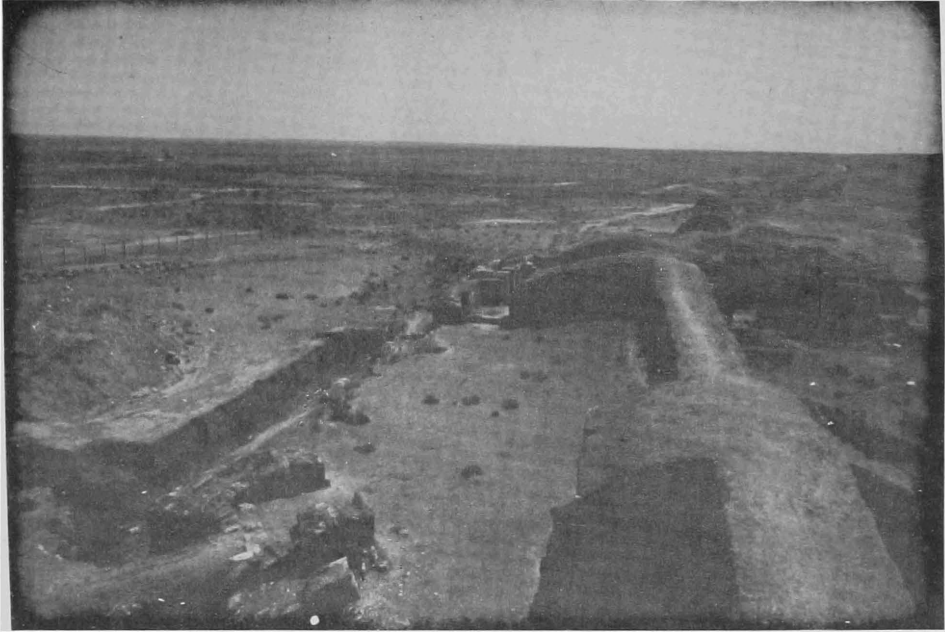
Plan demonstrating the intervisibility of main wall towers and buildings B, Hatra.



(a) Main wall of Hatra, with ditch in front



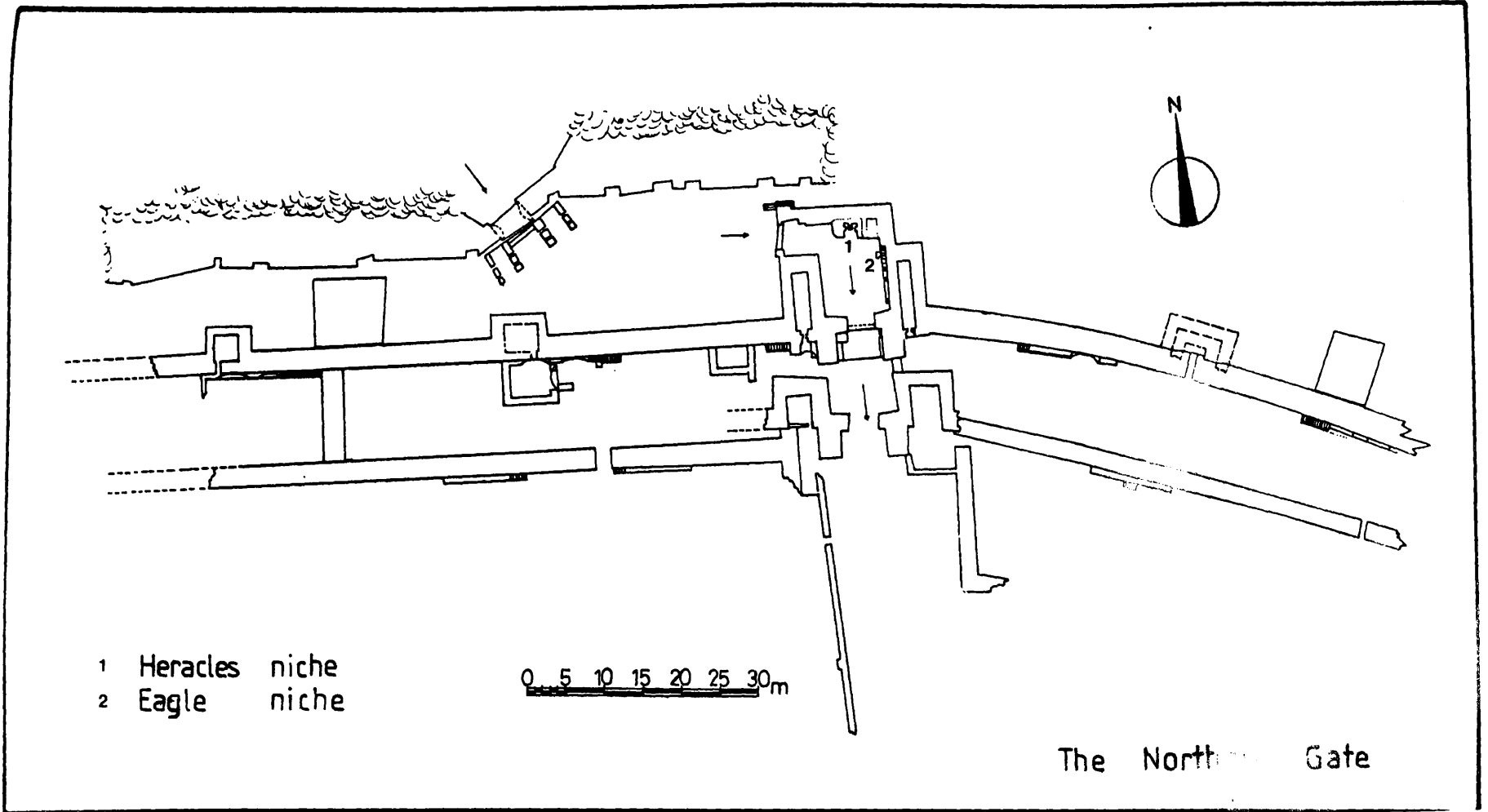
(b) Bridge over the ditch in front of the main wall of Hatra, close to the northern gate.



(a) Main wall of Hatra with northern gate, ditch in front and bridge over the ditch



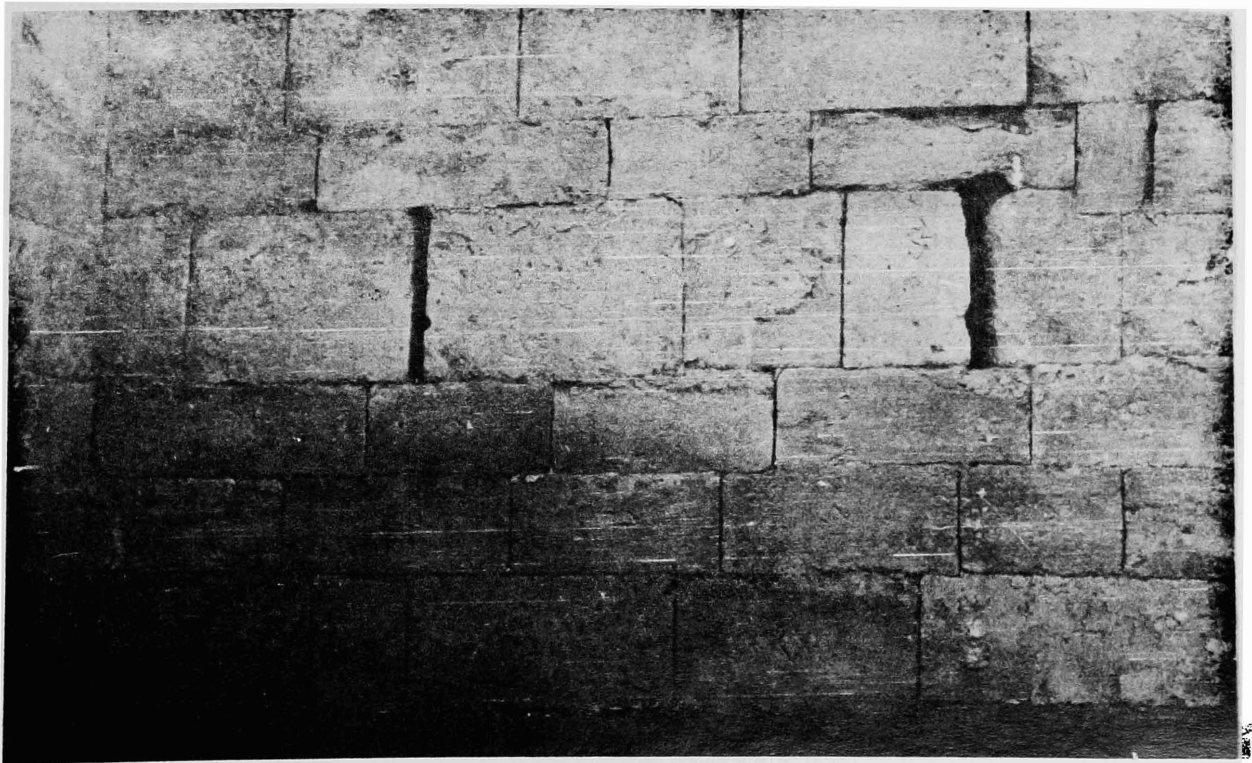
(b) Inner face of the main wall, with the inner wall behind it, Hatra.



Plan of the northern gate (from Al-Salih, 1980), Hatra.



(a) Inner side of the northern gate, with "Heracles niche, Hatra



(b) Arrowslits in the northern gate, Hatra, from outside.



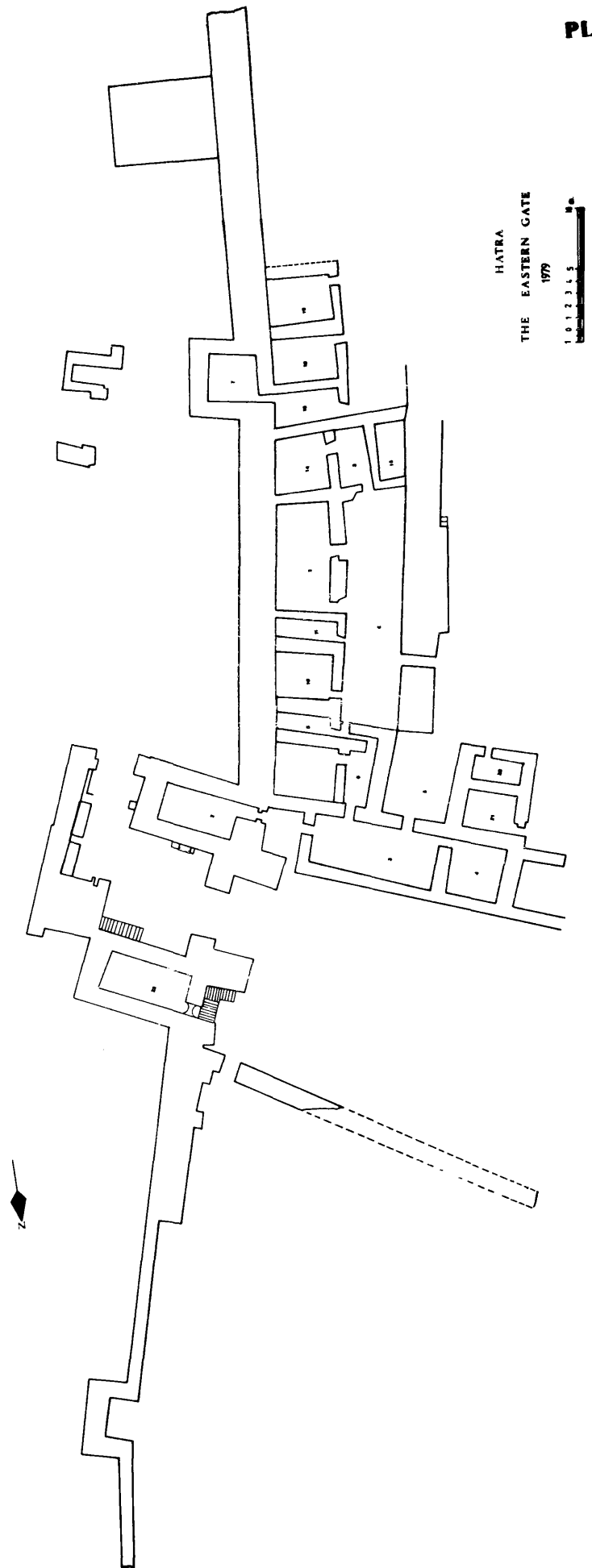
Single arrowslit in the northern gate, seen from outside, Hatra.



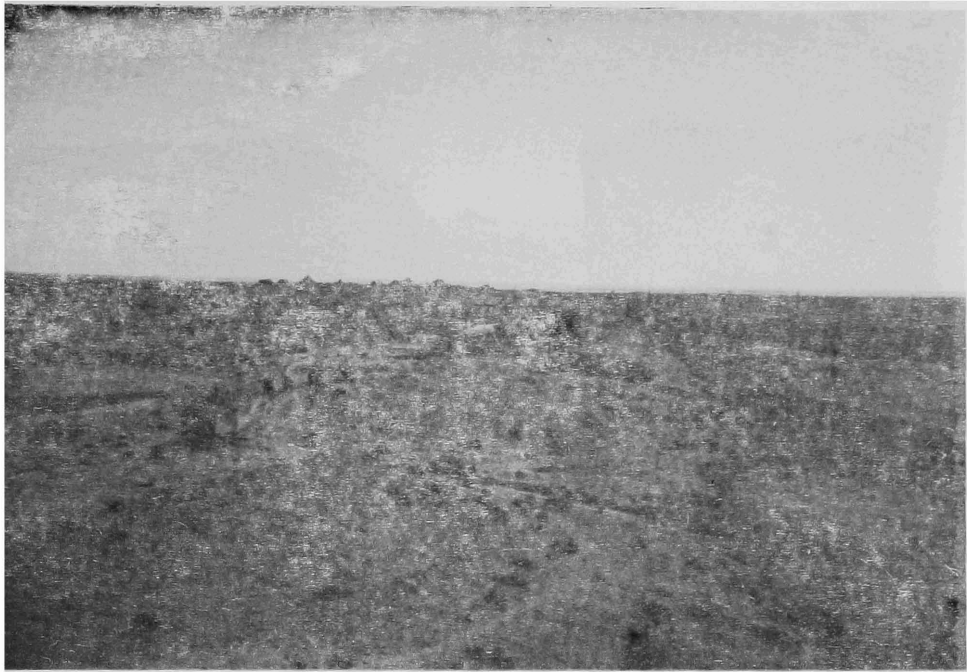
(a) Inner side of the northern gate, Hatra, showing rise in ground level, plaster reddened by fire and "Heracles" niche



(b) Tower of the inner wall, northern gate, Hatra.



Plan of the eastern gate, Hatra (from excavation records of F. Azzawi).



(a) The eastern gate, Hatra, during excavation



(b) The eastern gate, Hatra, after excavation.



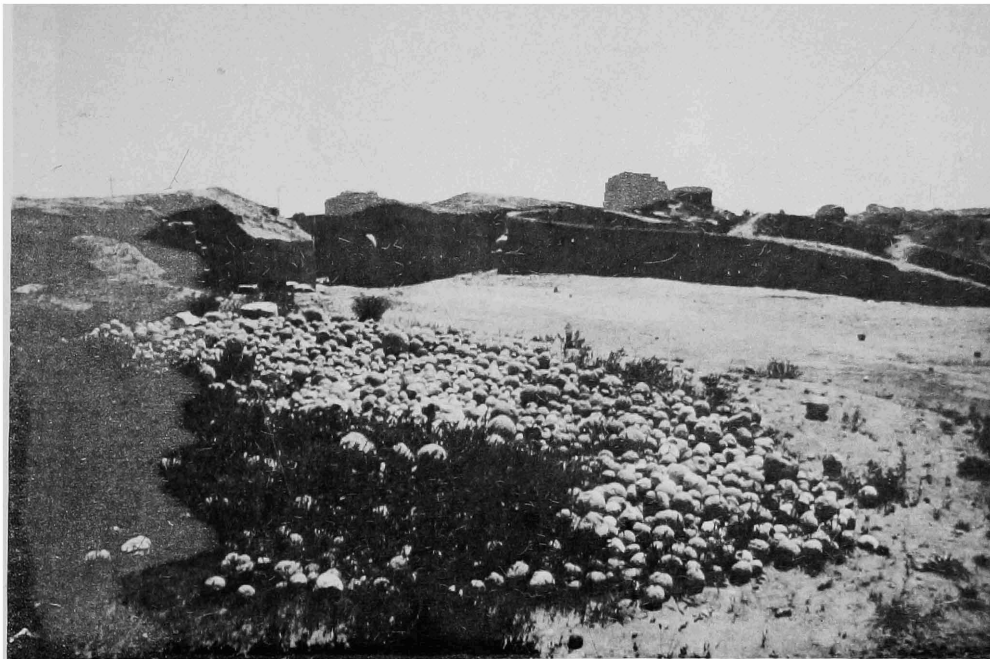
(a) The inner section of the eastern gate, Hatra



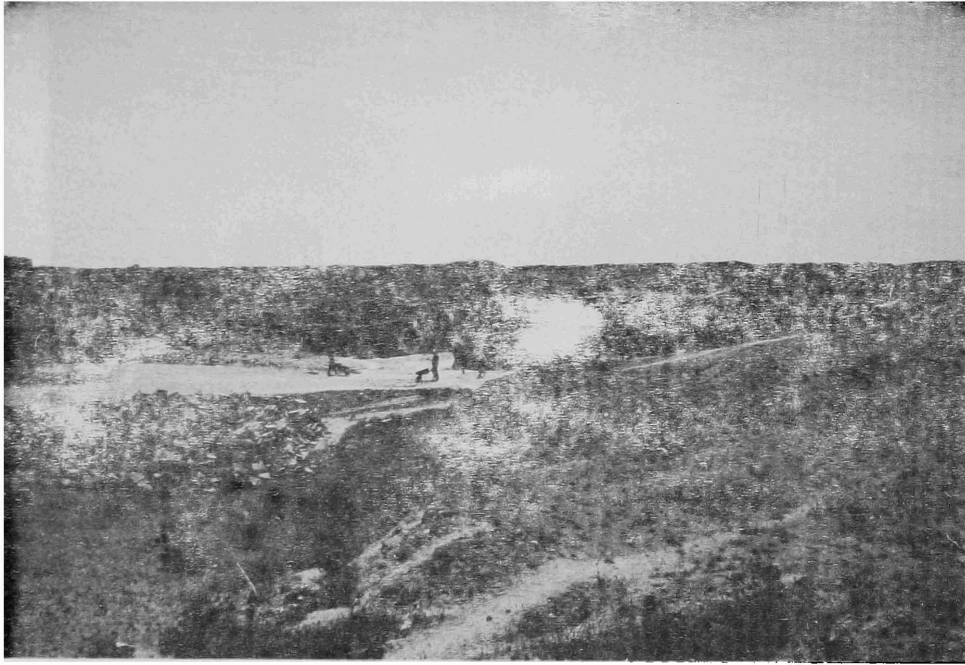
(b) The "eagle" niche, eastern gate, Hatra, with inscriptions [I, II, XIV].



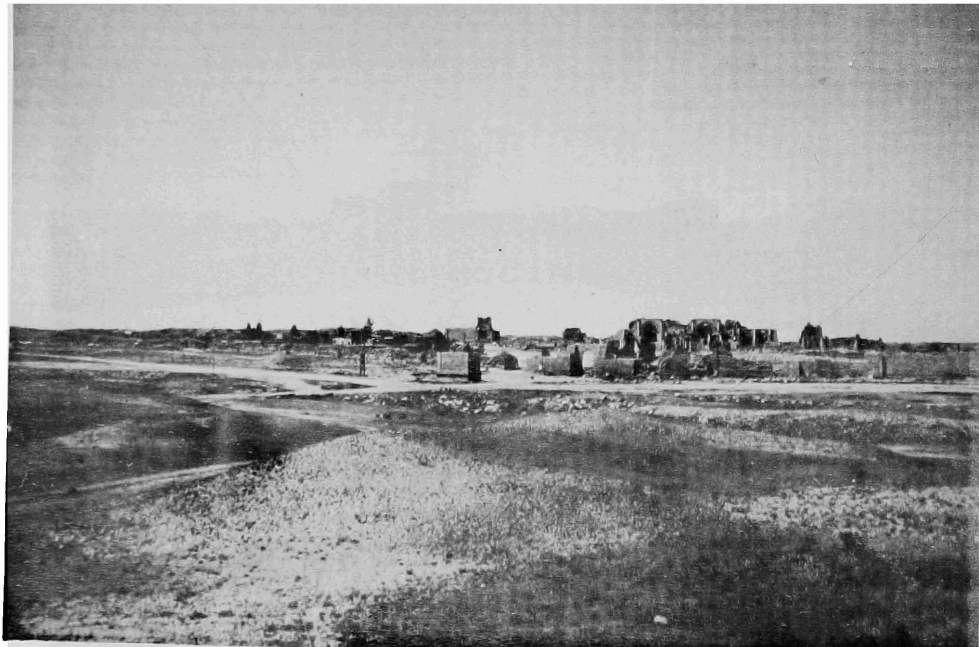
(a) Inner side of the eastern gate, Hatra



(b) Inner side of the eastern gate, showing missiles, Hatra.



(a) Area called the "palace" near the northern gate, Hatra



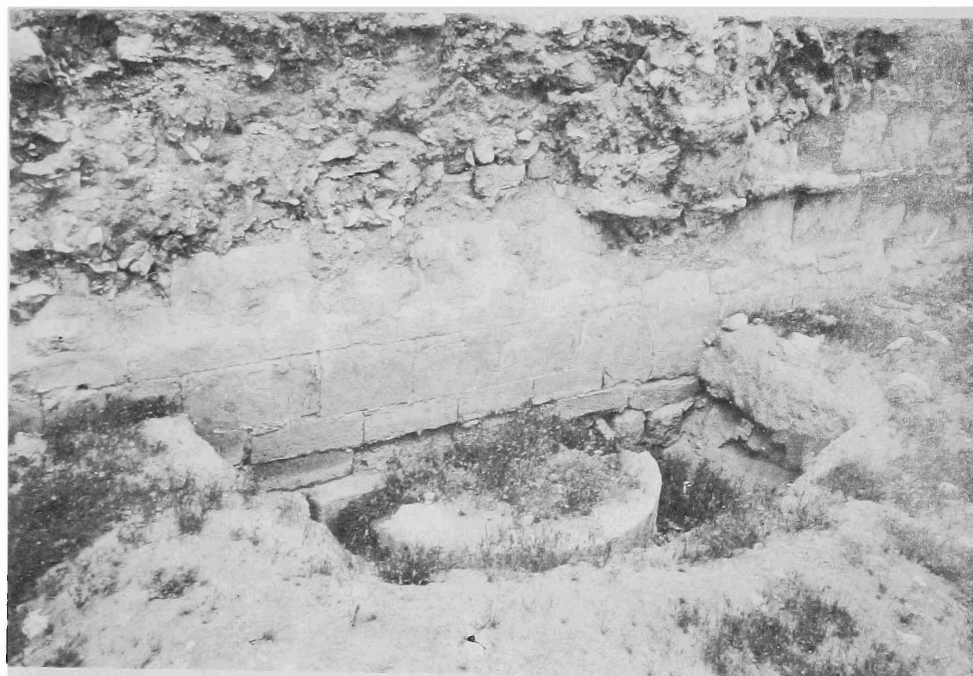
(b) View of the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha) from the east, Hatra



Aerial view of the main sanctuary (Bait Alaha), Hatra.



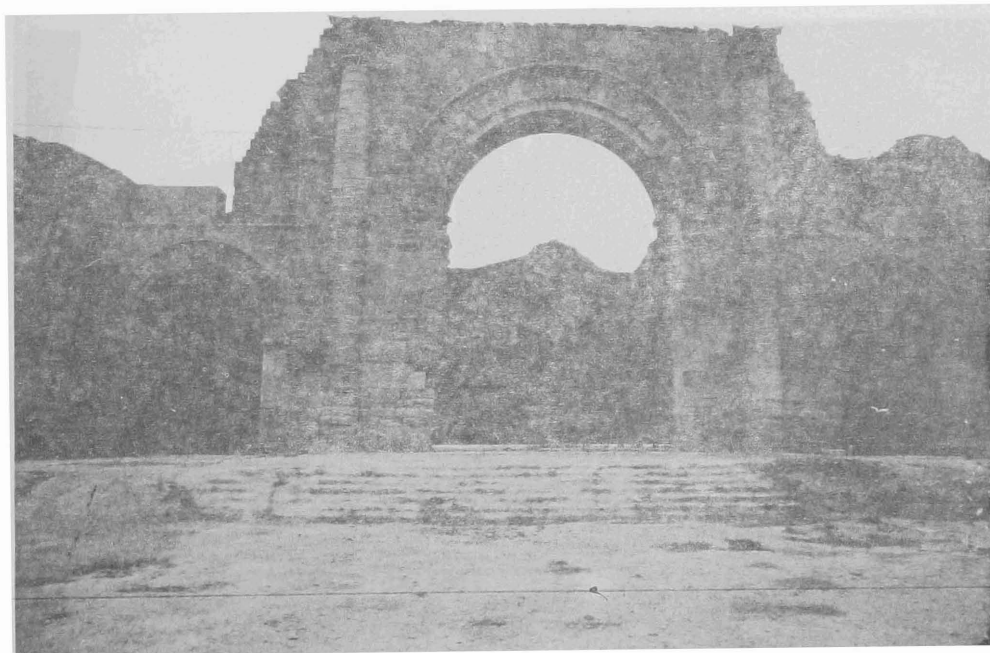
(a) Eastern section of the wall of the main sanctuary, Hatra,



(b) Eastern section of the wall of the main sanctuary, Hatra with
semi-circular buttress from a previous phase.



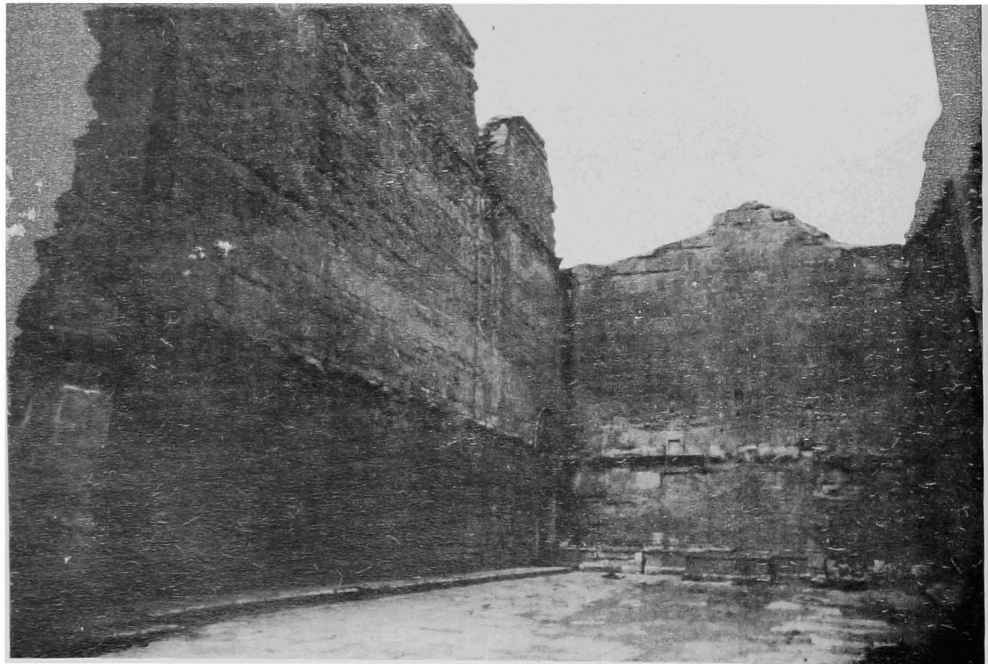
(a) The main iwan group in the main sanctuary, Hatra



(b) North iwan group in the main sanctuary, Hatra.



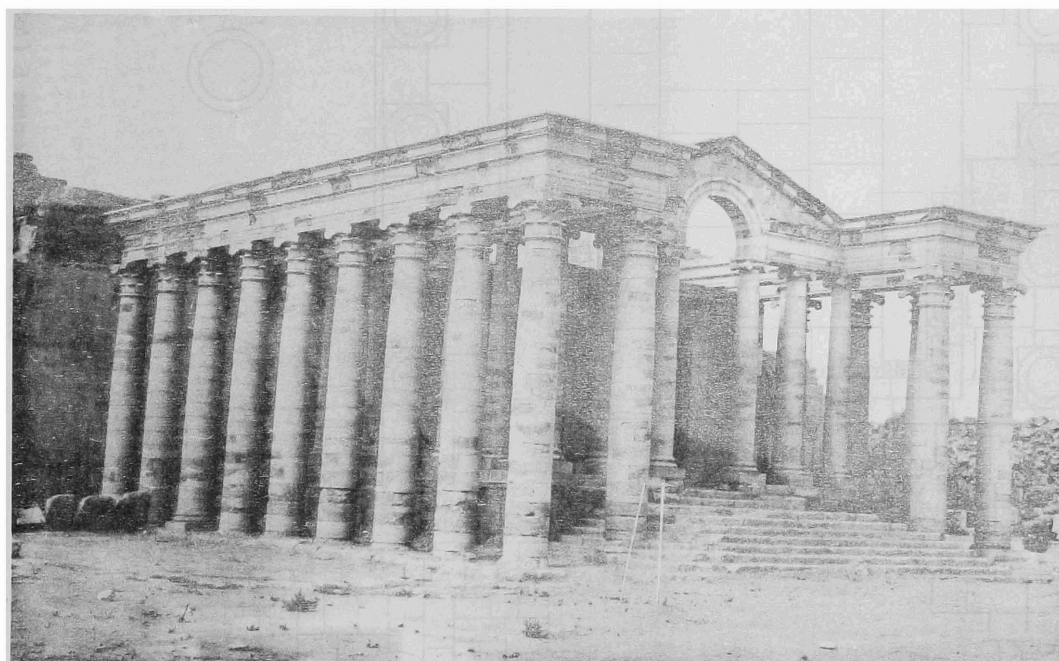
(a) Third iwan group (on the north) in the main sanctuary, Hatra,



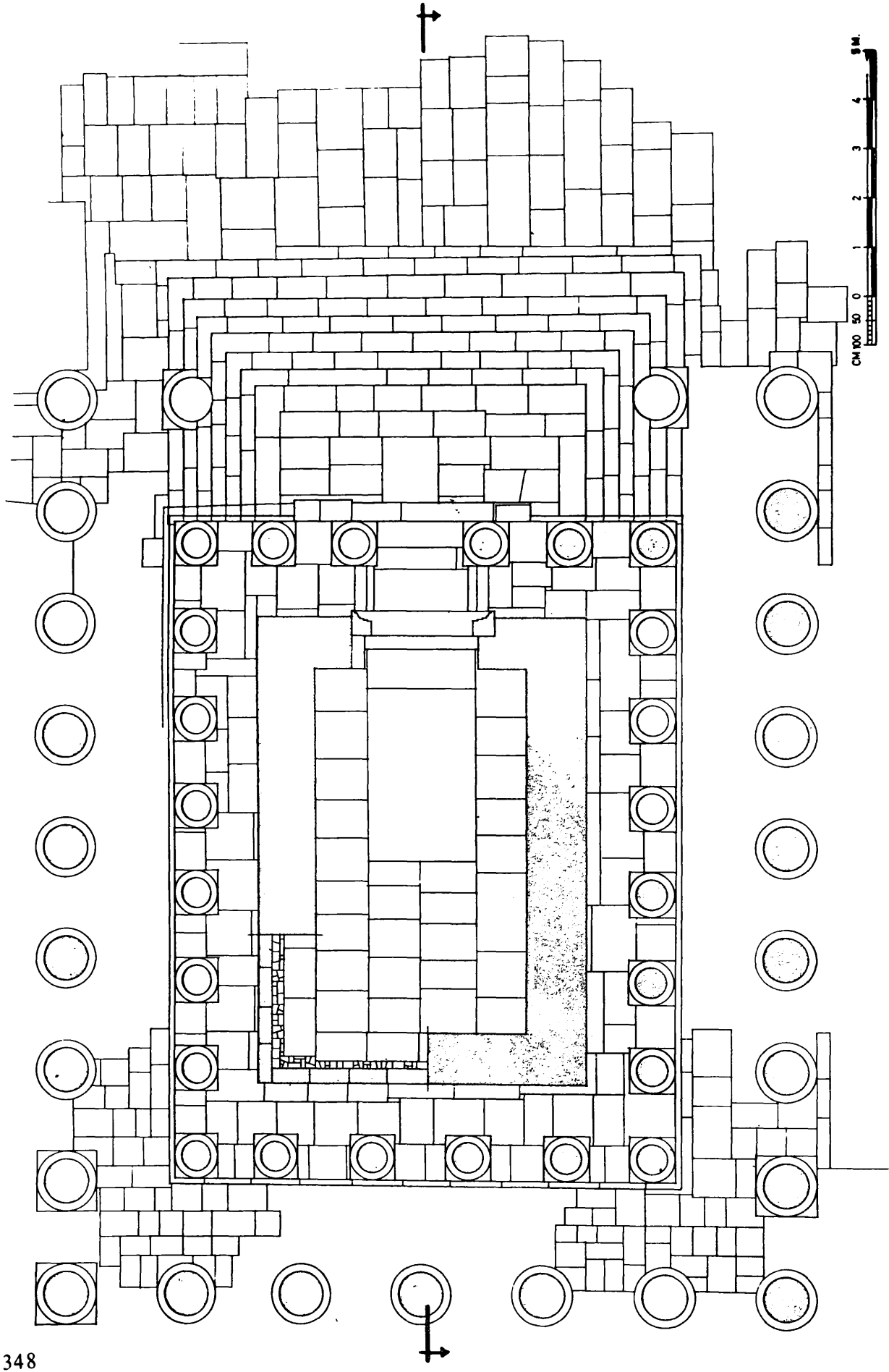
(b) Interior of great north iwan, Hatra, showing altar.



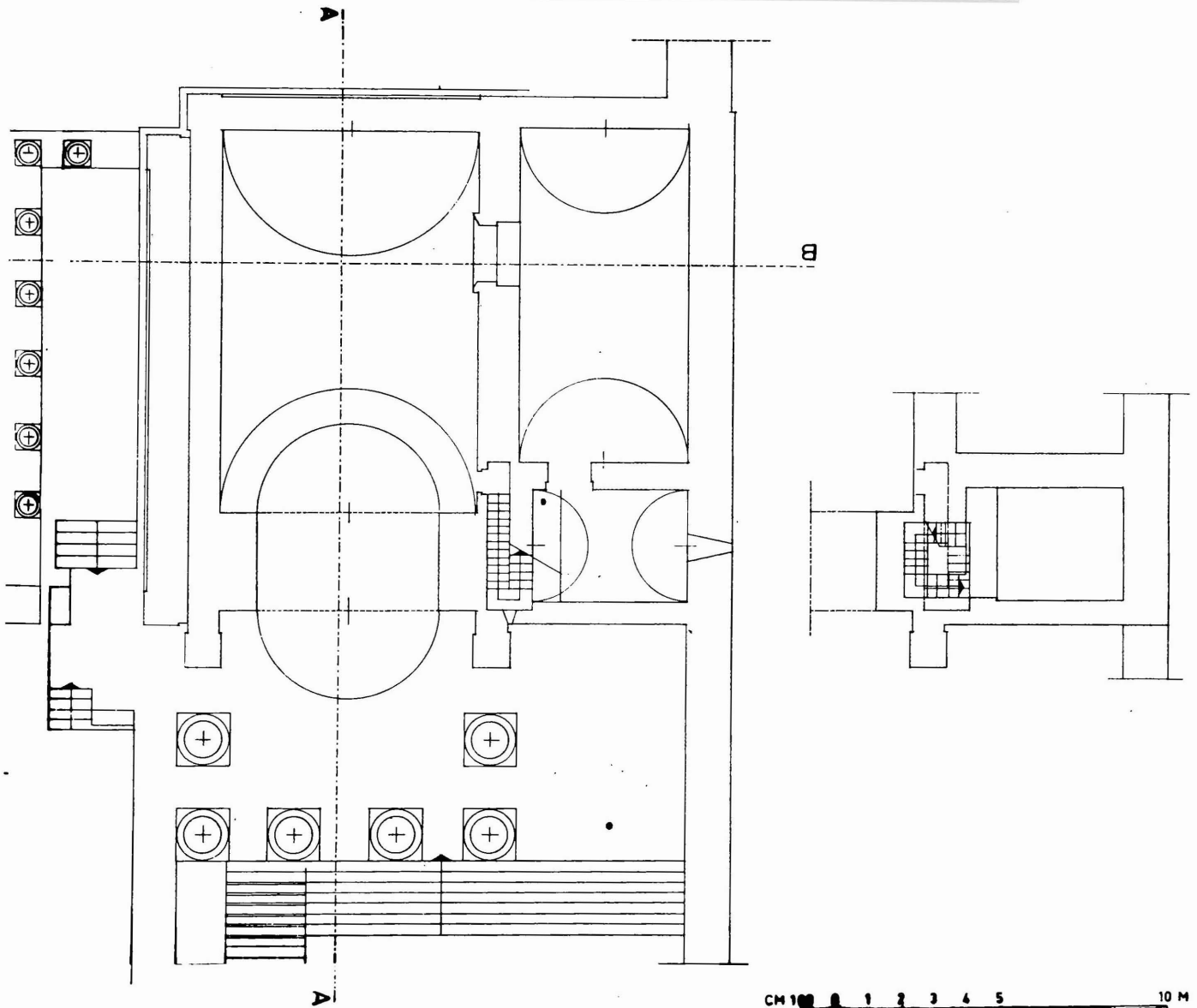
(a) Temple E ("of MRN"), Hatra



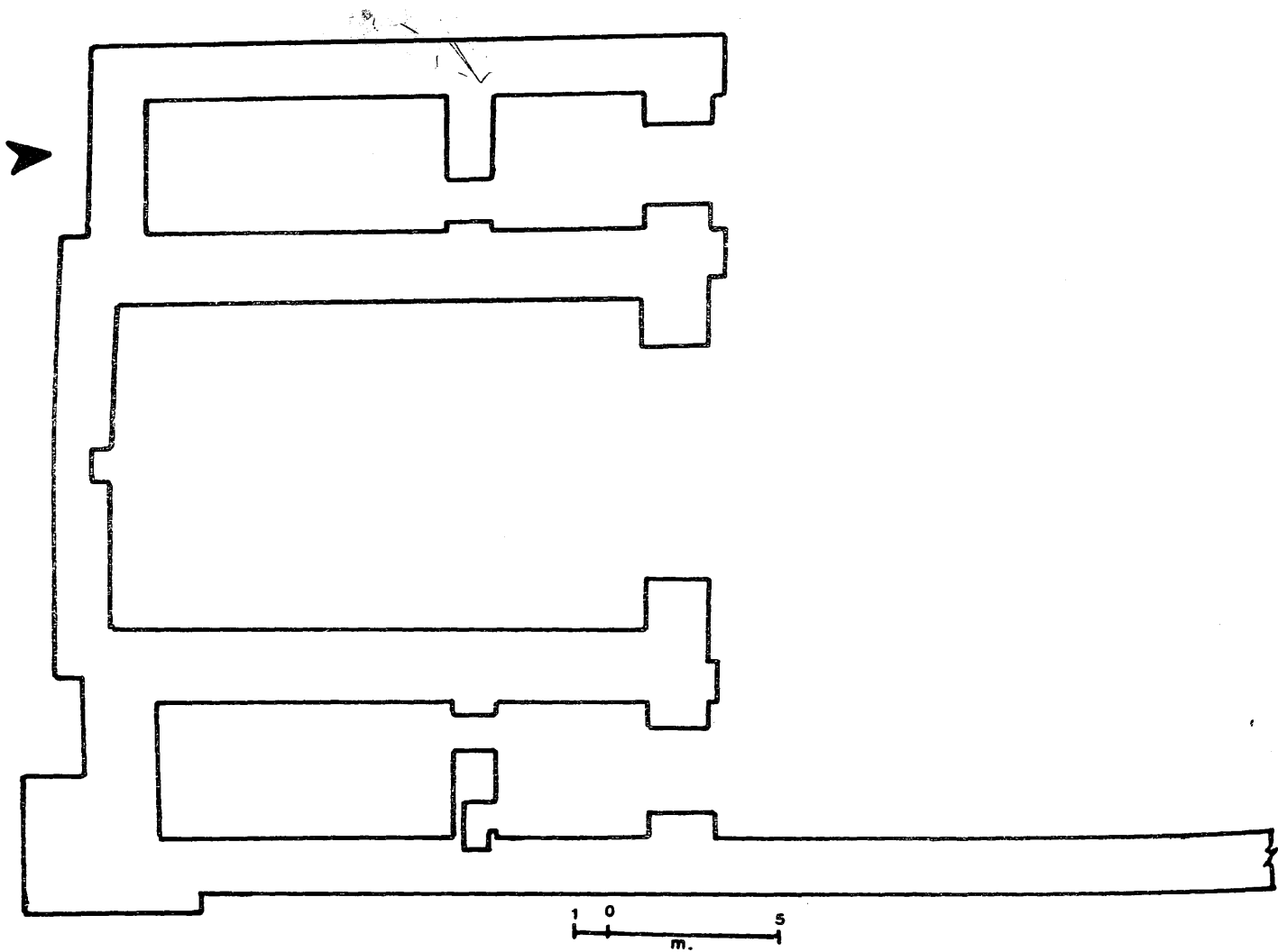
(b) Temple E ("of MRN"), Hatra.



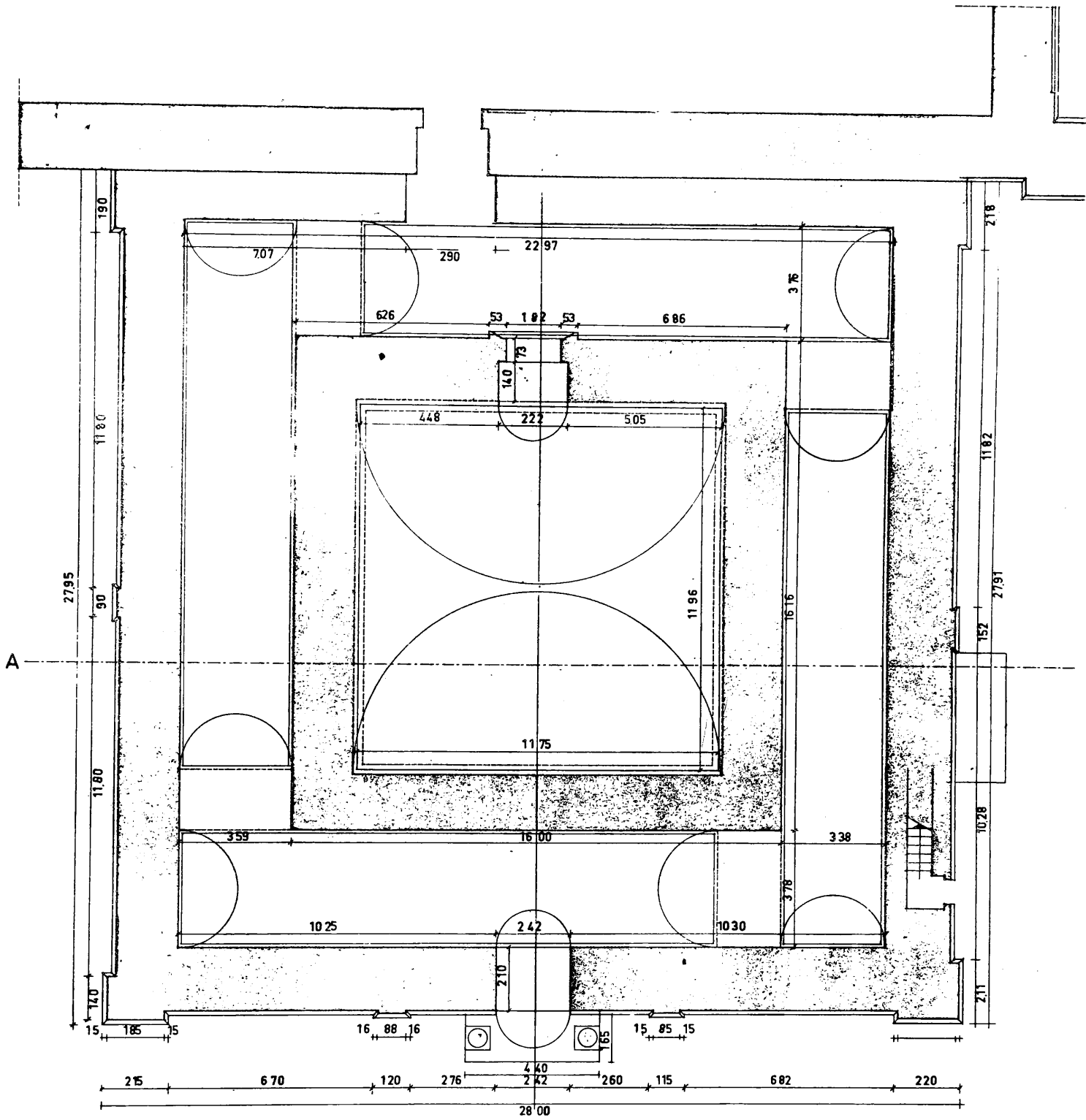
Ground plan of Temple E ('of MRN). Hatra (from Saïar and Mustafa, 1974: 345, plan 7).



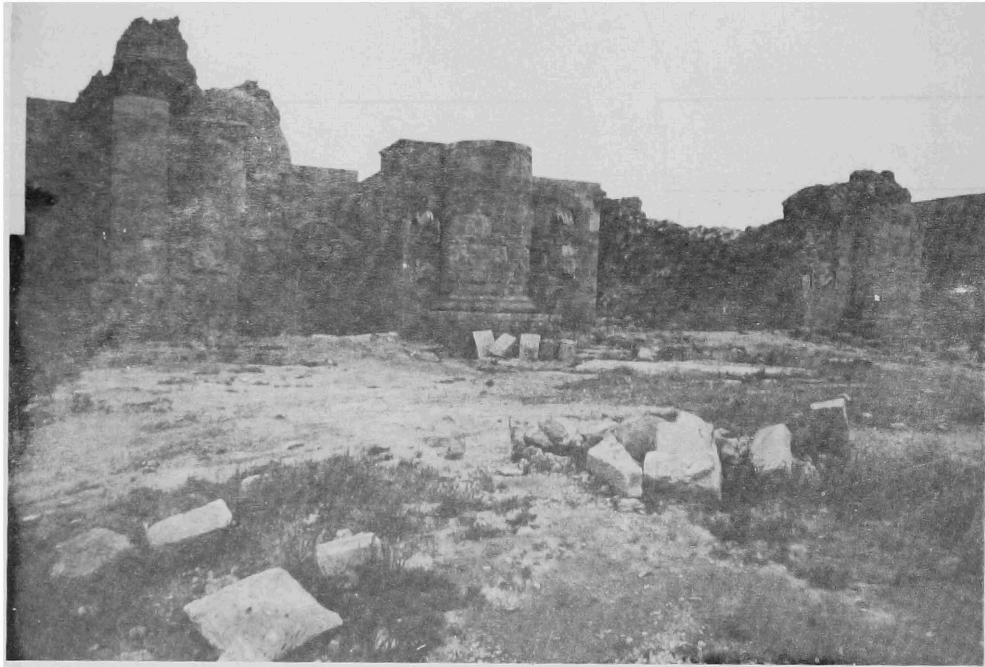
(b) Ground plan of Temple D ("of Shah (i) ru"), Hatra
 (From Safer and Mustafā, 1974: 338, plan 5)



Ground plan of Temple C ("of the Samia"), main sanctuary,
Hatra (from Safar and Mustafa, 1974, 343 plan 6)



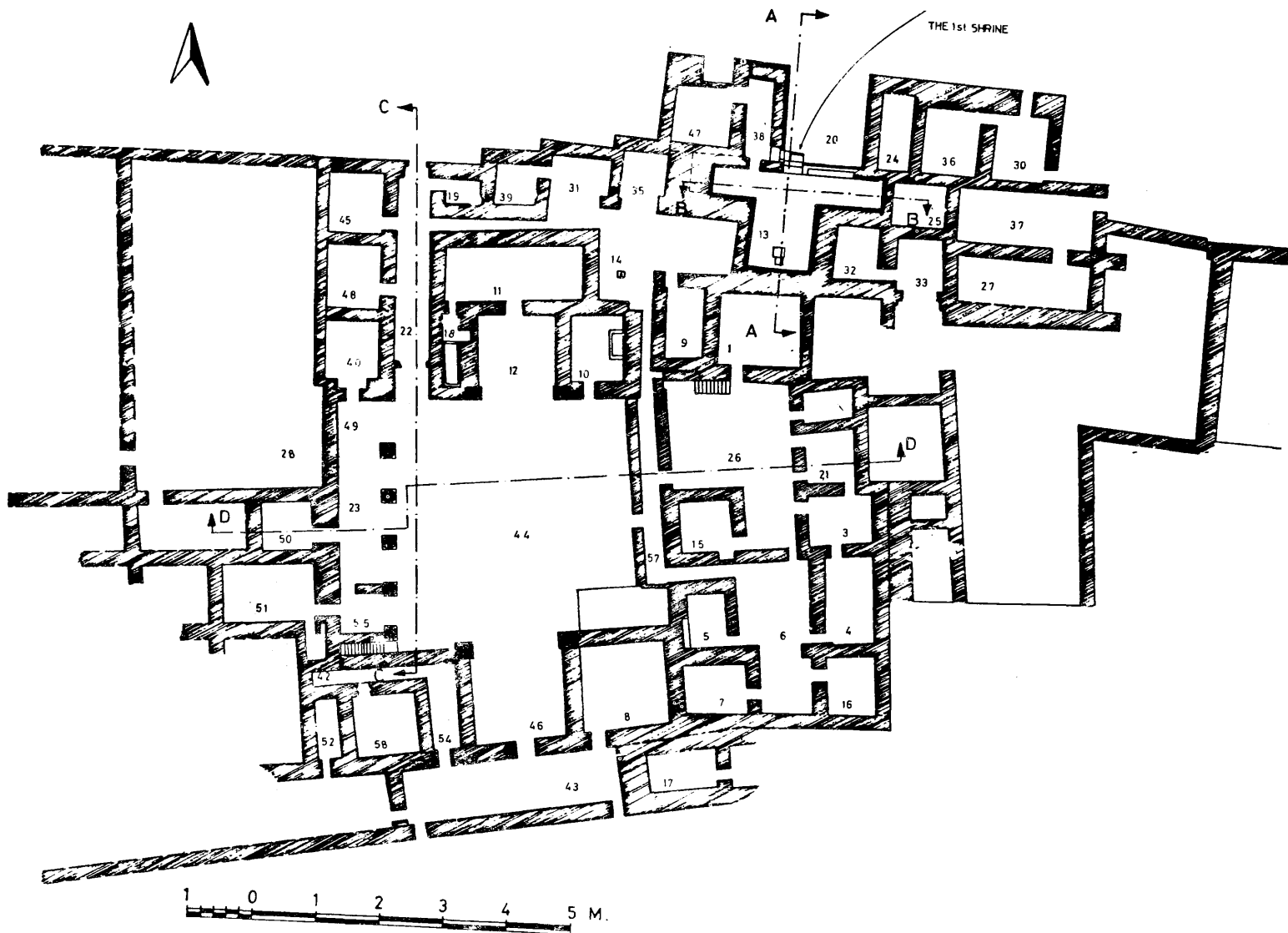
Ground plan of the square shrine behind the great south iwan, main sanctuary,
 Hatra (from Safar and Mustafa, 1974): 335, plan 4)



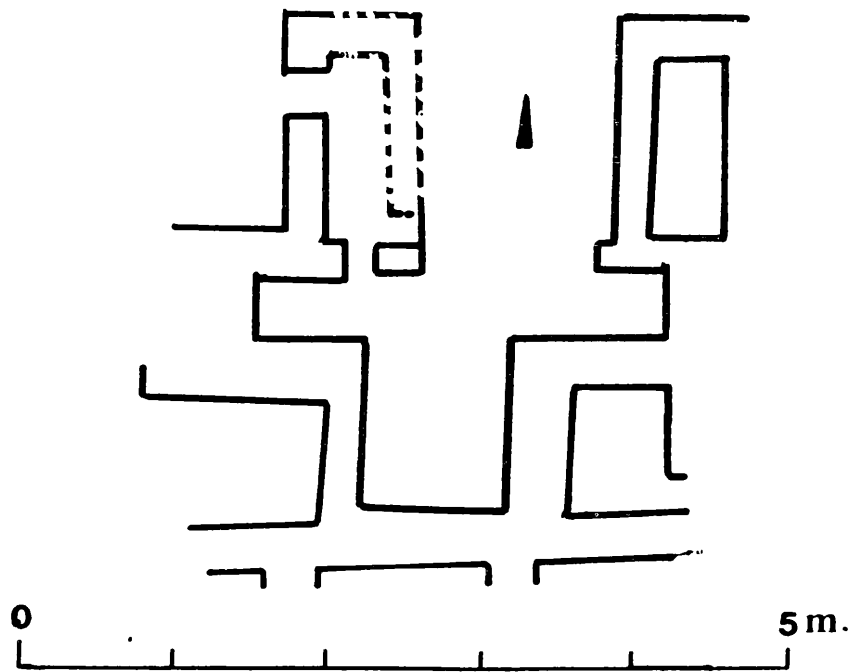
(a) East section of Temple B ("of Allat"), Hatra



(b) Detail of east section of Temple B ("of Allat"),
Hatra, with camel reliefs

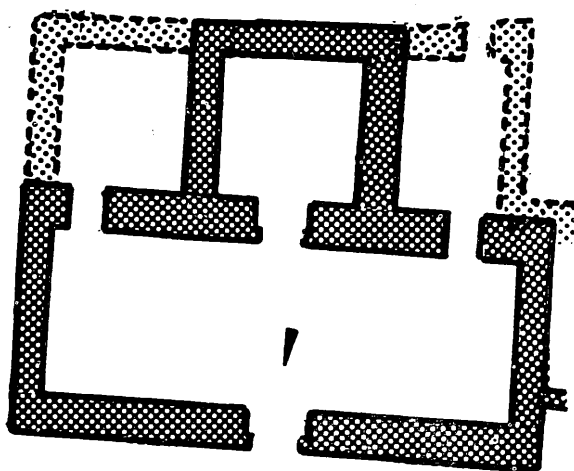


105. Ground plan of the house of M'NW Hatra (from Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 351, plan 10)

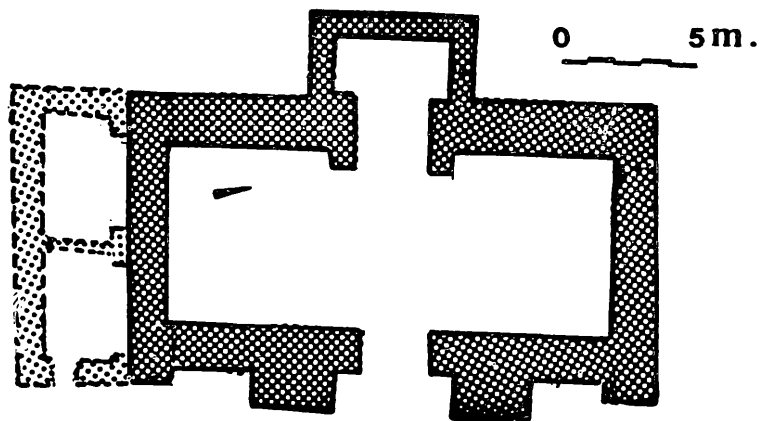


A. Shrine I

0 5m.

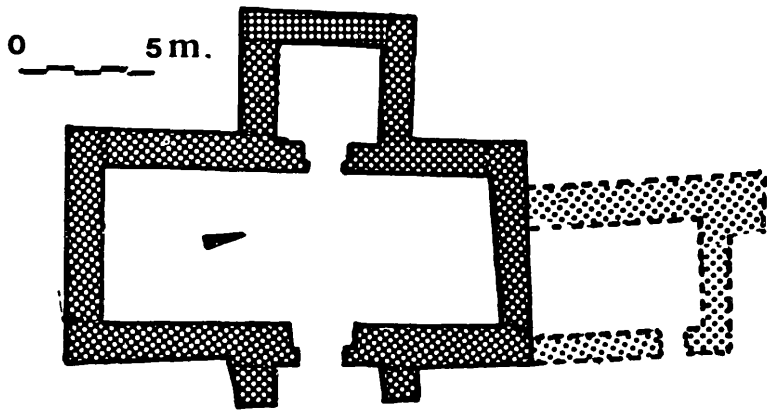


B. Shrine II

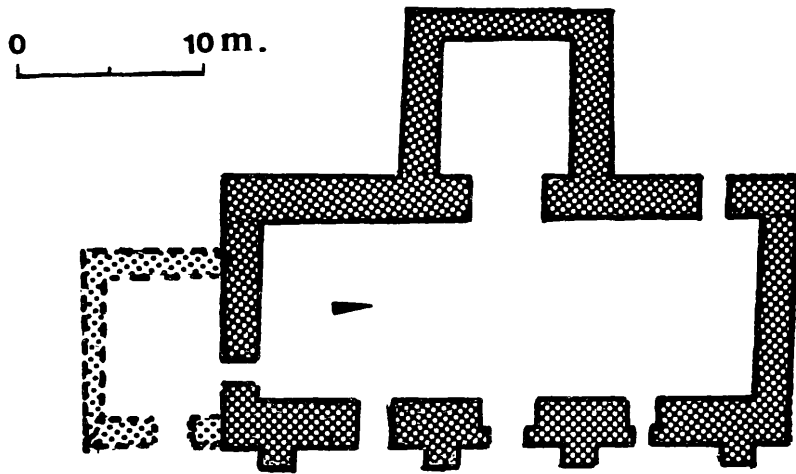


C. Shrine III

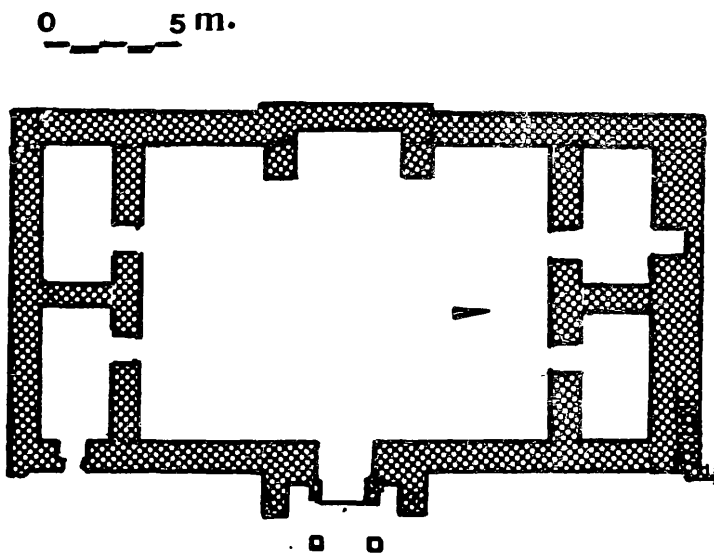
Ground plans of (A) Shrine I (B) Shrine II (C) Shrine III (from Safar and Mustafa , 1974: 351, plan 10, 353, plan 11, 355, plan 12)



A. Shrine IV

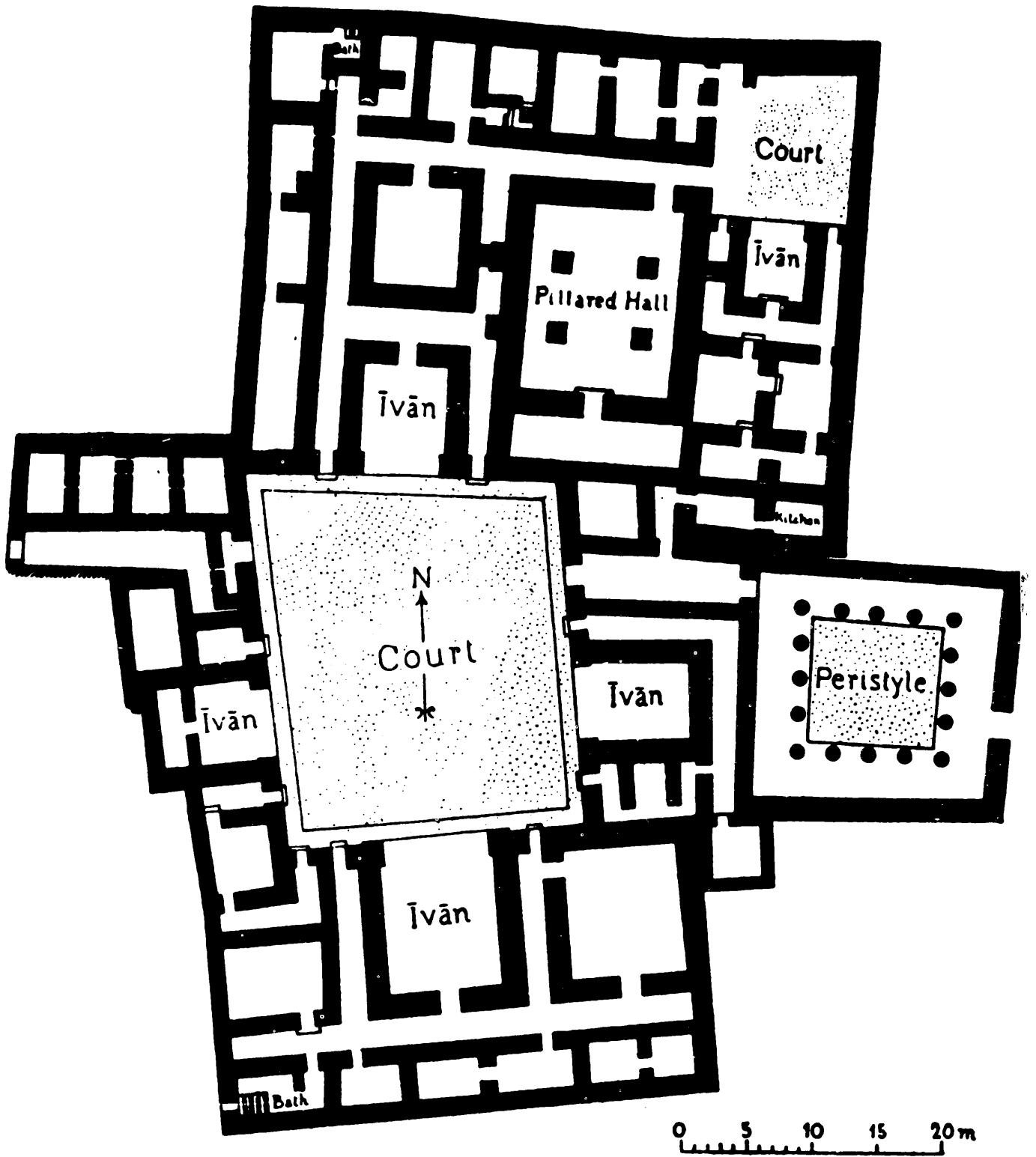


B. Shrine V

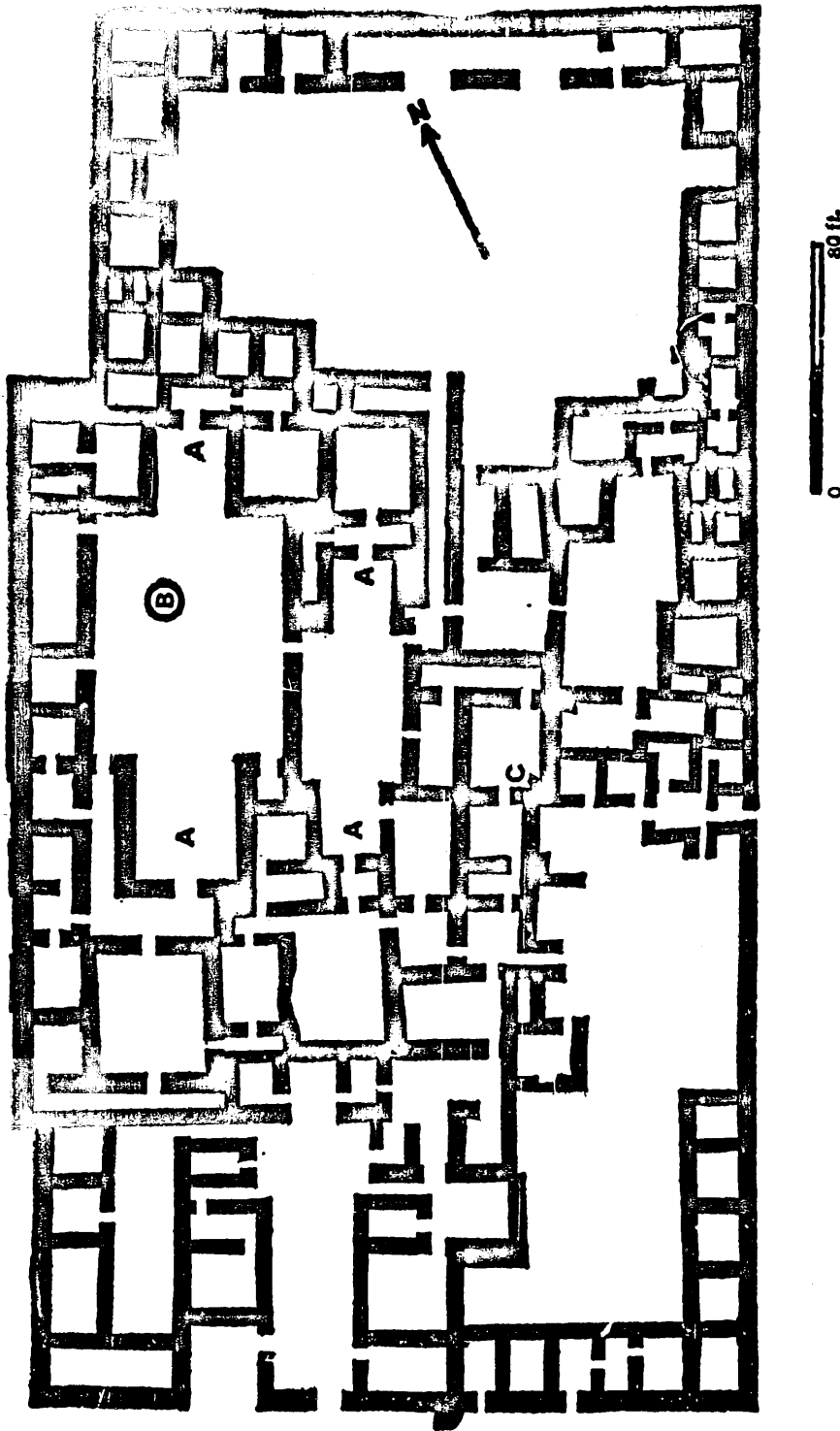


C. Shrine VI

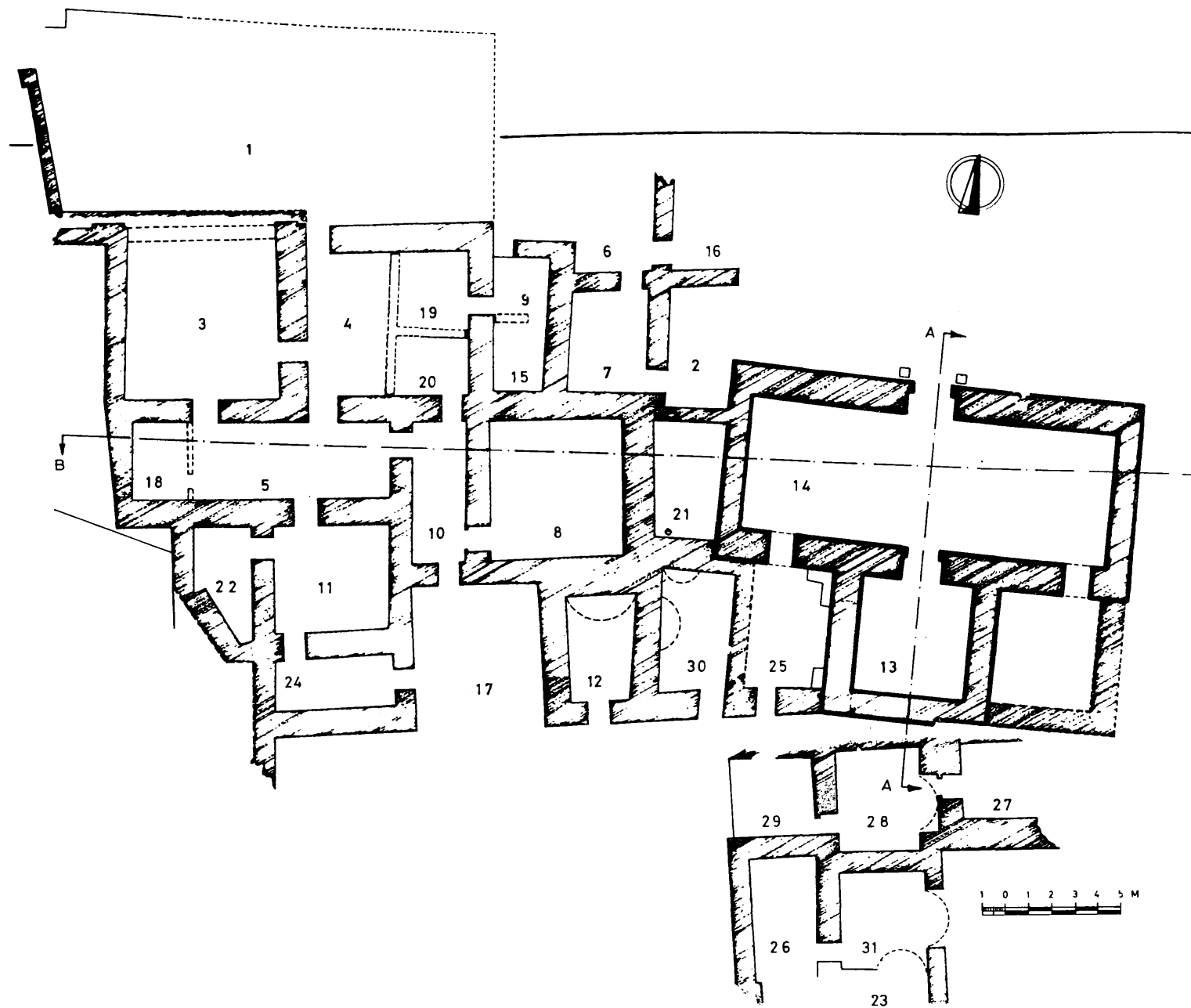
Ground plans of (A) Shrine IV (B) Shrine V (C) Shrine VI (from Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 355, plan 12, 357, plan 14, 358, plan 16)



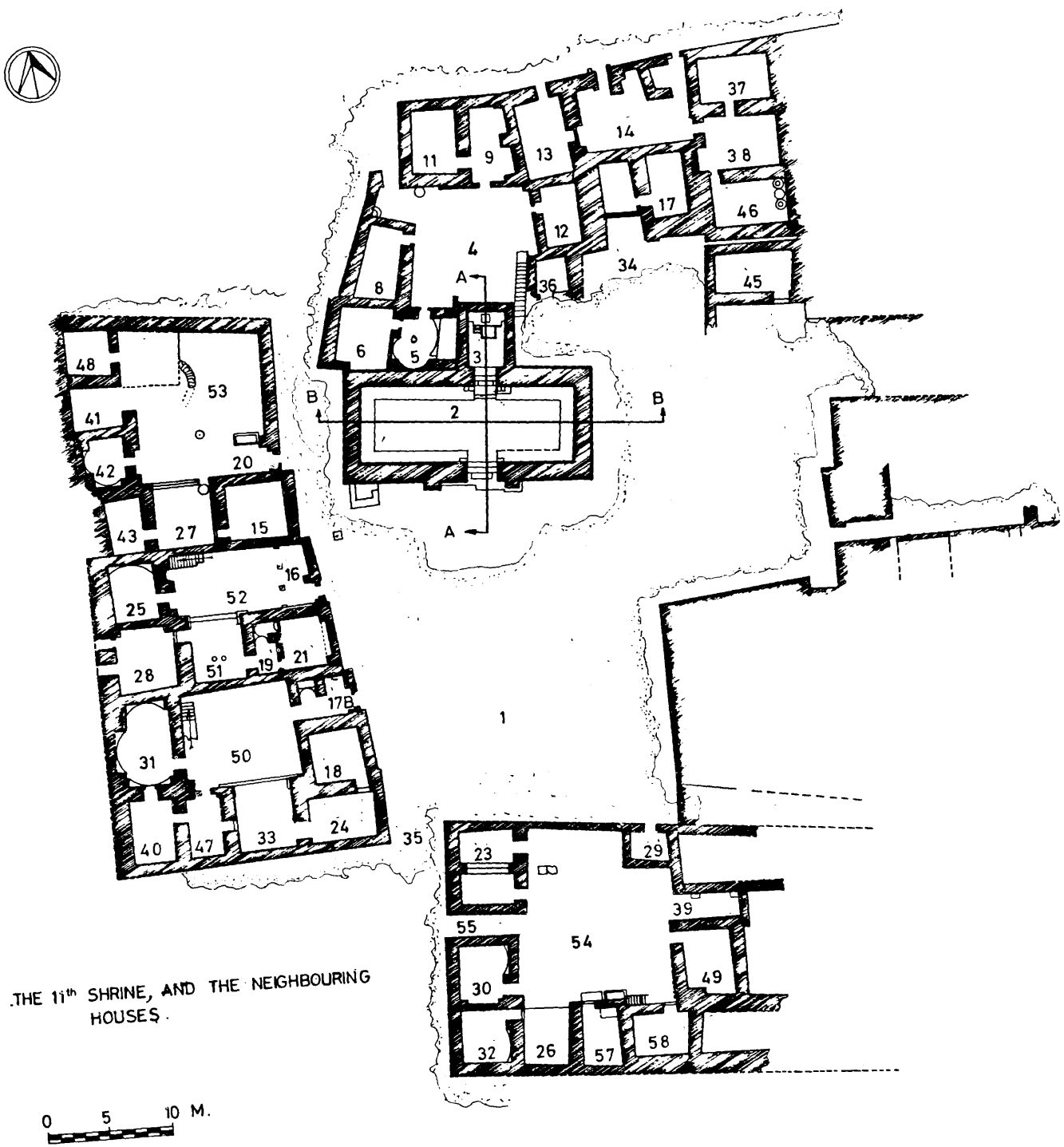
Ground plan of the Parthian-period ["palac"] at Assur (from Pope, 1938):
 vol. I, fig. 106).



Ground plan of a large perthine-period house at Seleucia on the Tigris (from L. Waterman, Preliminary Report upon the Excavations at Tej Umar, Iraq, Ann Arbor, 1933, fig. 7)

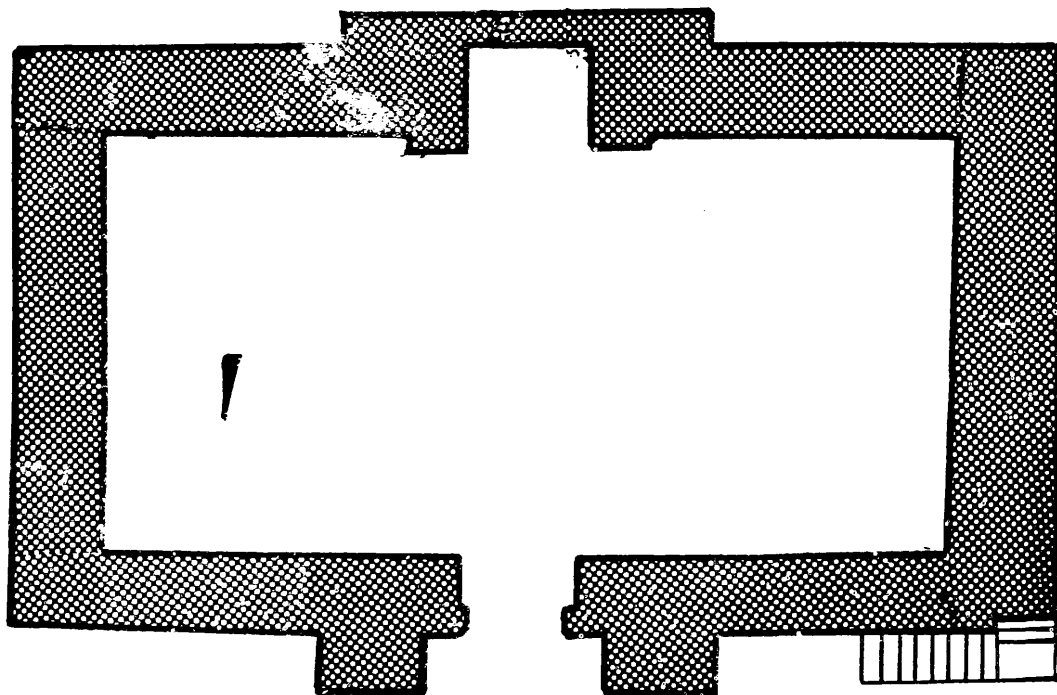


106. Ground plans of house adjoining Shrine II, Hatra (from Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 353, plan 11)



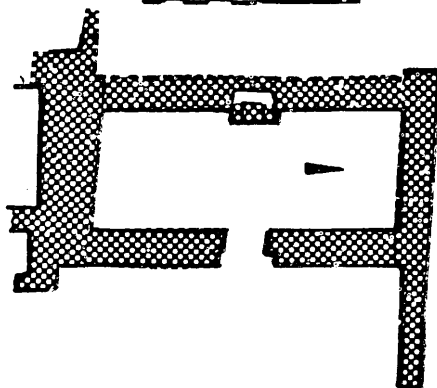
THE 11th SHRINE, AND THE NEIGHBOURING HOUSES.

107. Ground plans of houses adjoining Shrine XI, Hatra (from Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 367, plan 21)



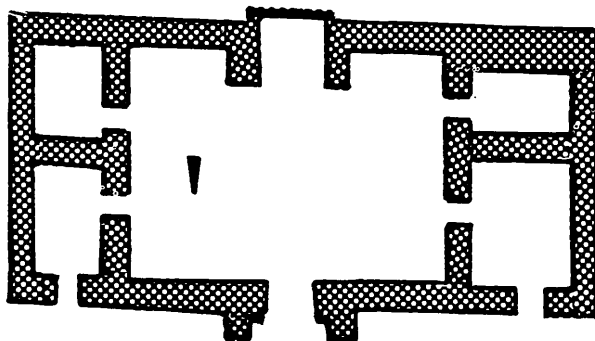
A. Shrine VII

0 10 m.



B. Shrine VIIIa

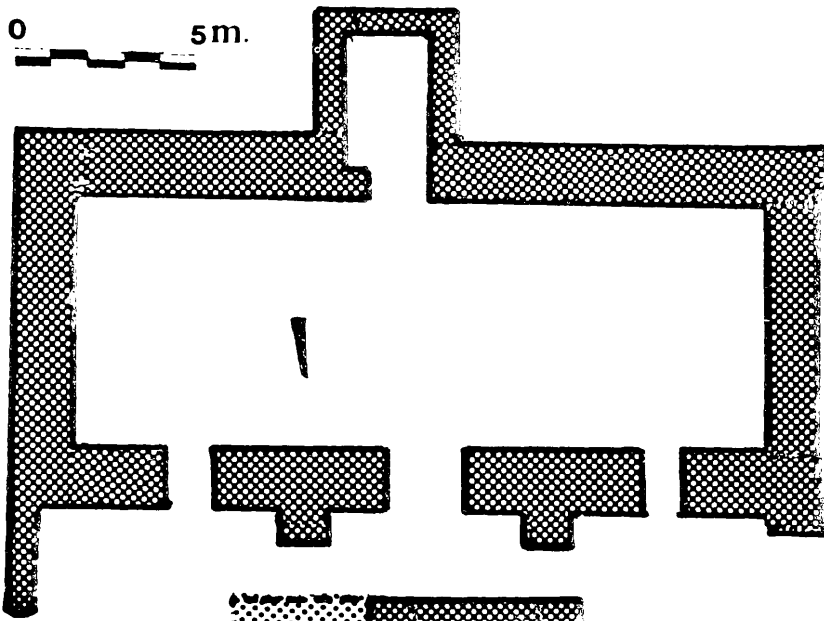
0 10 m.



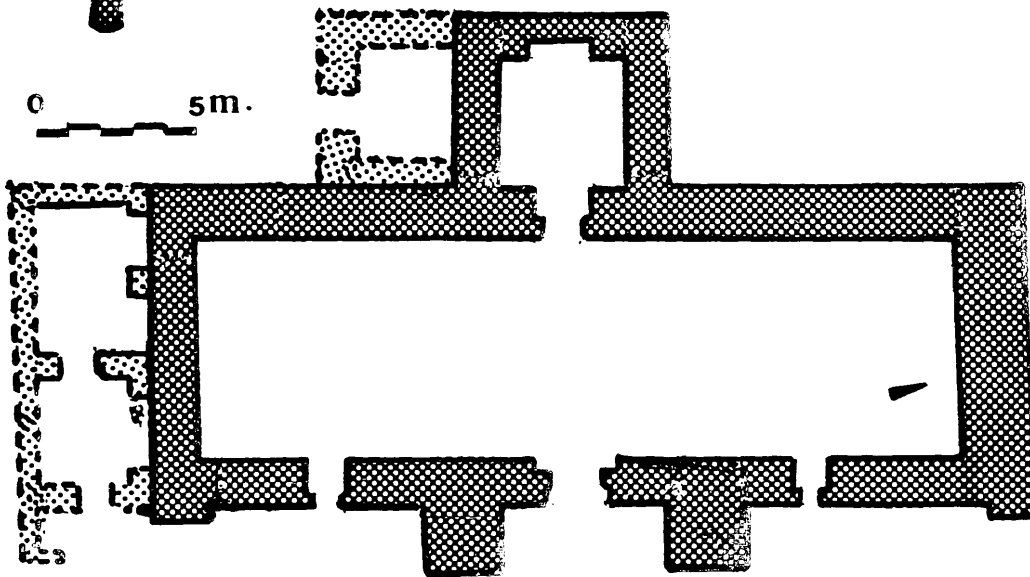
C. Shrine VIIIb

Ground plan of (A) Shrine VII (B) Shrine VIIIa (C) Shrine VIIIb (from Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 359, plan 17, 361, plan 18)

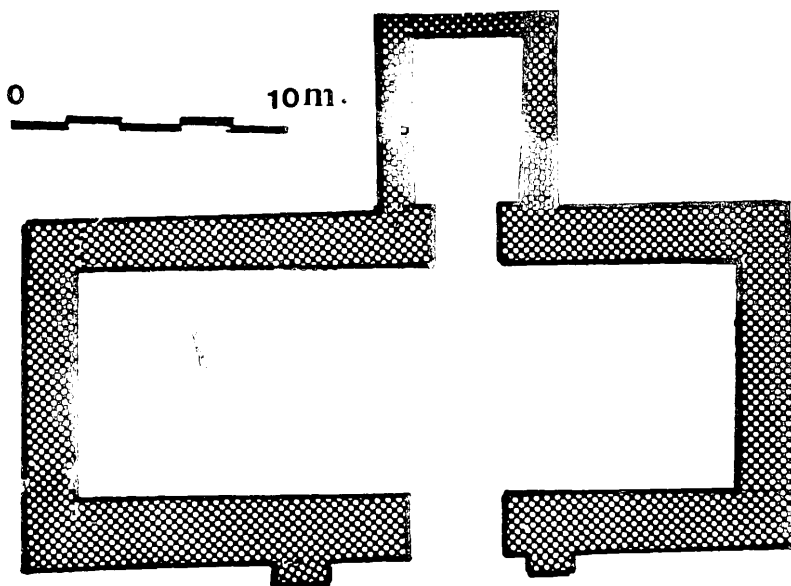
A. Shrine IX



B. Shrine X



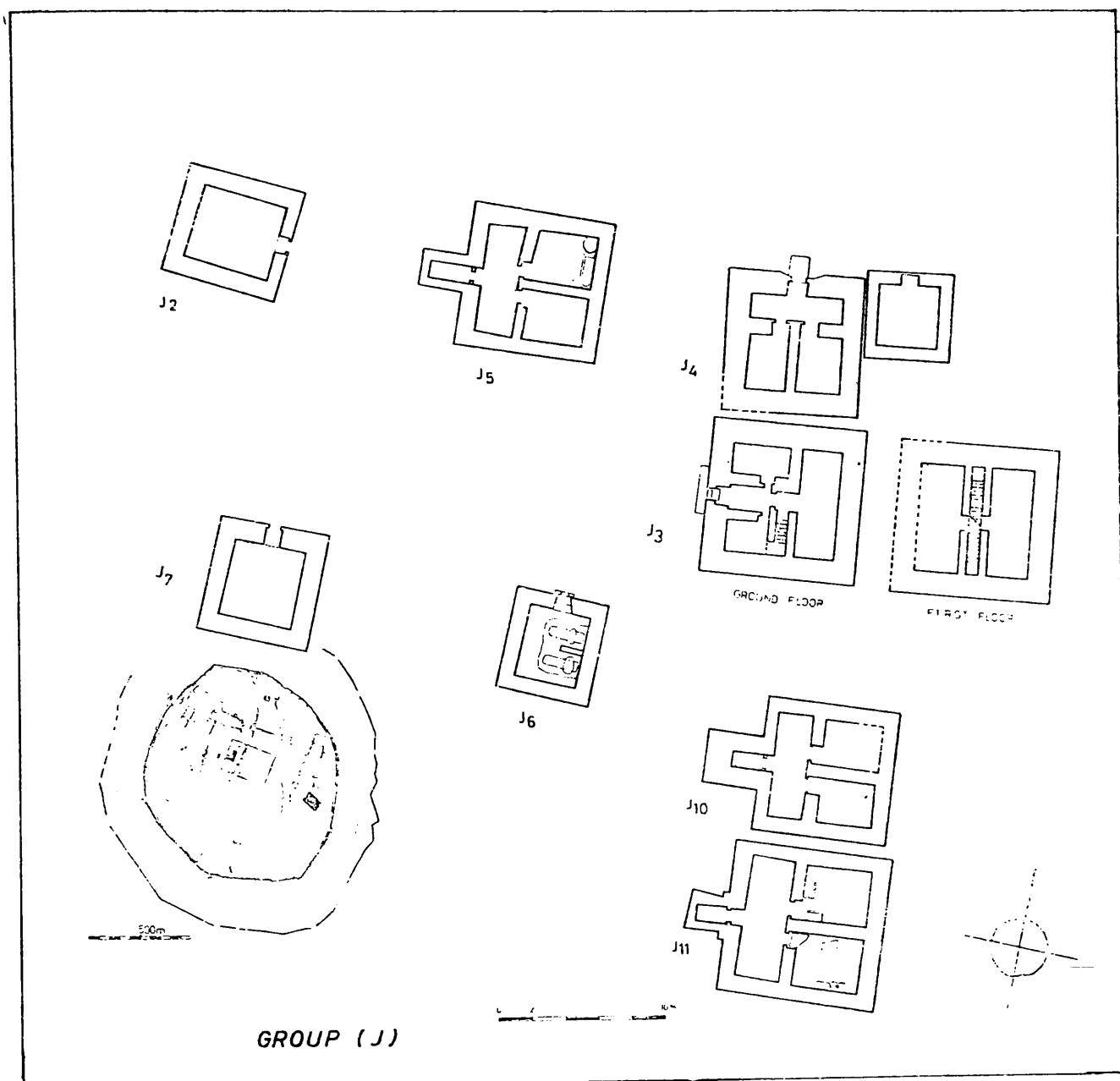
C. Shrine XI



Ground plans of (A) Shrine IX (B) Shrine X (C) Shrine XI (from Safar and Mustafa, 1974: 363, plan 19, 365, plan 20, 367, plan 21)



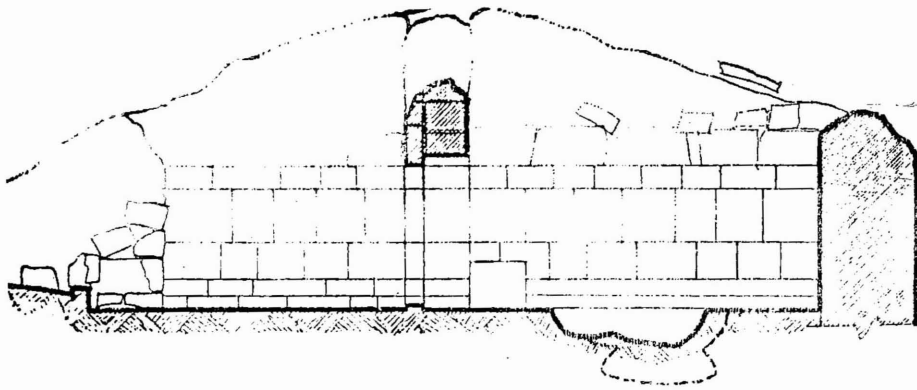
Shrine XIII, Hatra, under excavation



Plans of excavated tombs in the east part of Hatra (FROM Al-Salhi, 1972: plan (A))

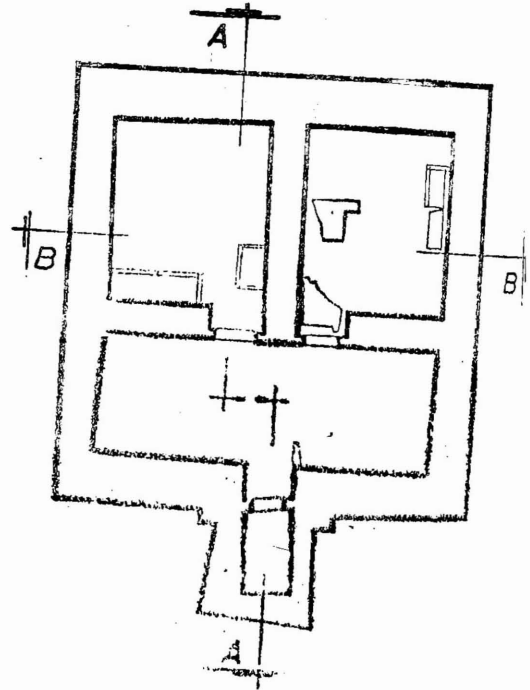


(a) View of tomb JII, Hatra



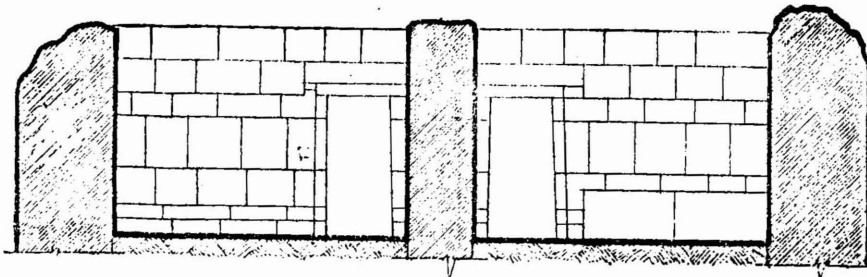
SECTION (A - A)

SCALE 1 : 50



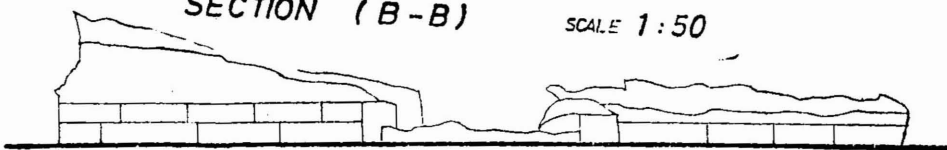
GROUND PLAN

SCALE 1 : 100



SECTION (B - B)

SCALE 1 : 50

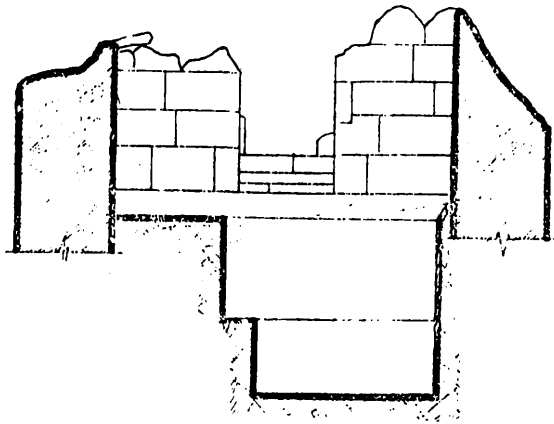


FRONT ELEVATION

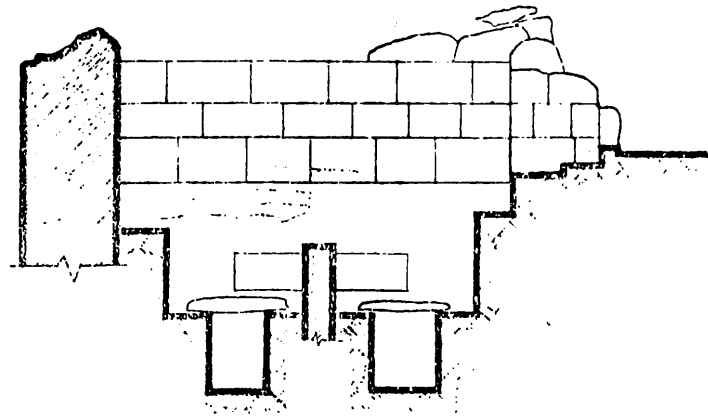
SCALE 1 : 50



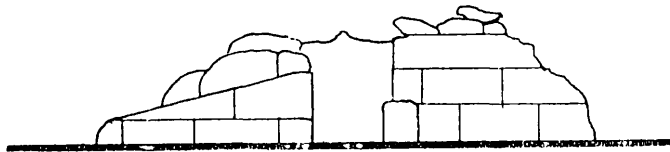
View of tomb J3. Hatra, containing inscriptions [293, 294]



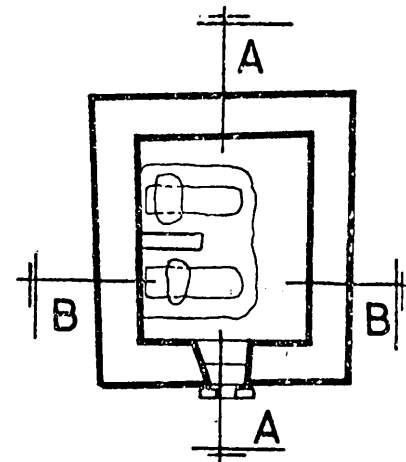
SECTION (B-B) SCALE 1:50



SECTION (A-A) SCALE 1:50



FRONT ELEVATION SCALE 1:50



GROUND PLAN

SCALE 1:100



(a) View of the site of Jaddalah, with the Wadi Jaddalah



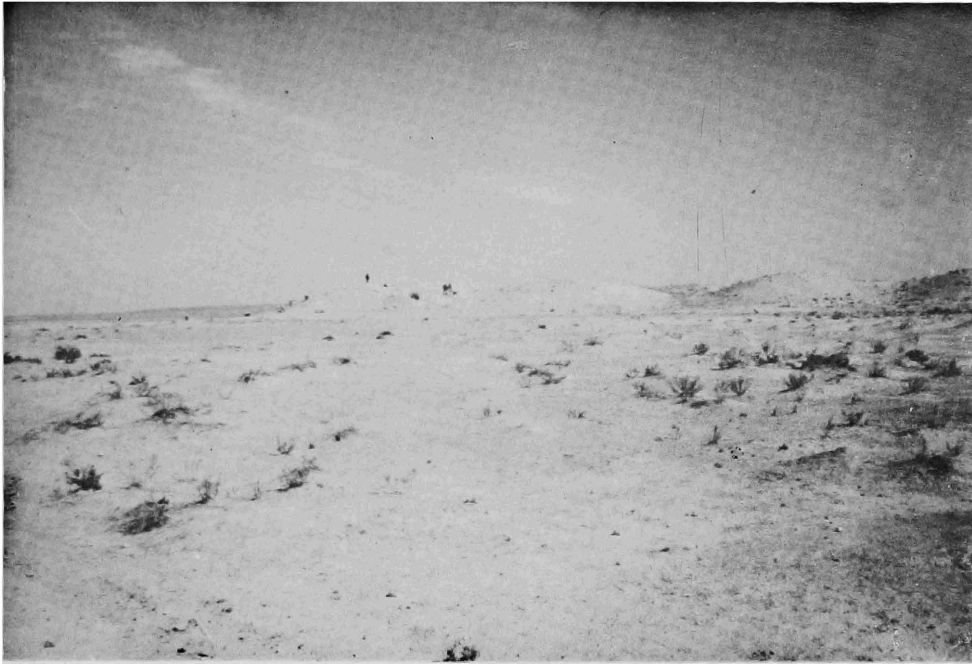
(b) View of the spring of Jaddalah



(a) View of the east side of the mound of Khirbet Jaddalah, before excavation



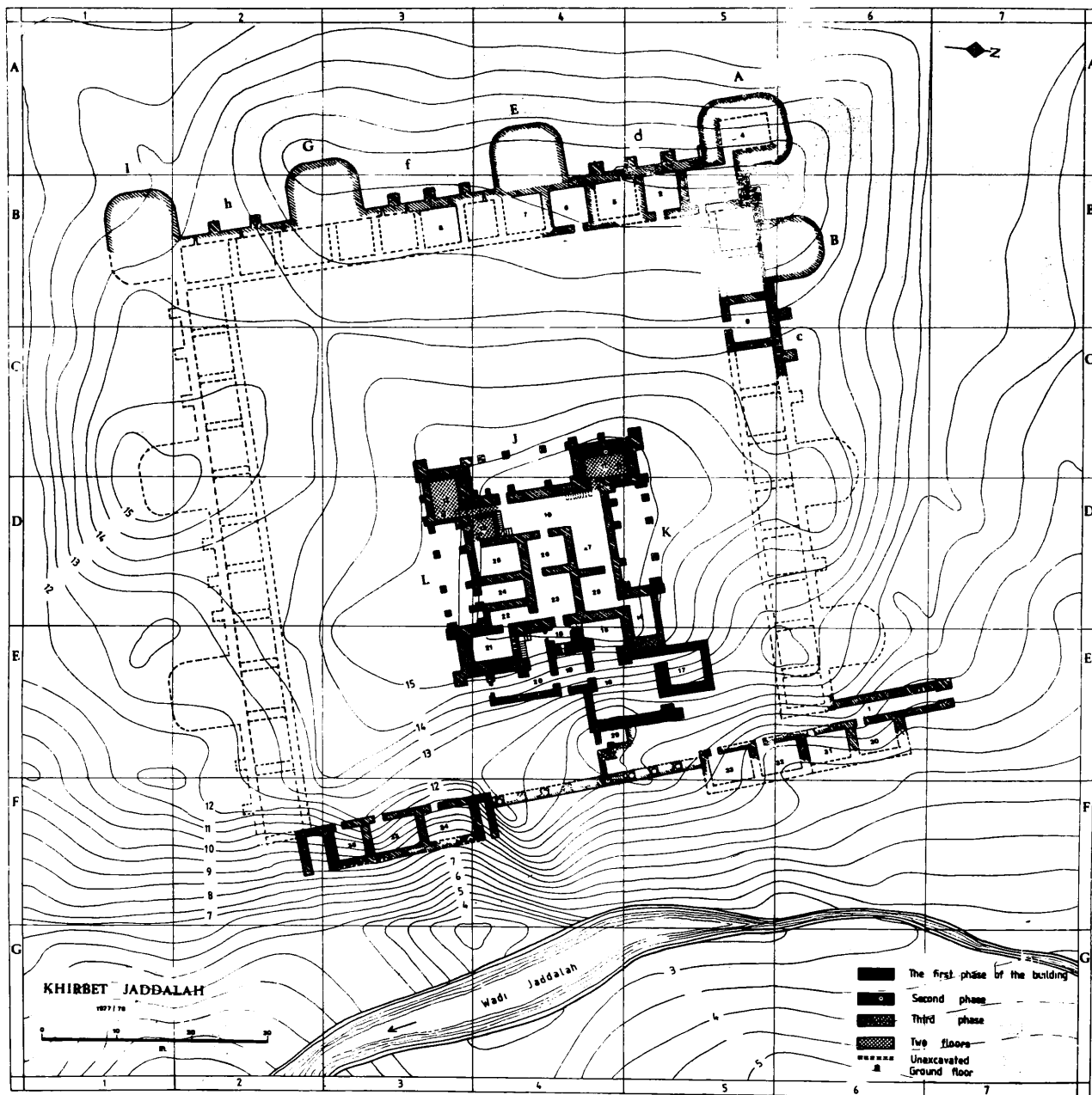
(b) Closer view of the east side of Khirbet Jaddalah, with column bases



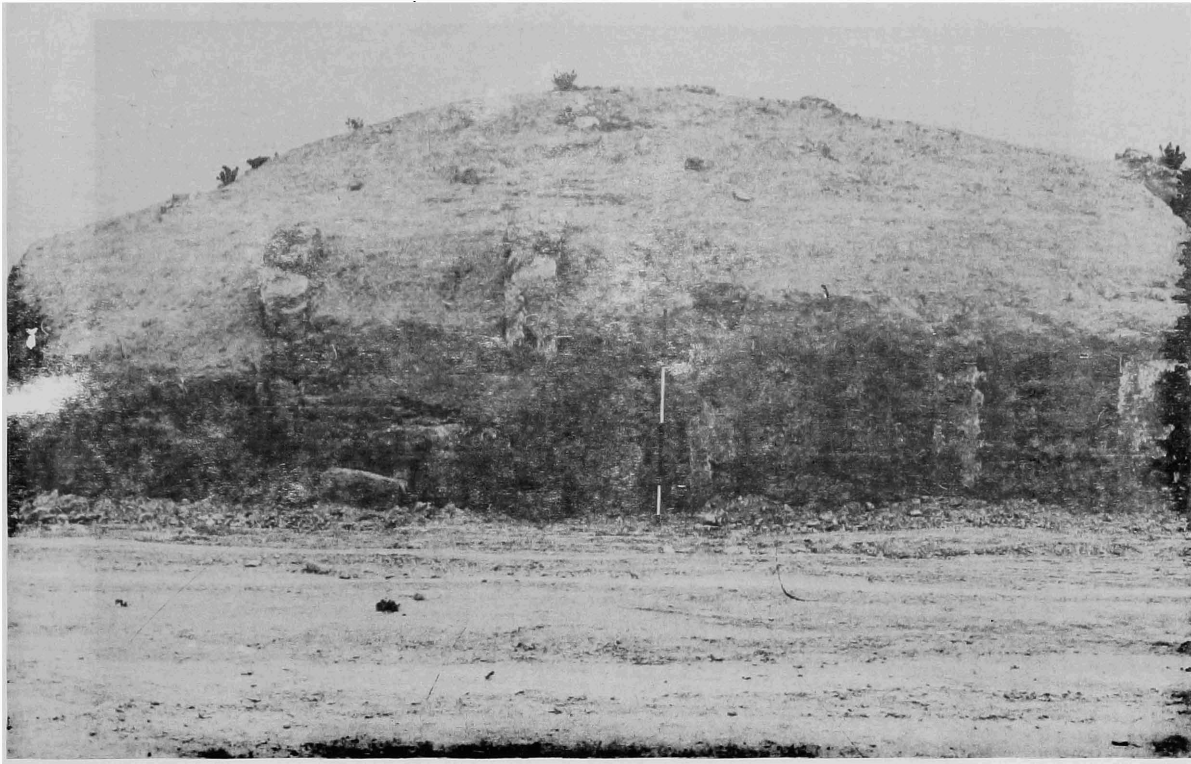
(a) Western section of the wall of Khirbet Jaddalah



(b) Western section of the wall of the Khirbet Jaddalah, during excavation



Ground plan of the site Khirbet Jaddalah



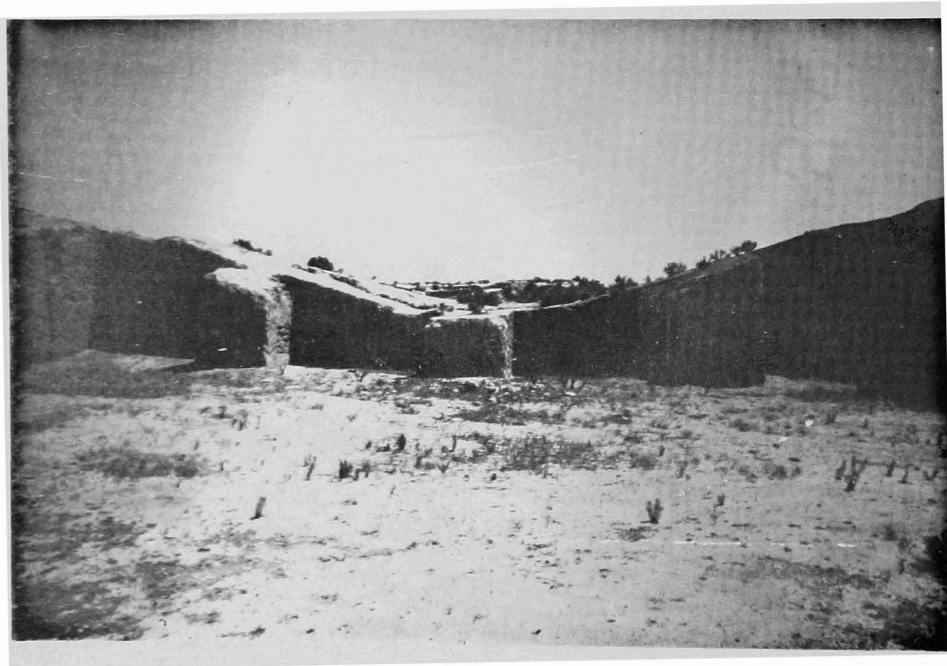
123. (a) Tower A, Khirbet Jaddalah



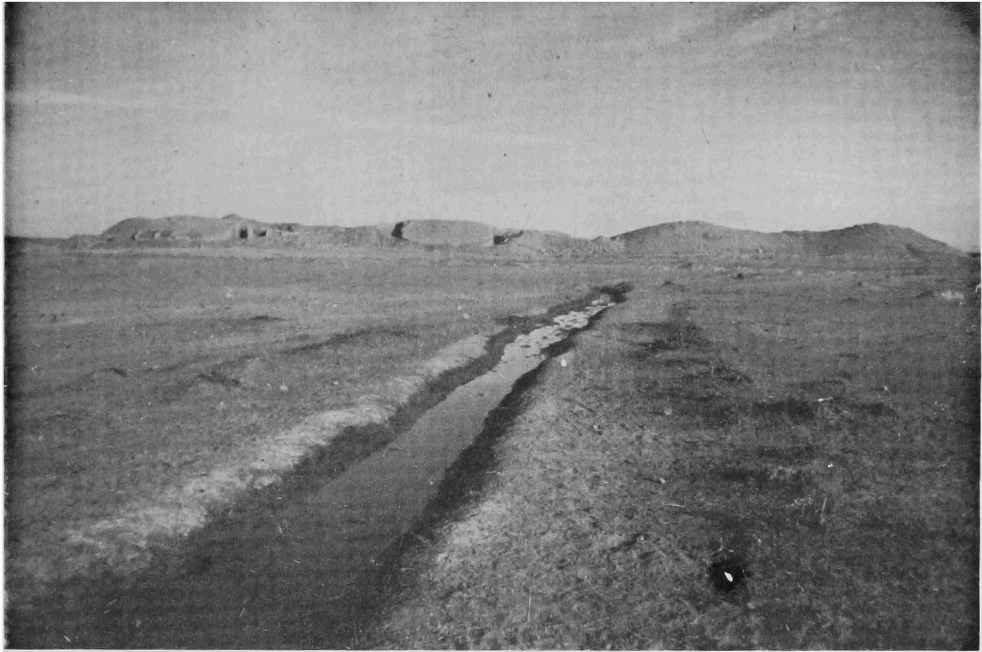
(b) Tower A, Khirbet Jaddalah



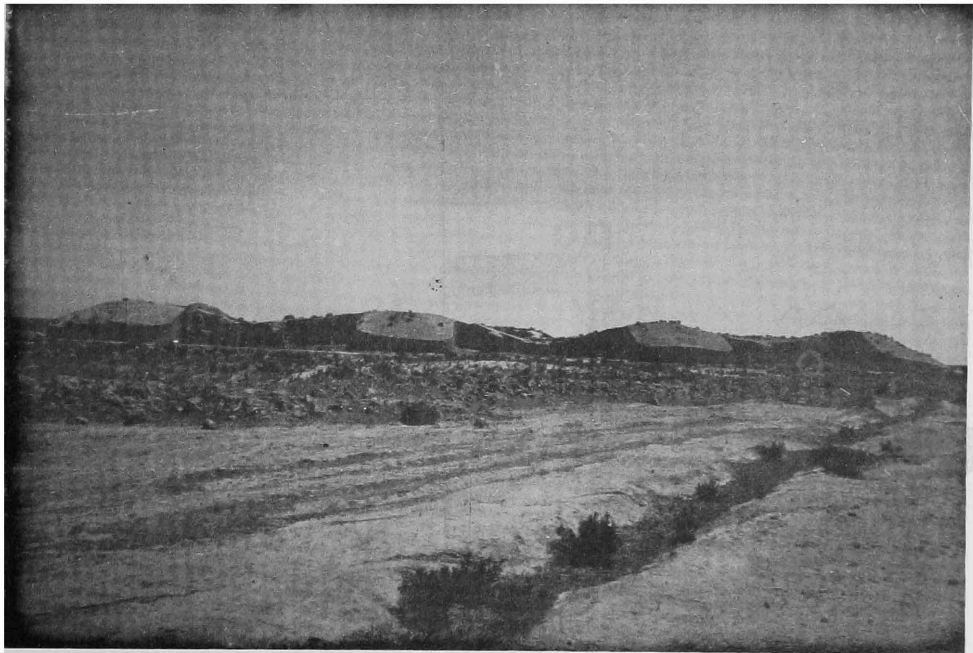
(a) Buttraces d in the outer wall (west section), Khirbet Jaddalah



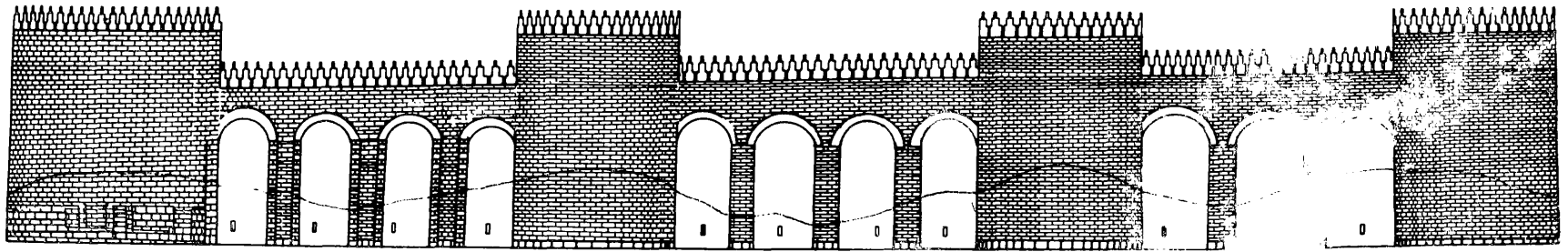
(b) Buttraces f in the outer wall (west section), Khirbet Jaddalah



(a) West side of Khirbet Jaddalah, before excavation



(b) West side of Khirbet Jaddalah, after excavation



The western section of the wall of

JADDALAH

1977 / 78



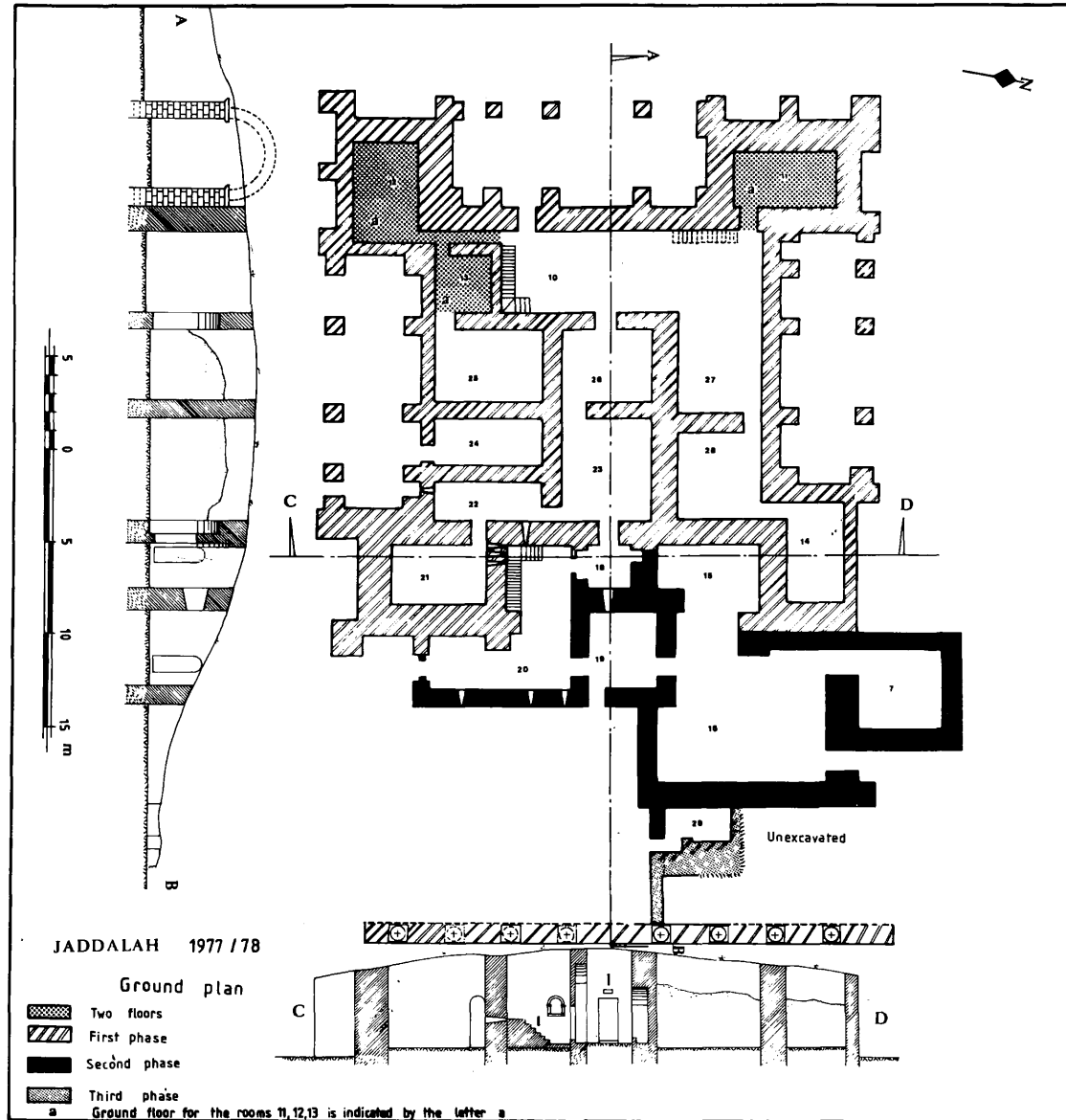
Reconstruction of the western section of the outer wall of Khirbet Jaddalah



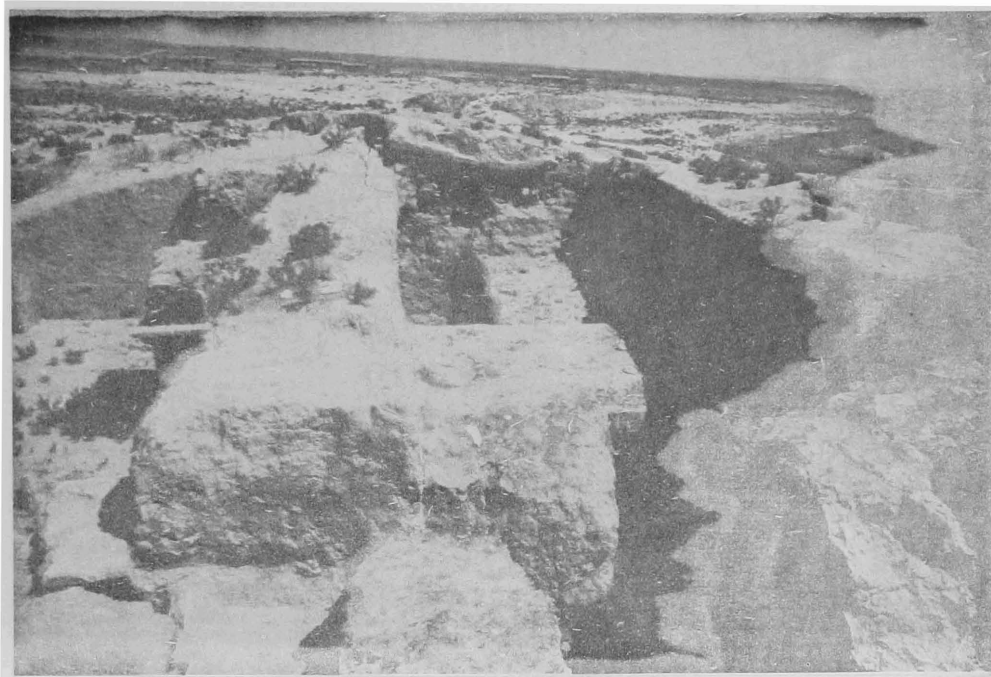
(a) Doorway leading from room 3 (into room 4), Khirbet Jaddalah



(b) Western section of the main building, Khirbet Jaddalah



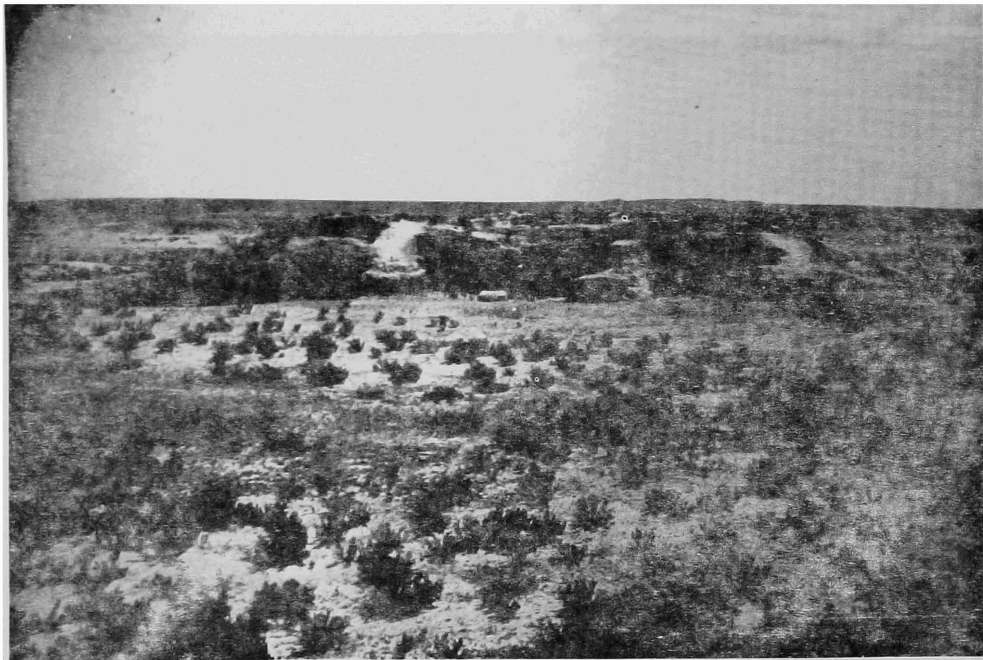
Ground plan of the main, or inner, building, Khirbet Jaddalah.



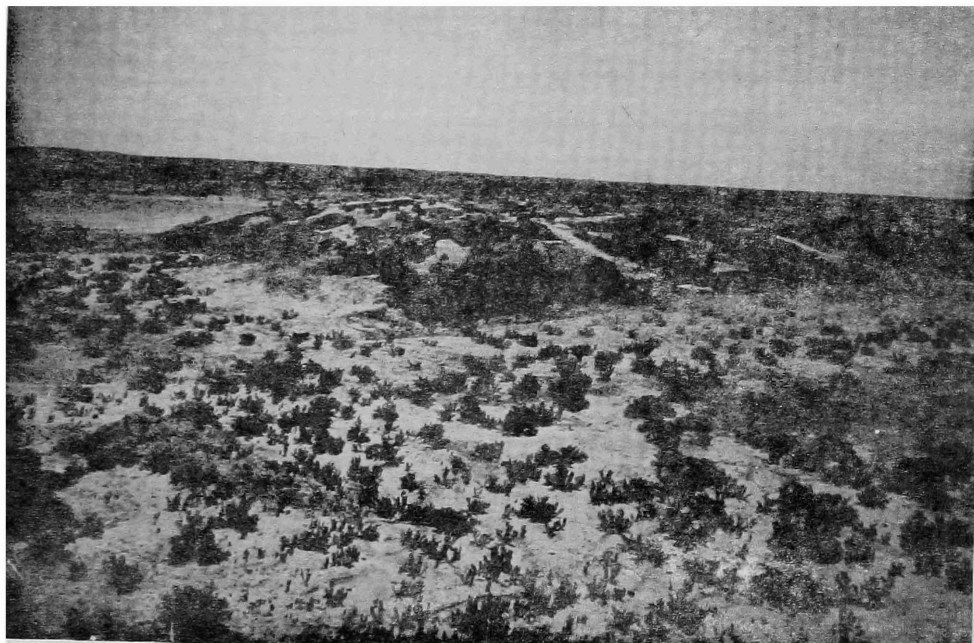
(a) Room 10 (on the right) and part of Portico J (on the left).
Khirbet Jaddalah



(b) Portico J, Khirbet Jaddalah



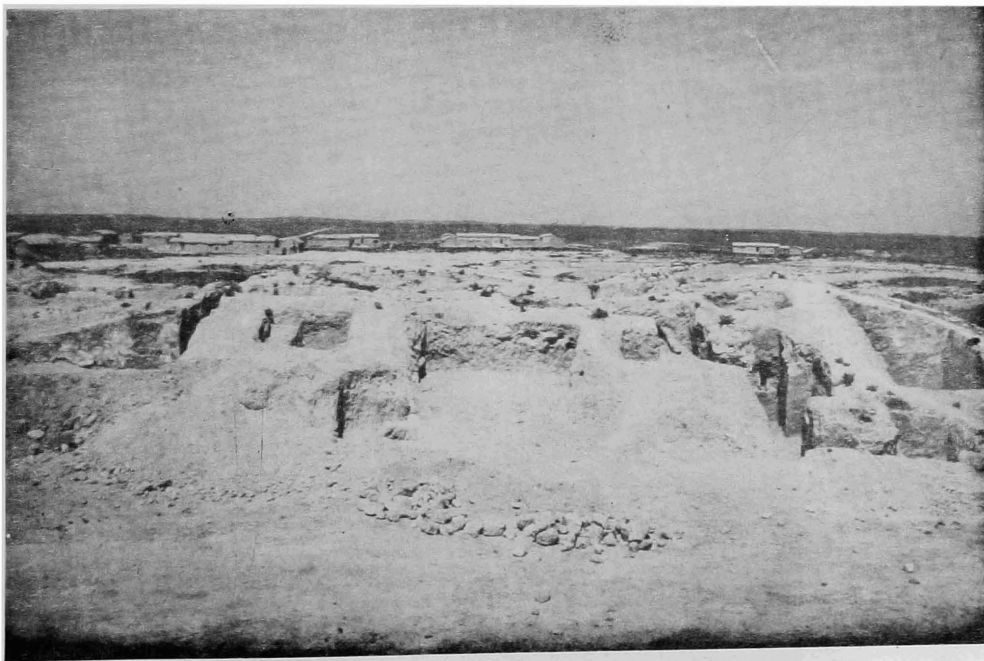
(a) West section of the main (inner) building after excavation,
Khirbet Jaddalah



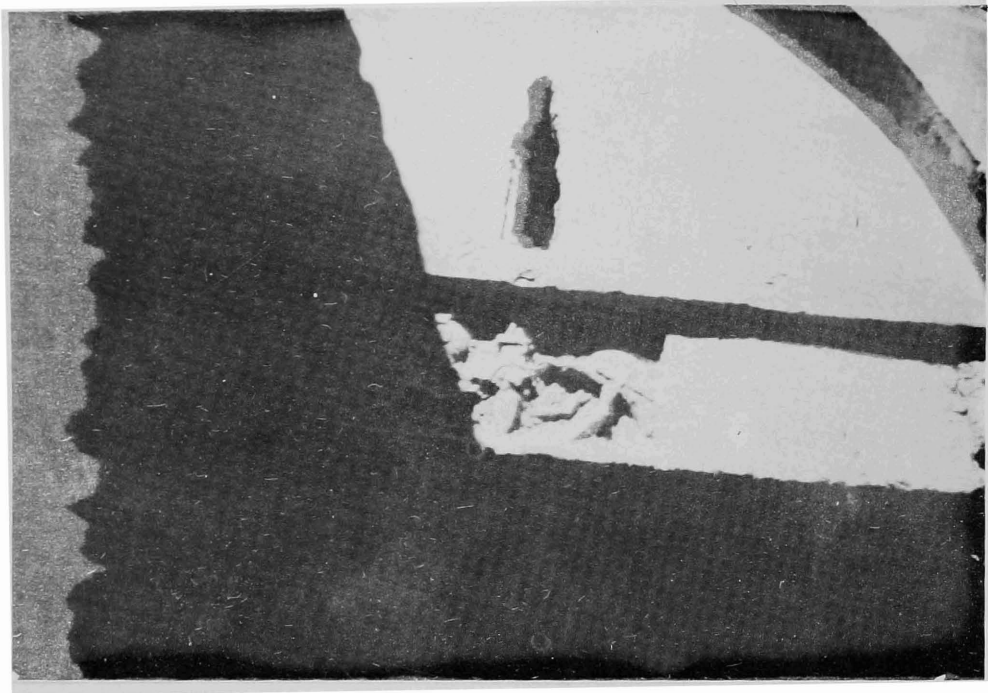
(b) View of the main building from the north-west after
excavation, Khirbet Jaddalah



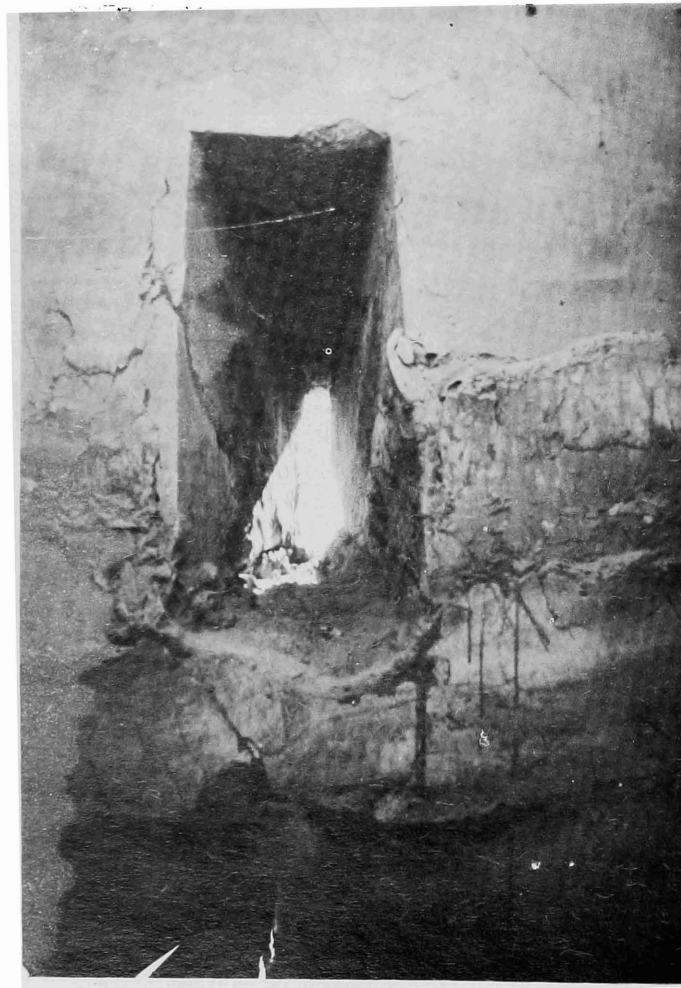
(a) View of the site of Khirbet Jaddalah from the north, with Wadi Jaddalah on the left



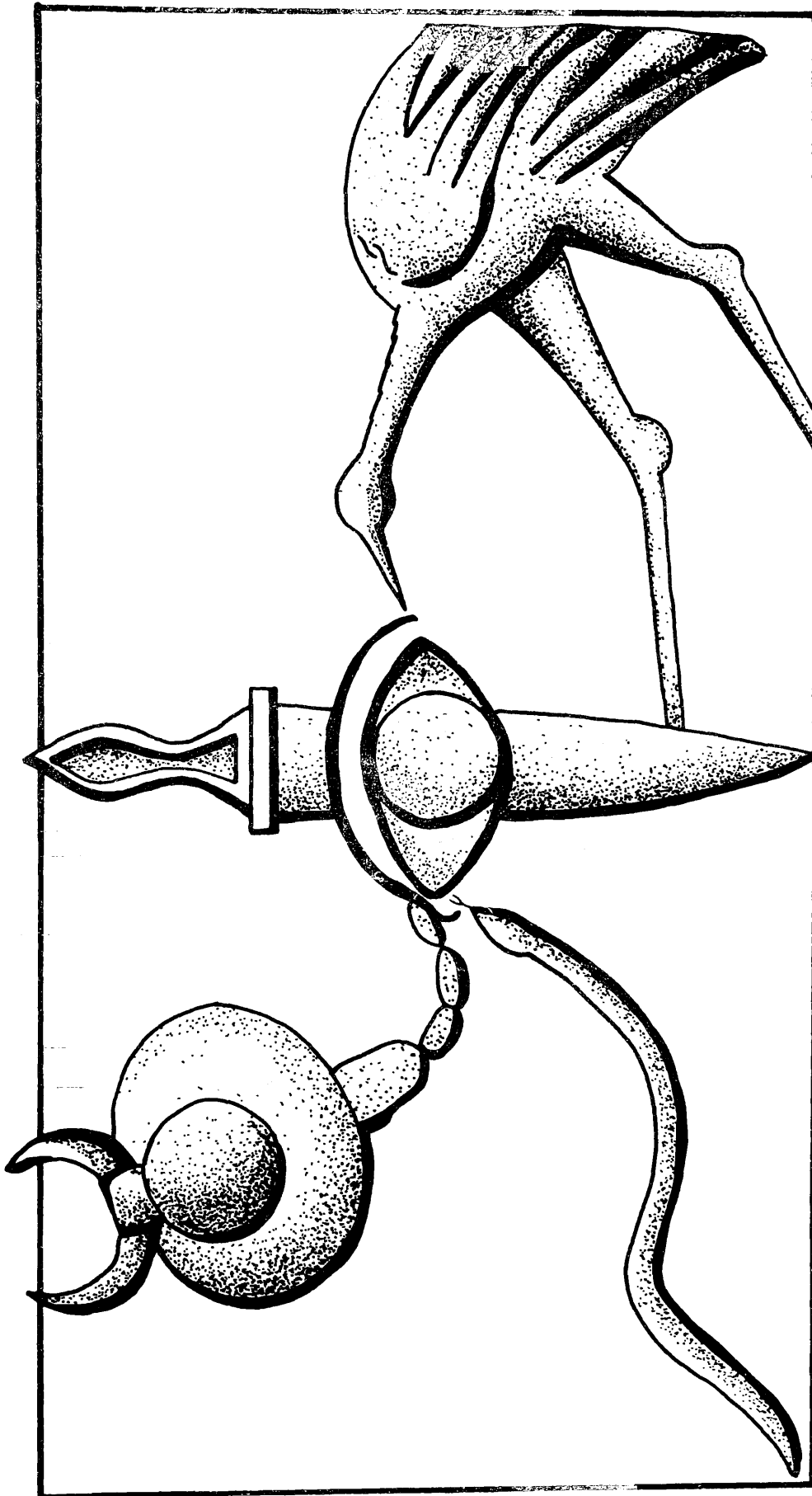
(b) Portico L on the south side of the main (inner) building, Khirbet Jaddalah



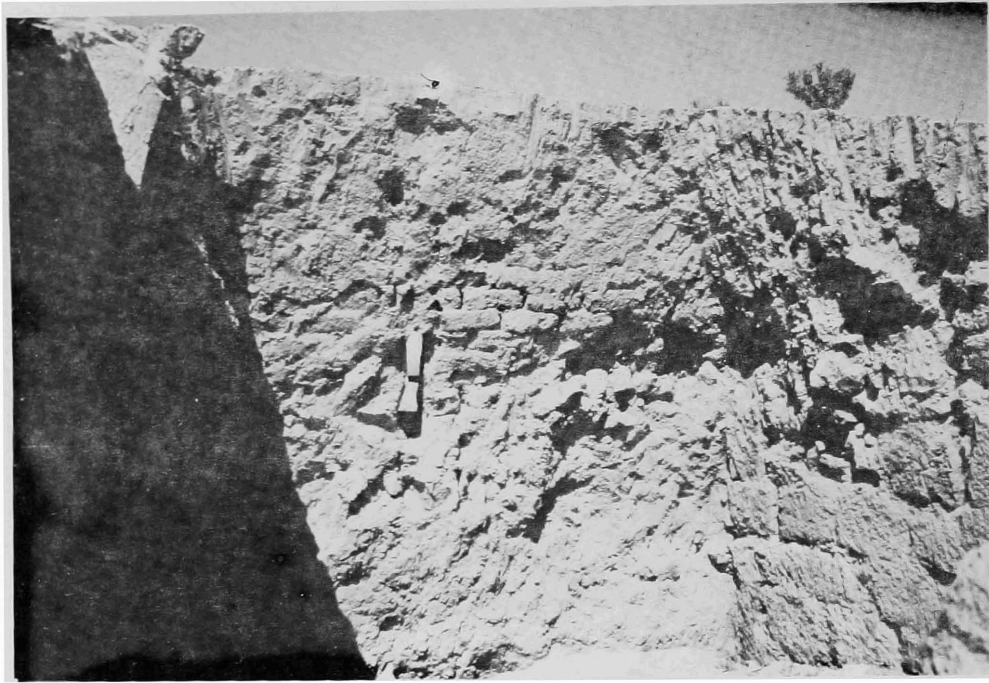
(a) Limestone lintel over the doorway from room 18 (into room 23) with "evil eye" relief, Khirbet Jaddalah



(b) Window looking from room 19 into room 18, Khirbet Jaddalah



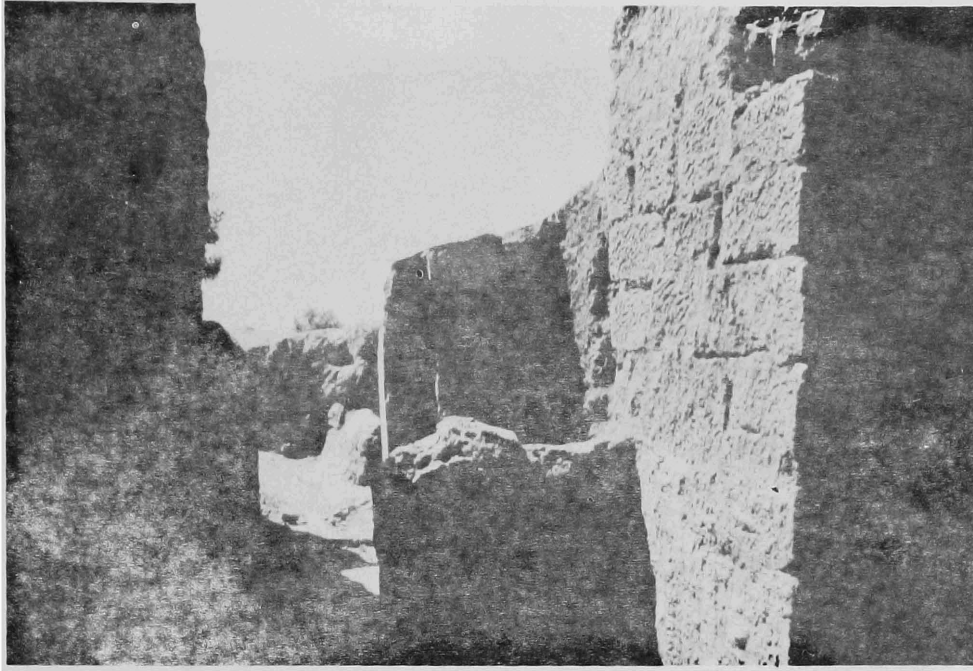
C.M.
Drawing of the "evil eye" relief, Khirbet Jaddalah



(a) View inside room 19, showing bricked-up window and springing of vault, main building Khirbet Jaddalah



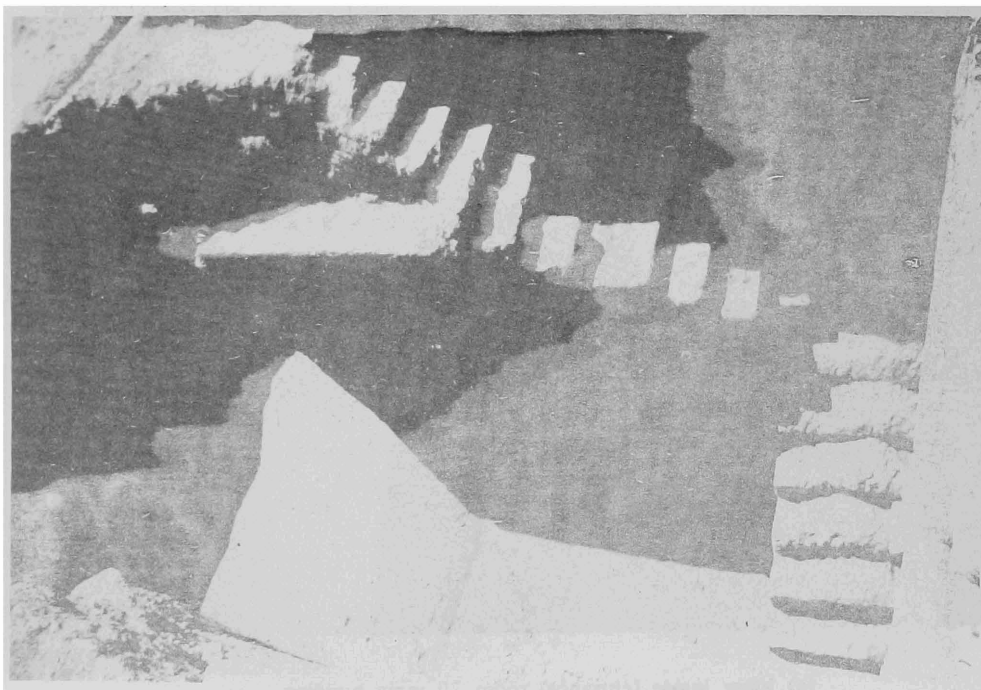
(b) View of (entrance) room 20, main building. Khirbet Jaddalah



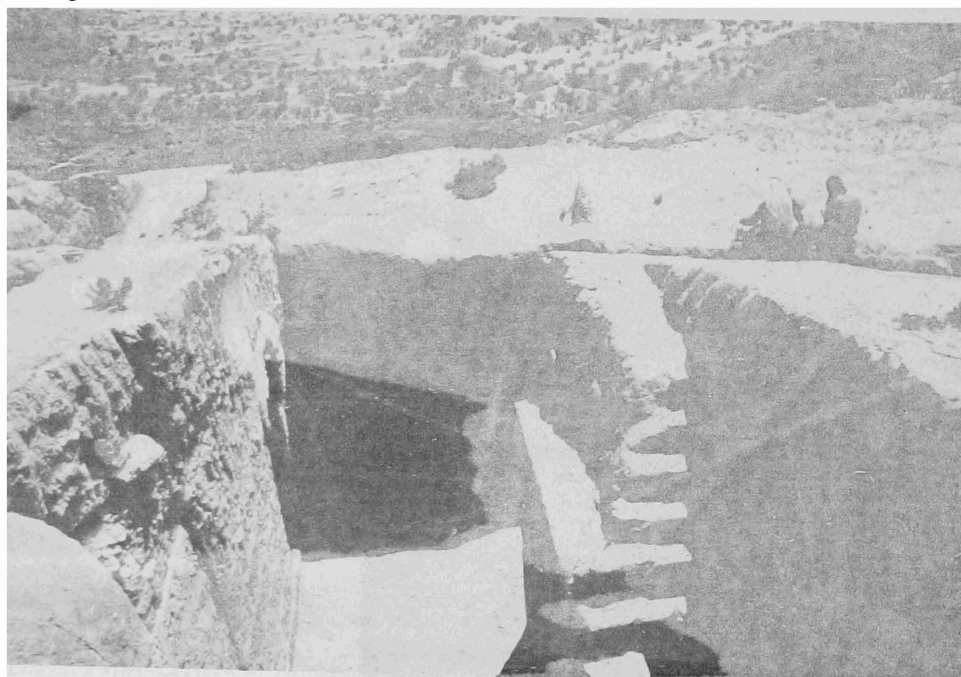
**(a) View inside (entrance) room 20 main building,
Khirbet Jaddalah**



**(b) View inside (entrance) room
20 showing small and large (on
left) niches, main building,
Khirbet Jaddalah**



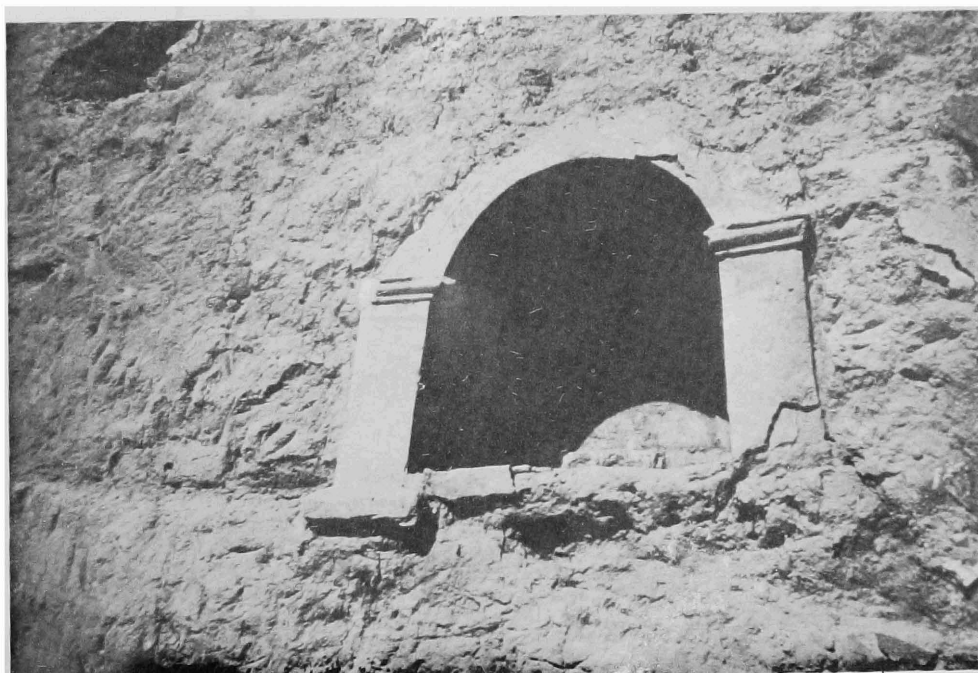
(a) Staircase inside (entrance) room 20, main building, Khirbet Jaddalah



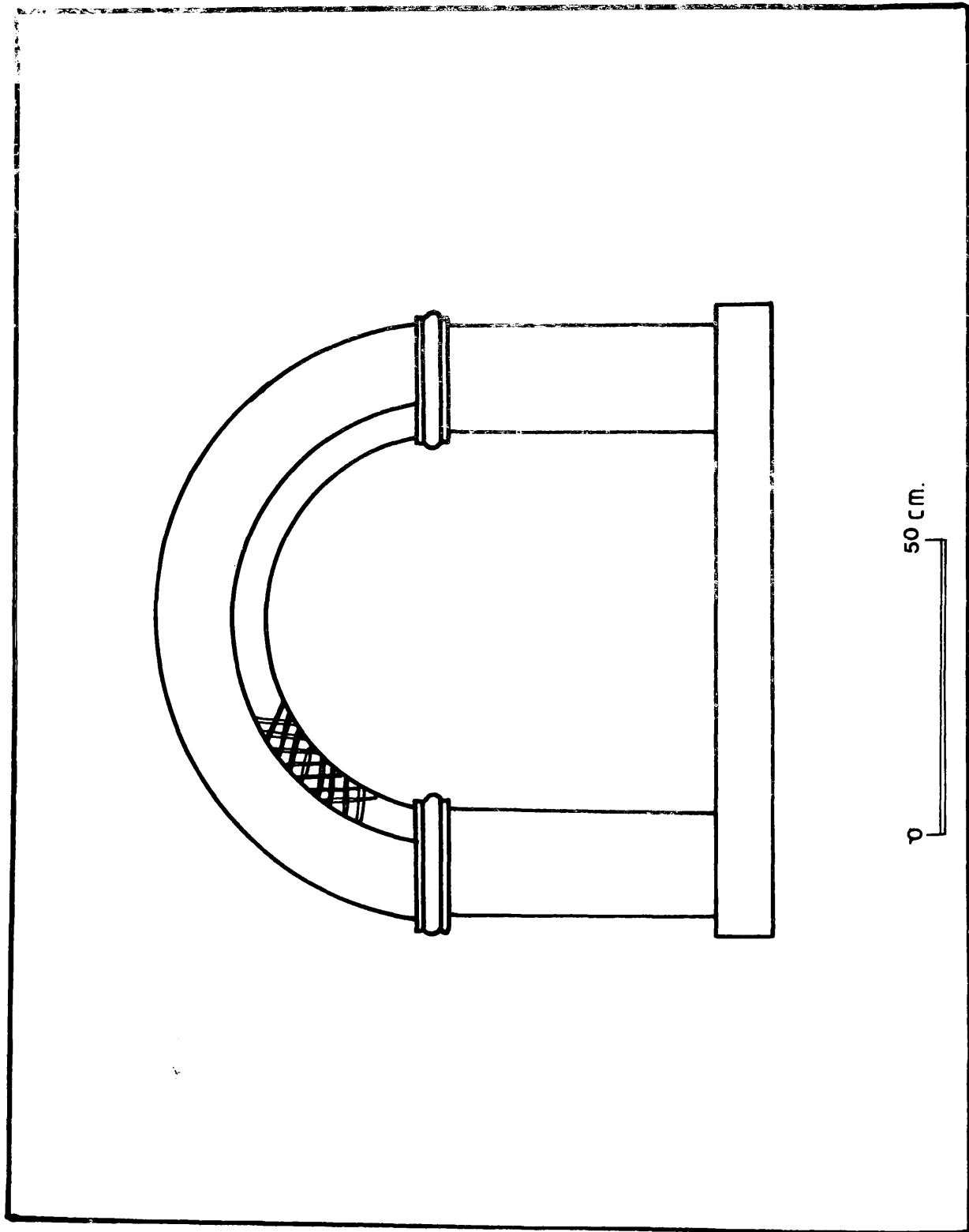
(b) View from above of (entrance) room 20 in the main building, Khirbet Jaddalah.



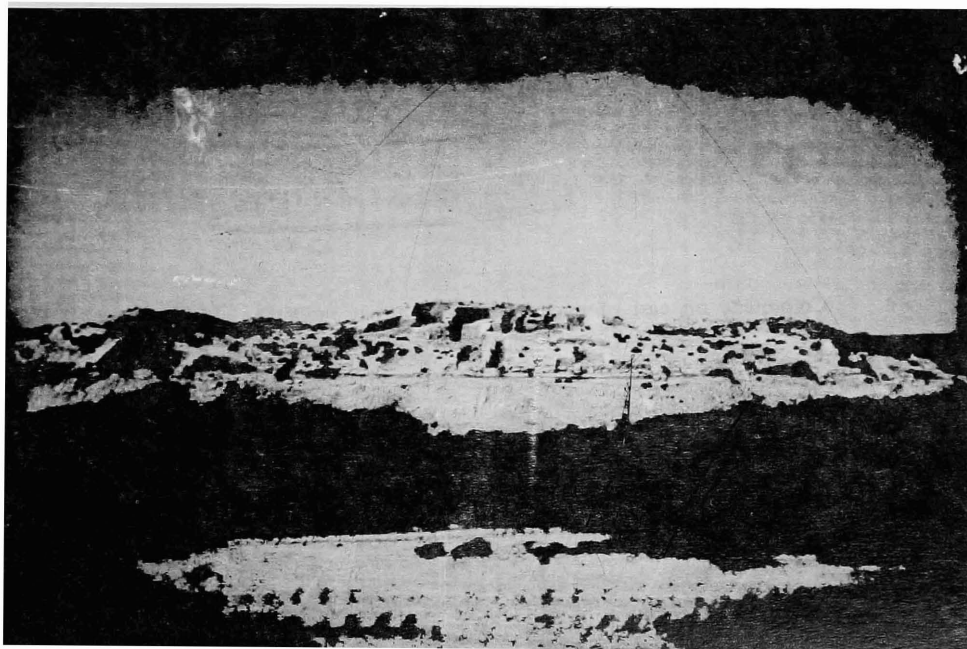
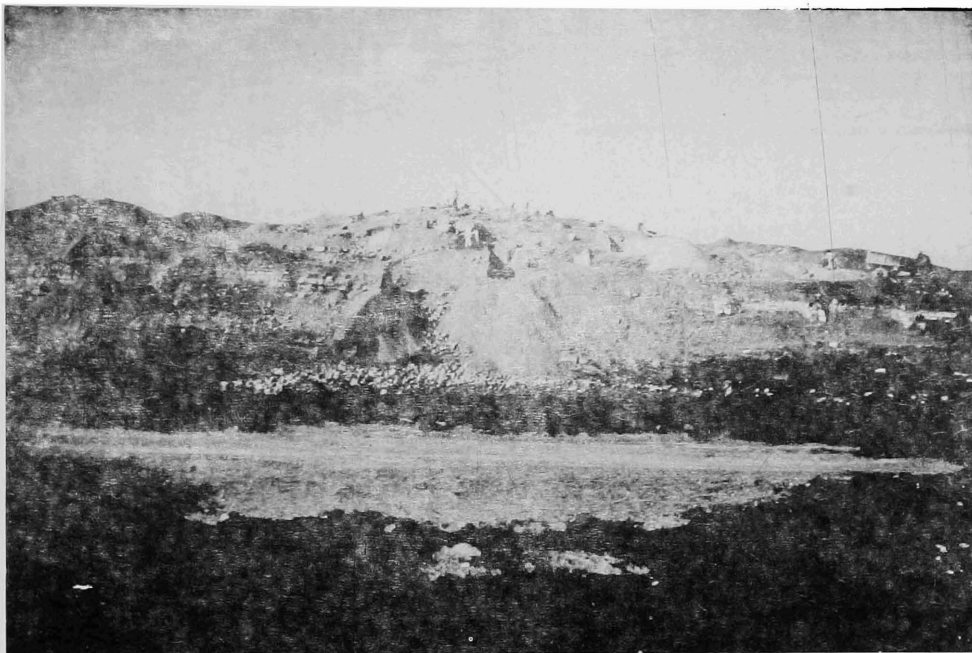
**(a) Large niche in (entrance) room 20, main building,
Khirbet Jaddalah**



**(b) small. niche in first-phase wall in (entrance) room 20,
main building, Khirbet Jaddalah**

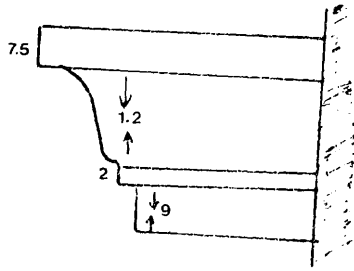


Drawing of small niche in room 20, Khirbet Jaddalah



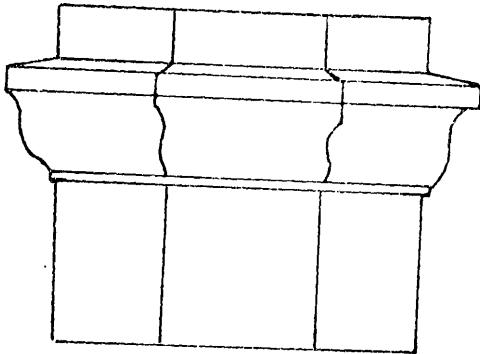


Colonnade on east of main building, Khirbet Jaddalah

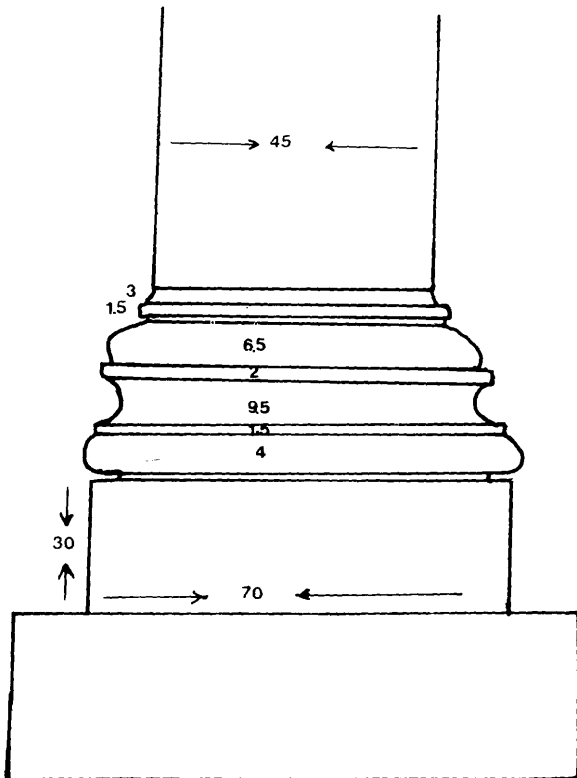


(a) Portico pilaster capital
(profile view)

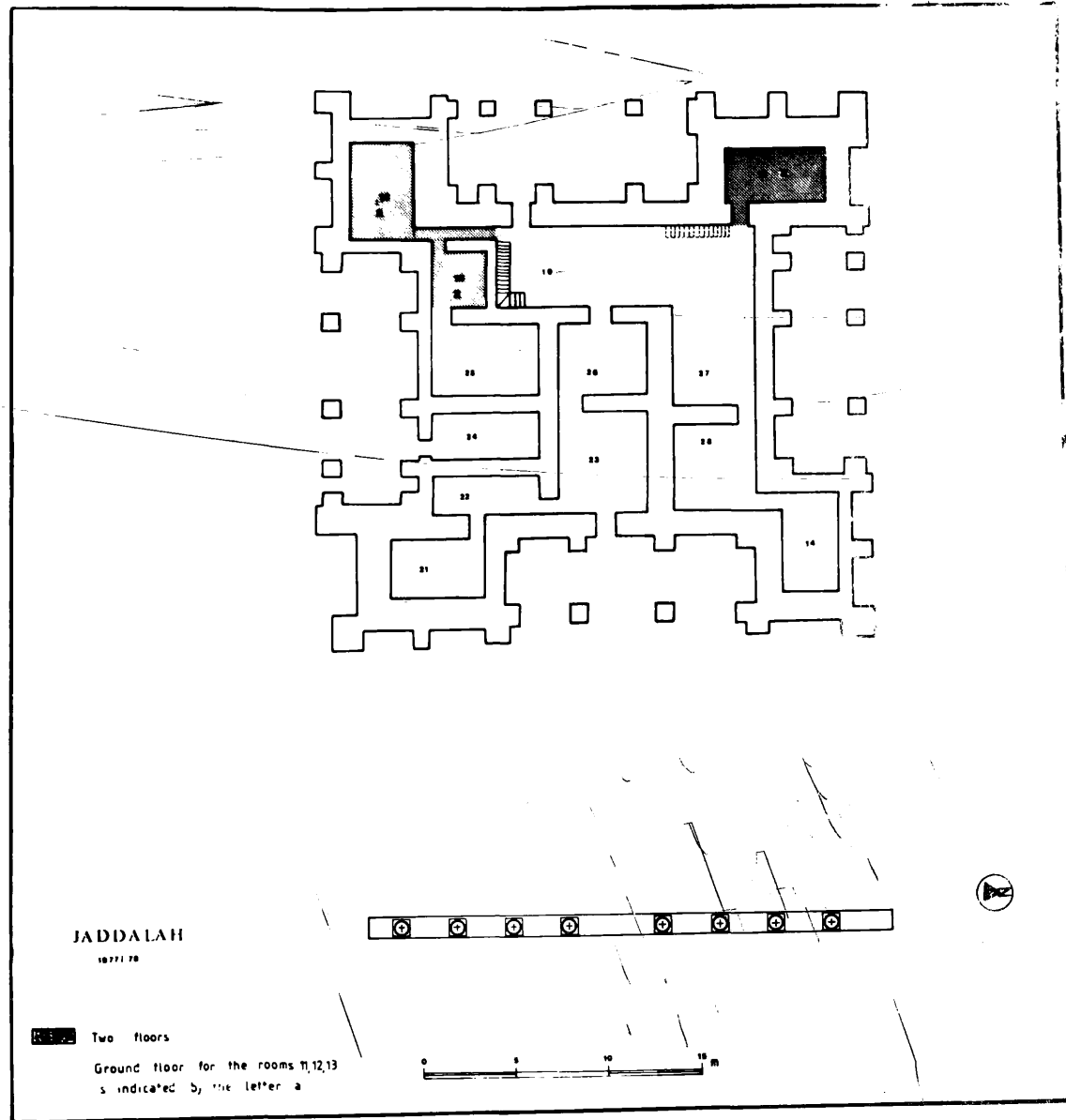
view)



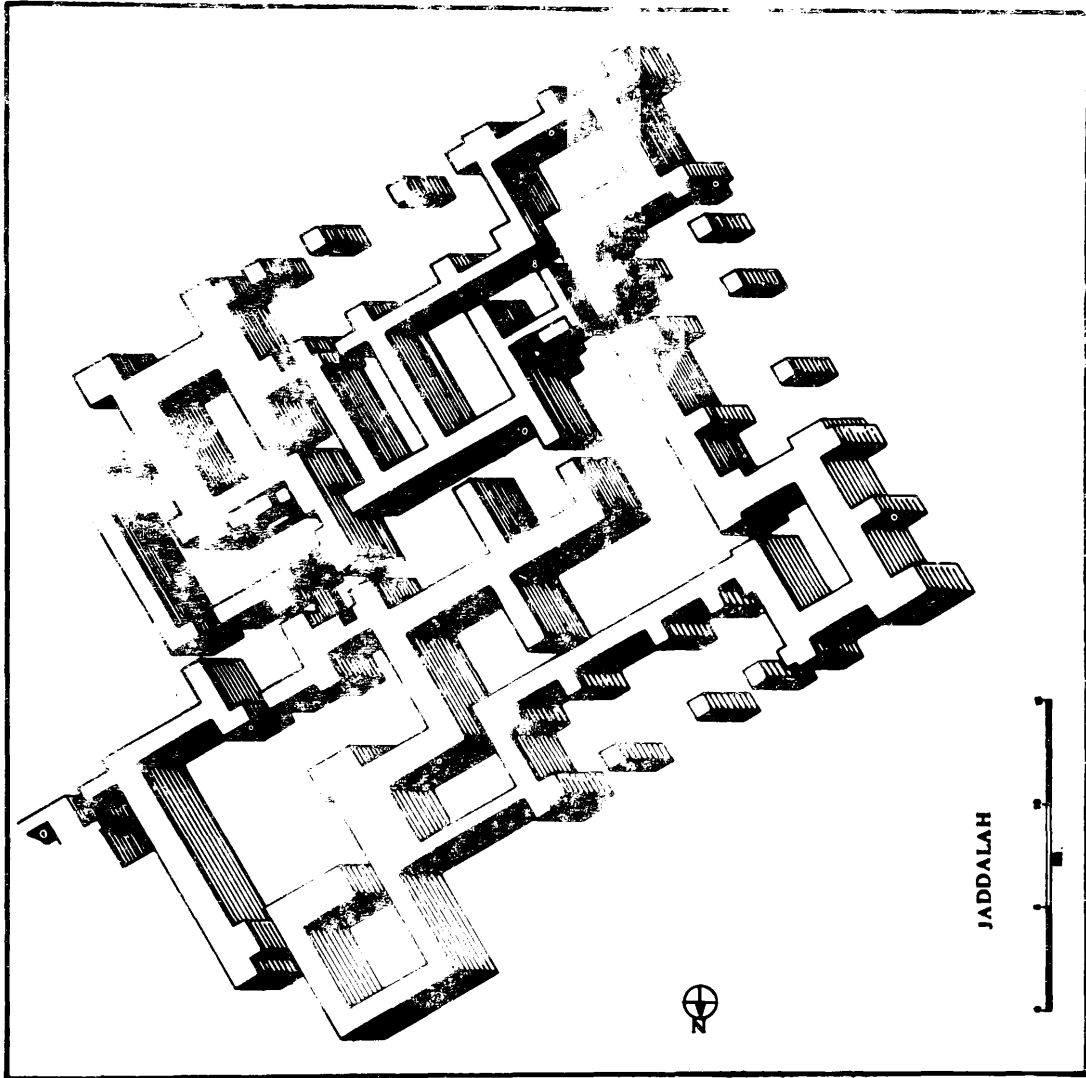
(b) Portico pilaster capital
(frontal view)



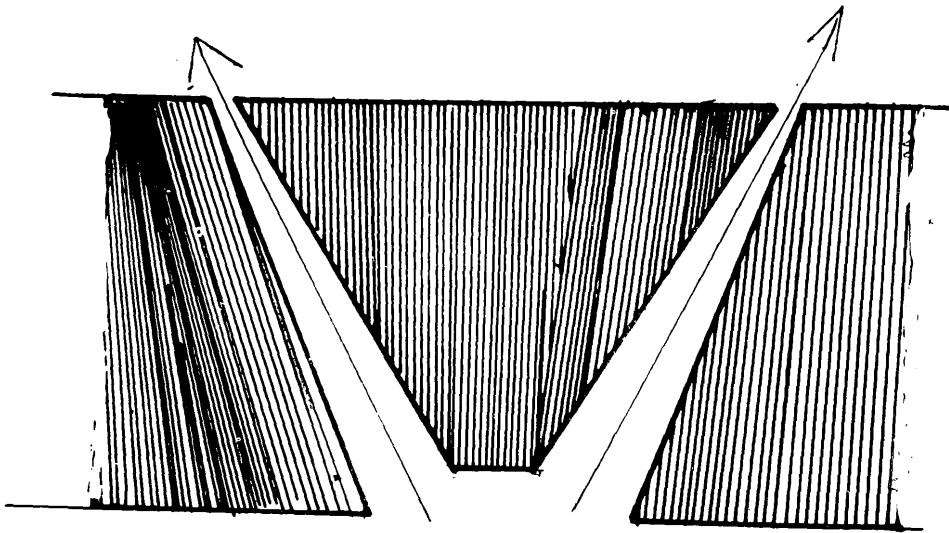
(c) Column bases of columns on
east side of main building



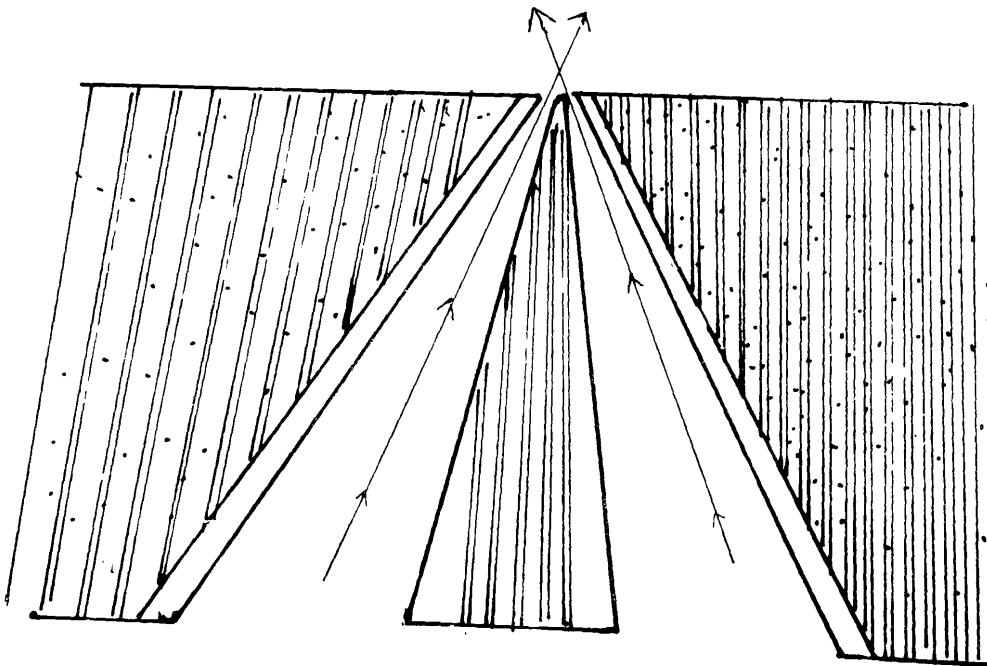
142. Hypothetical reconstruction of the main building, Khirbet Jaddalah



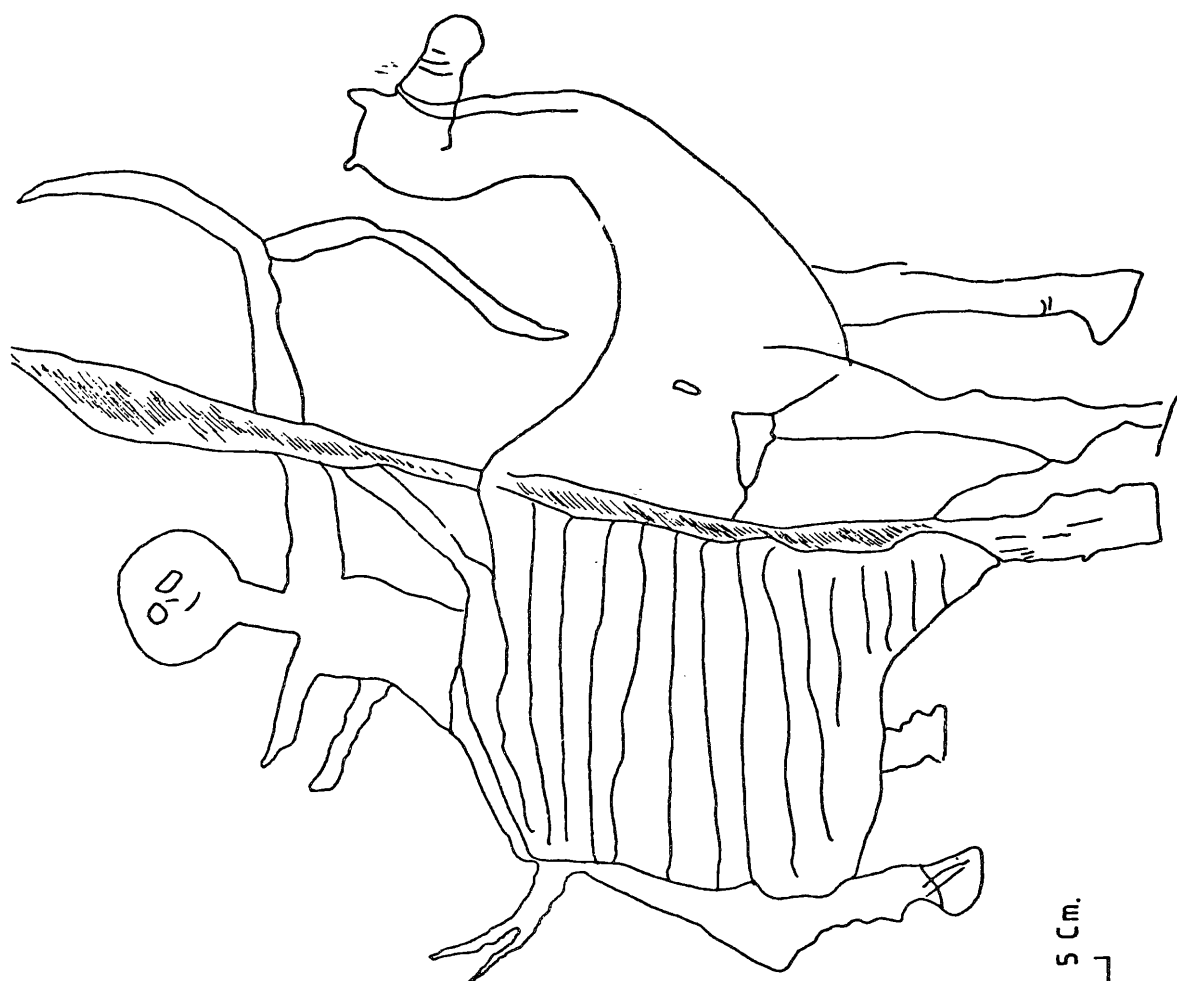
143. Isometric reconstruction of the main building, Khirbet Jaddalah



144. (a) Drawing of arrowslit at Hatra

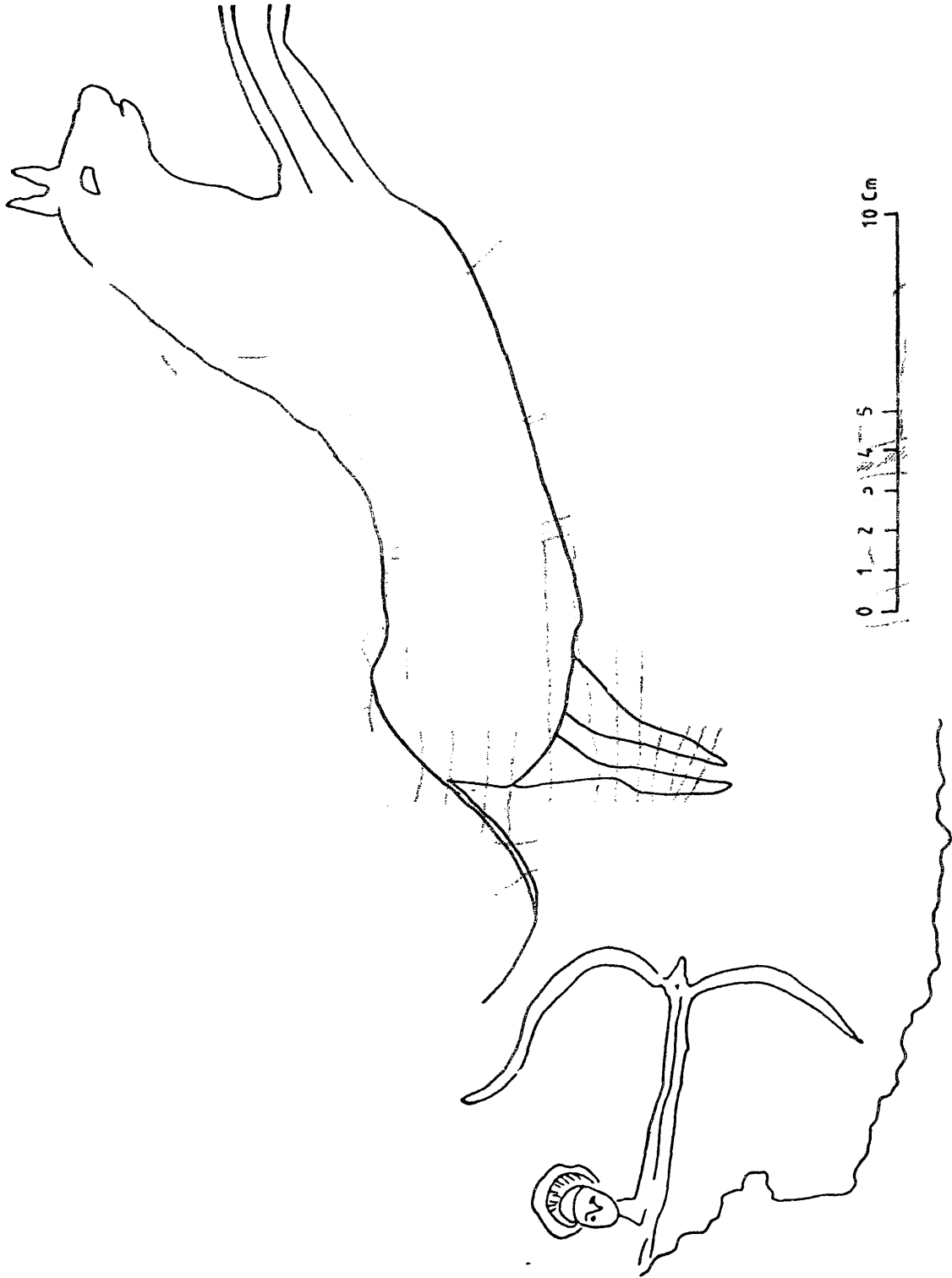


(b) Drawing of arrowslit at Khirbet Jaddalah

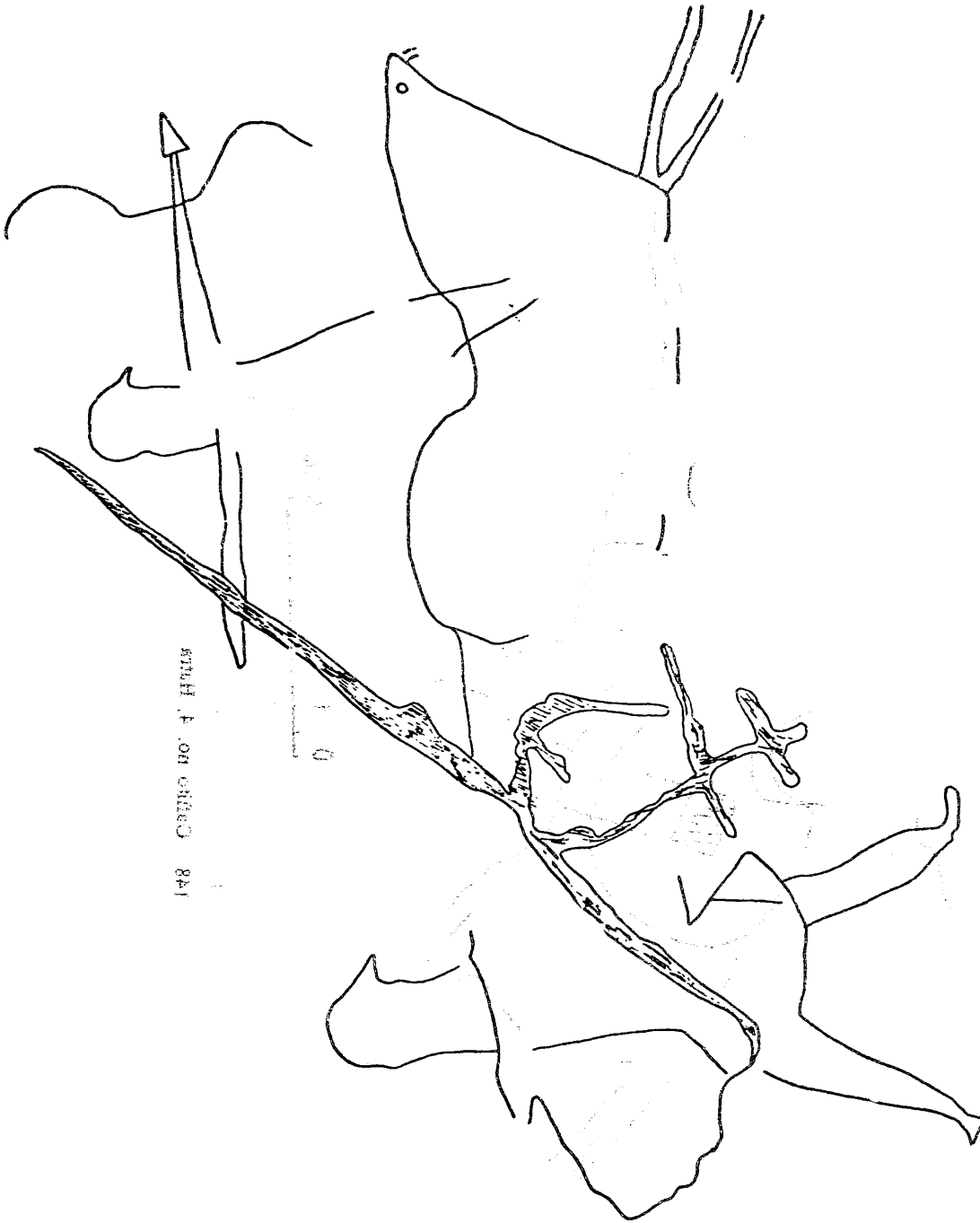


0 1 5 Cm.

145. Graffito no. 1, Hatra



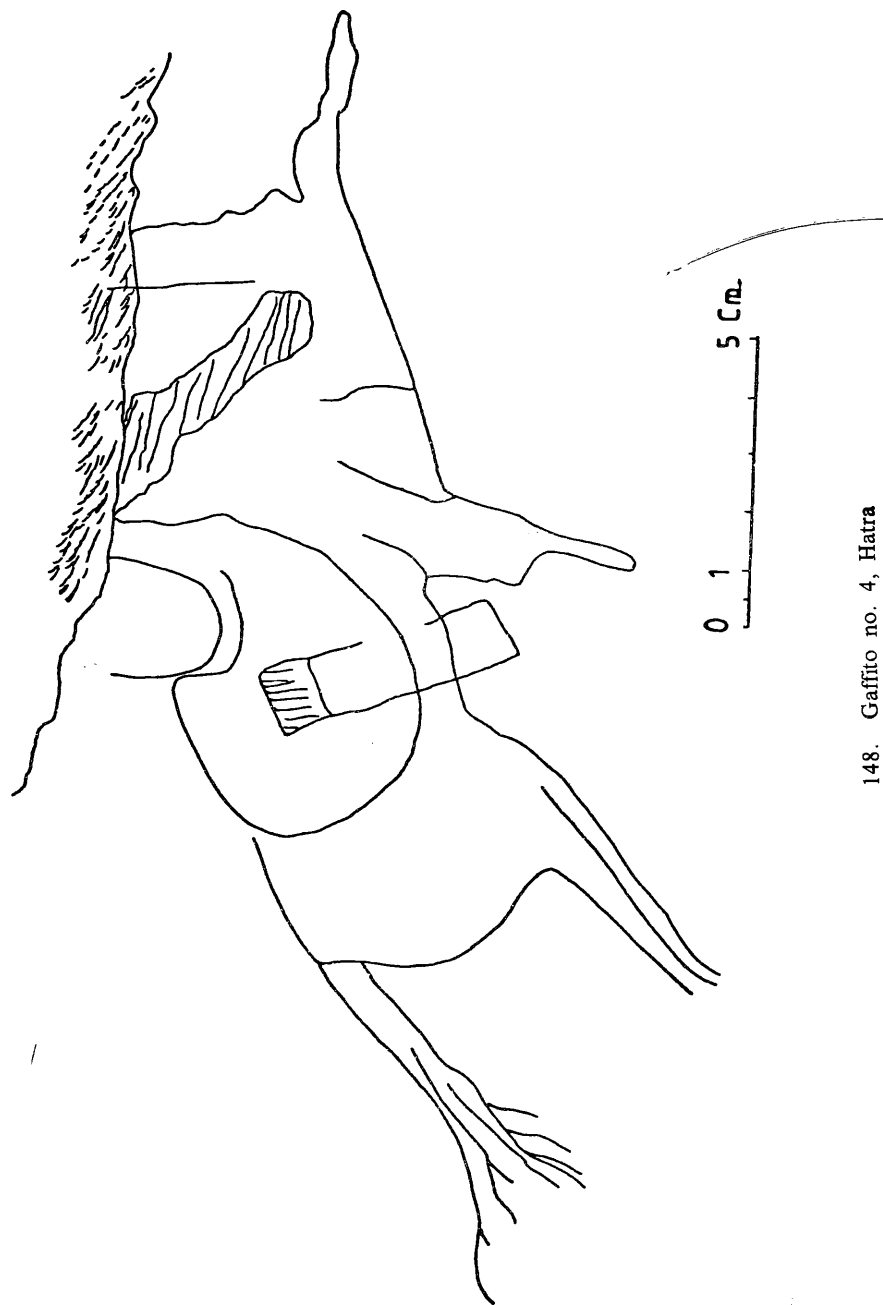
Graffito no. 2, Hatra



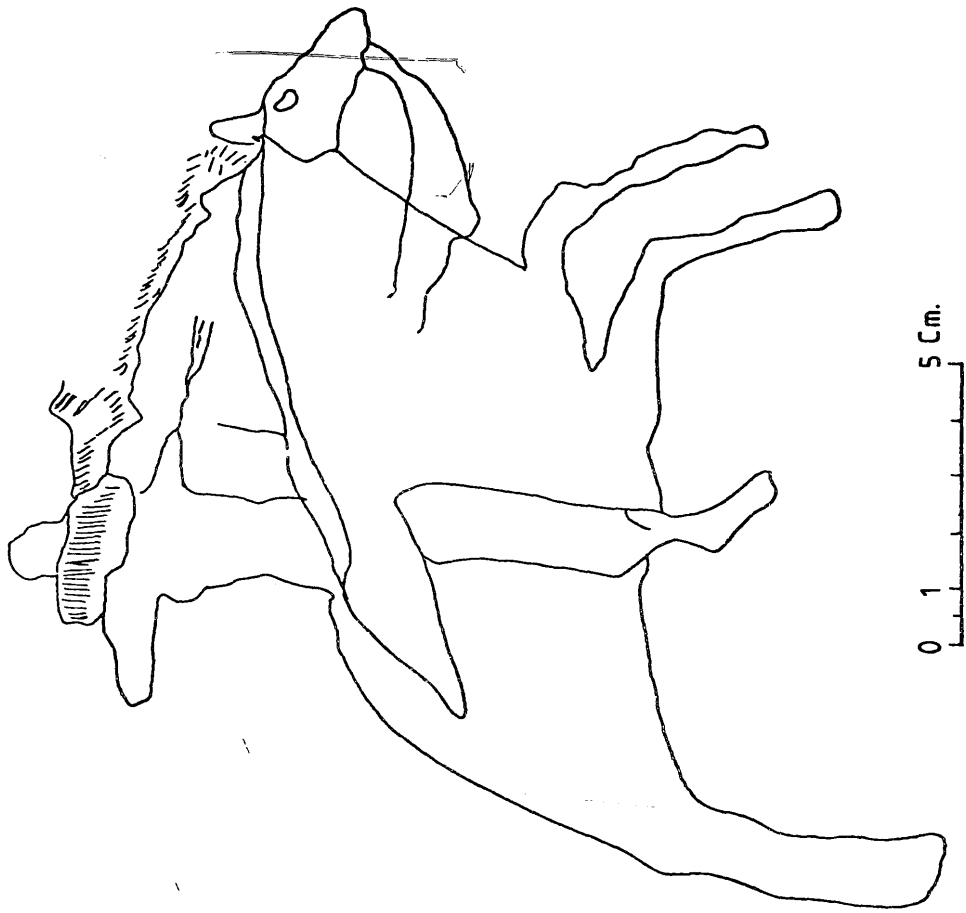
841 ON CHINO NO. 3

0 1 5 10 cm.

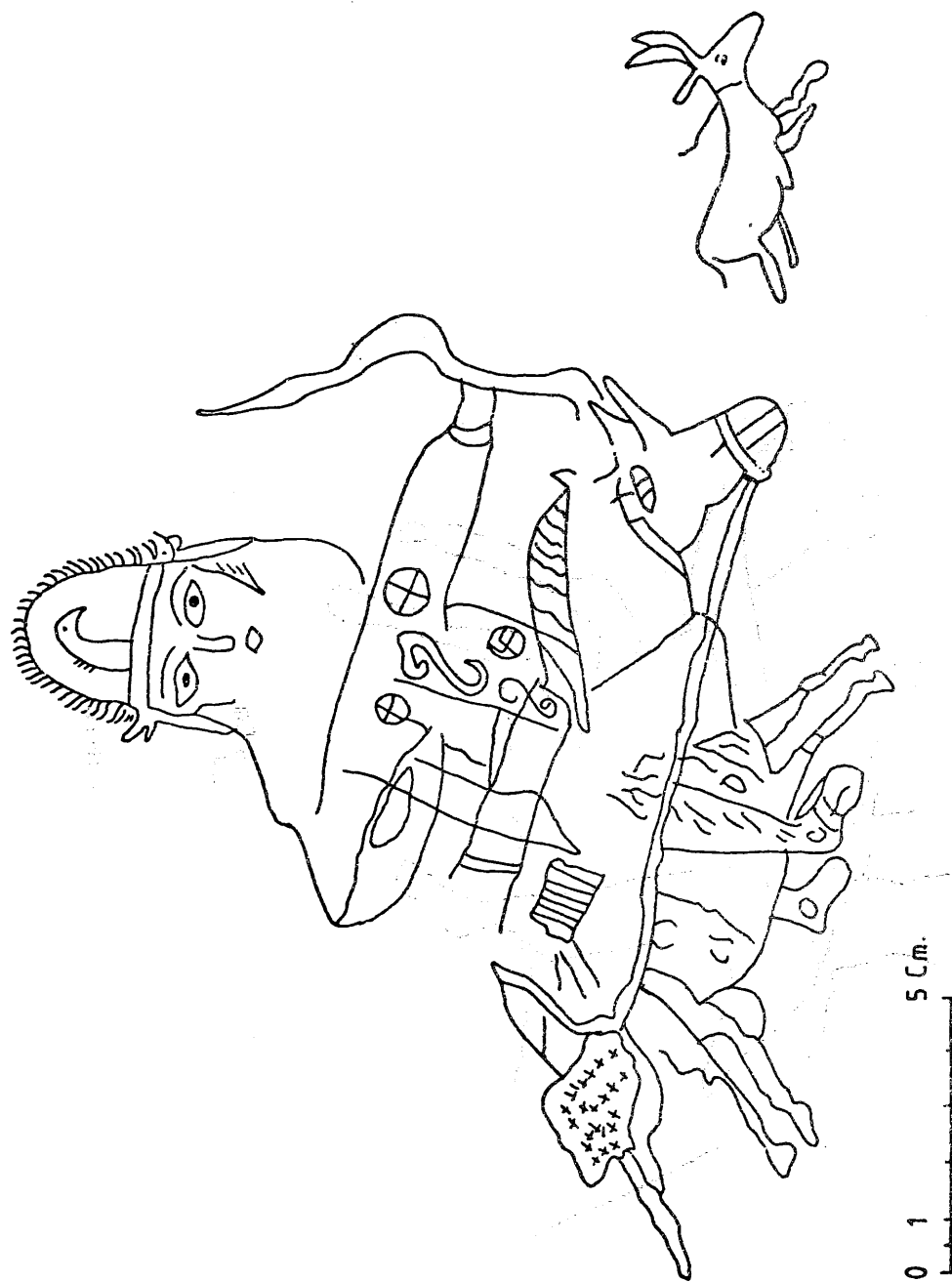
Graffito no. 3, Hatra



148. Gaffito no. 4, Hatra



149. Graffito no. 5, Hatra



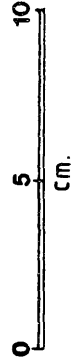
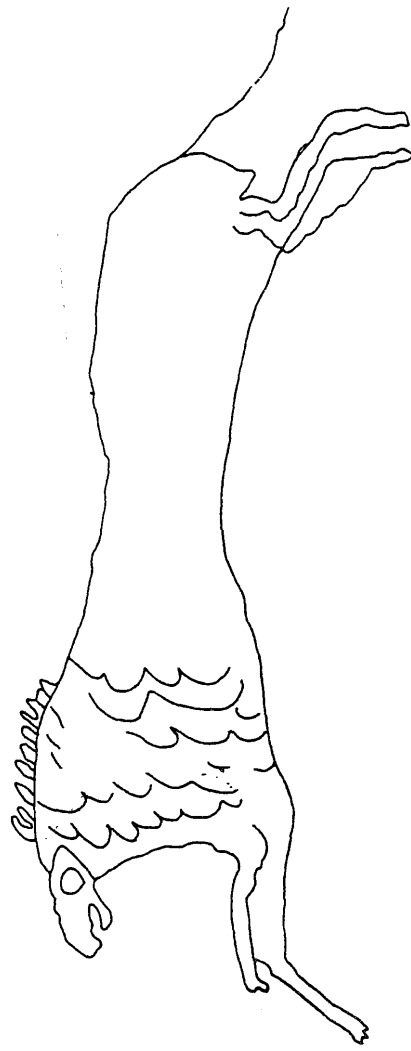
150. Graffito no. 6, Hatra

012345678910



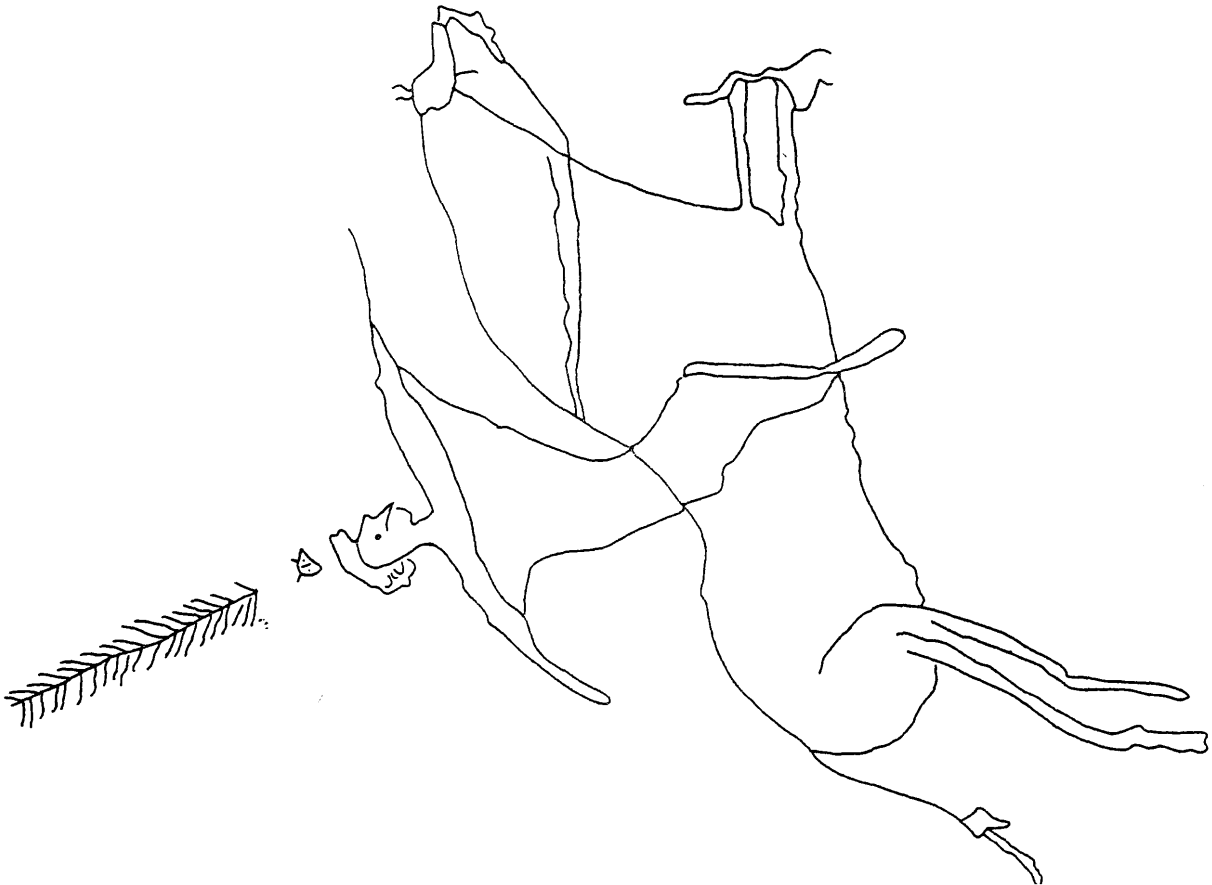
0 1 5 10 C m.

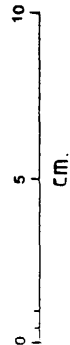
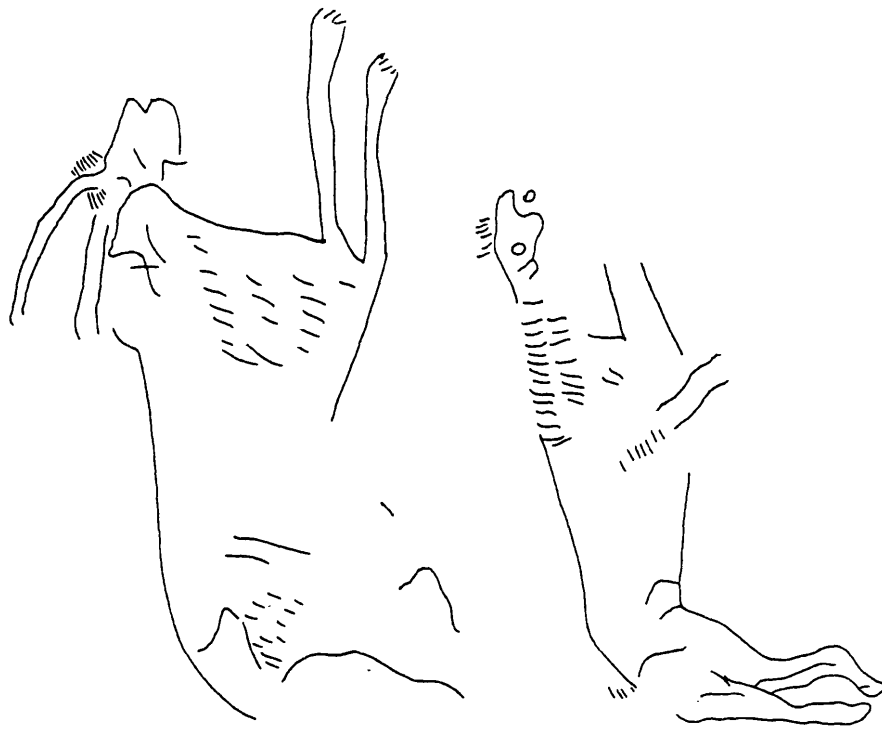
151. Graffito no. 7, Hatra



1/2

Graffito no. 8, Hatra

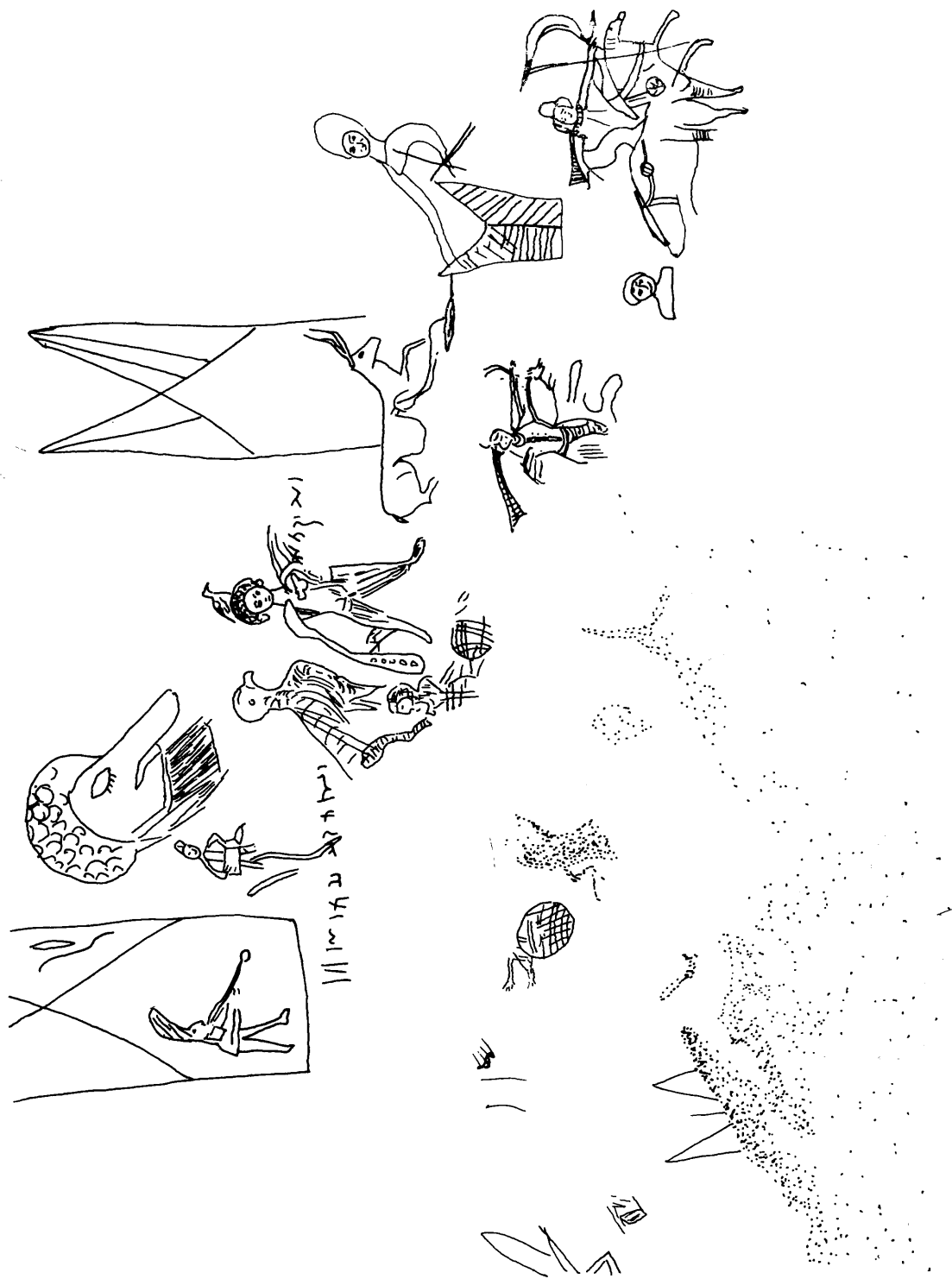




153. Graffiti no. 9, Matera



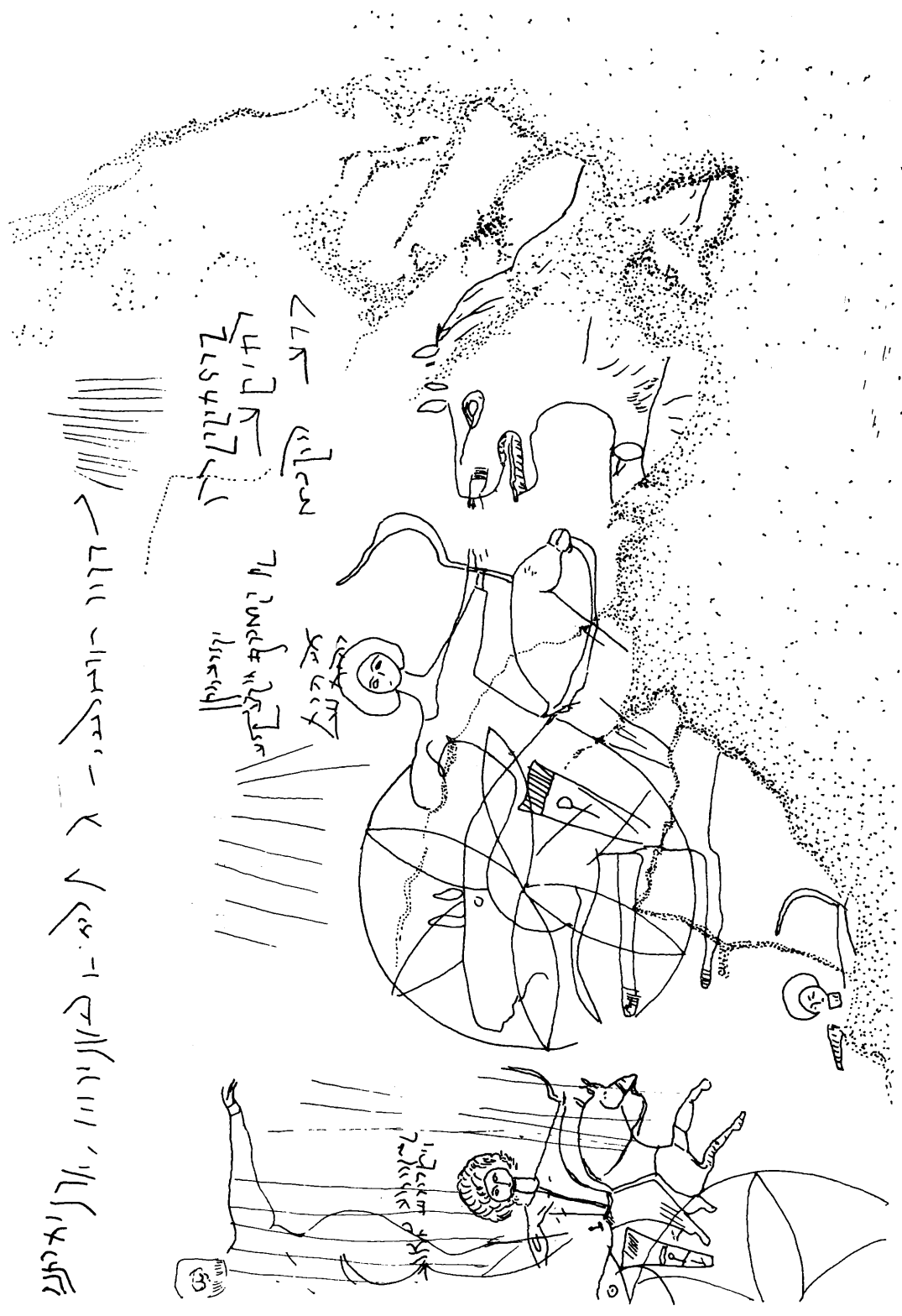
154. Graffito no. 10, and inscription [XVII]. Hatra



Graffito no. 10, and inscription [XVII]. Hatra



Graffiti no. 11, and inscriptions [XVIII], Meira



דָּרוֹן הַדְּמוּדֵי-ג' אֶלֶּה-בְּאֵן יוֹרוּן, אֶלְךָ יֵאָמֵר

דָּרָא יִקְרָא
לְדוֹס עַל-לְמַדְרֵי
לְמַדְרֵי

אֶת-כִּי
לְמַדְרֵי אֶת-כִּי
יִקְרָא

יִקְרָא
לְמַדְרֵי אֶת-כִּי

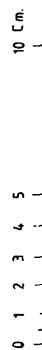
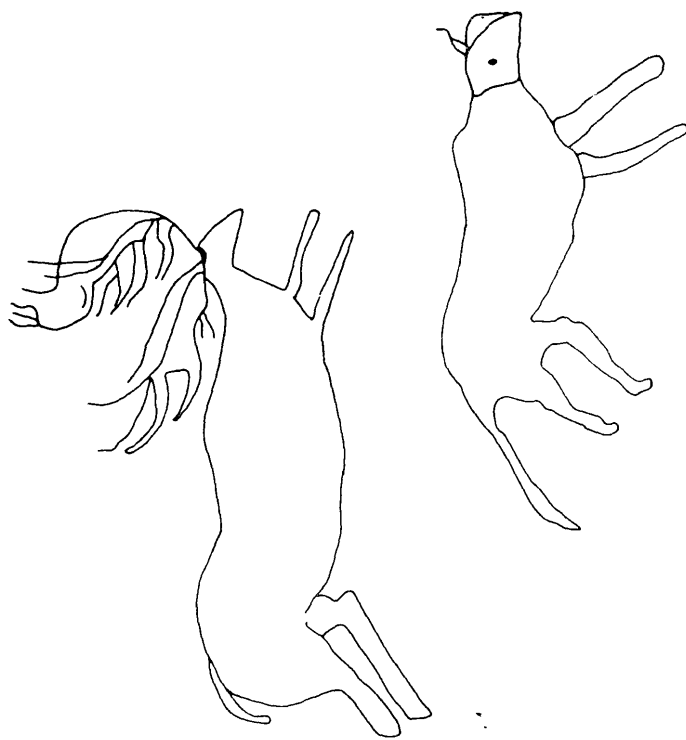
Graffito no. 11, and inscription [XVIII], Hatra



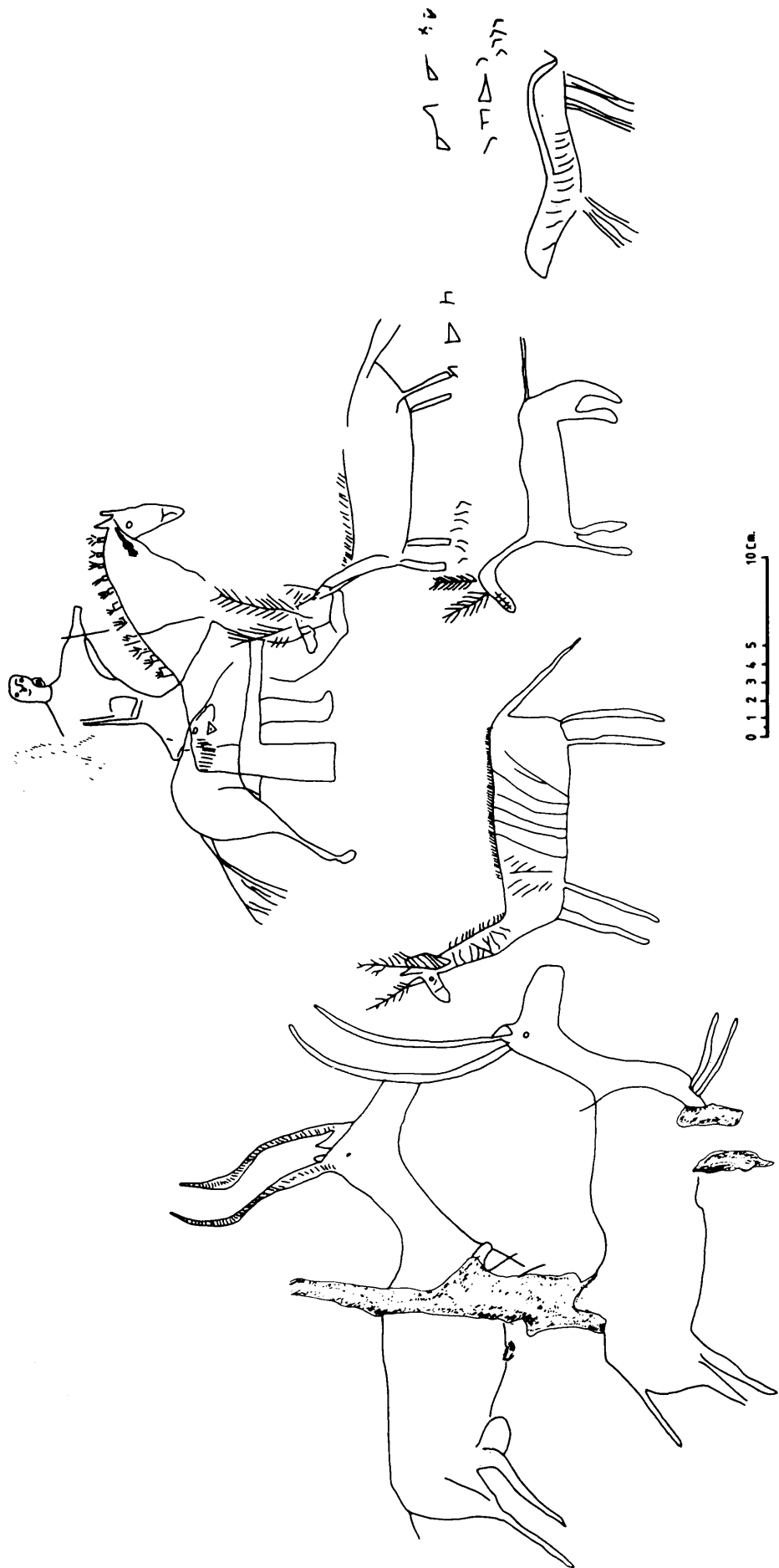
Graffito no. 12. and inscription [XIX], Haura



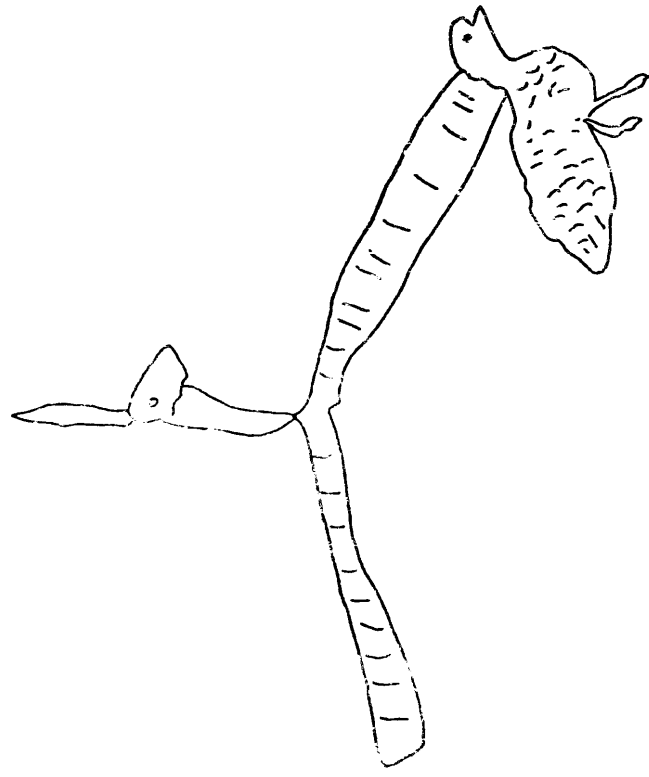
Graffito no. 12, and inscription [XIX], Hatra



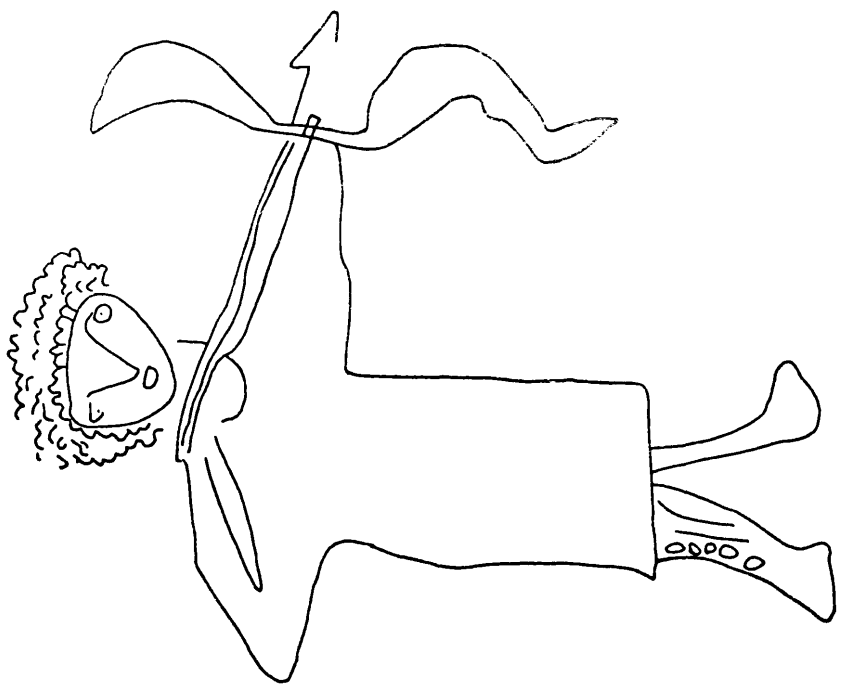
Garfito no. 13, Hatra



161. Graffito no. 14, and inscription [XVI], Hatra.



(b) Graffito no. 16, Hatra



(a) Graffito no. 15, Hatra



II
 𐎠𐎢𐎫𐎠𐎧𐎺𐎠
 𐎠𐎢𐎫𐎠𐎧𐎺𐎠

𐎠𐎢𐎫𐎠𐎧𐎺𐎠
 𐎠𐎢𐎫𐎠𐎧𐎺𐎠
 𐎠𐎢𐎫𐎠𐎧𐎺𐎠
 𐎠𐎢𐎫𐎠𐎧𐎺𐎠



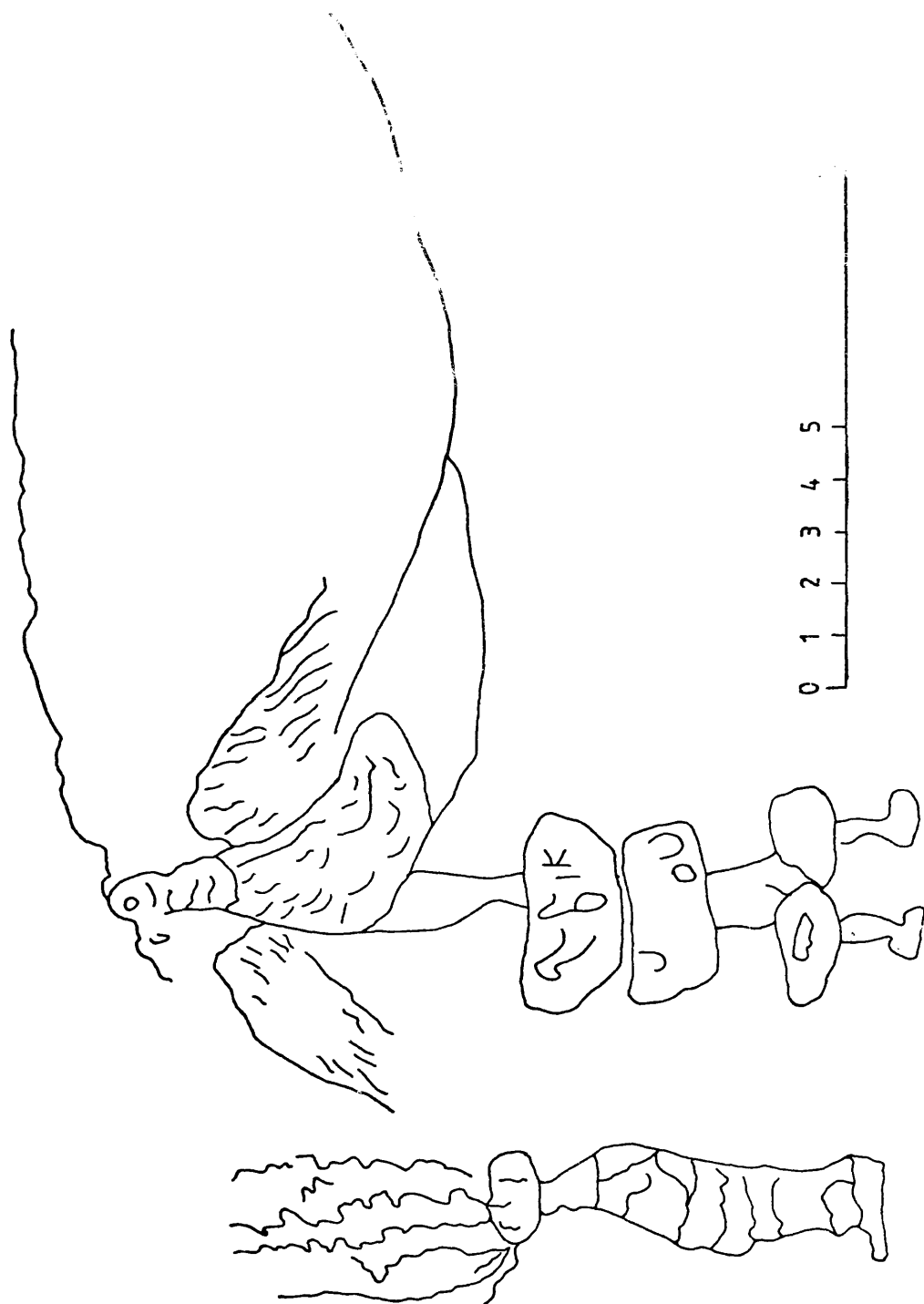
Graffito no. 17, and inscription [XI], Hatra



Graffito no. 18, Hatra



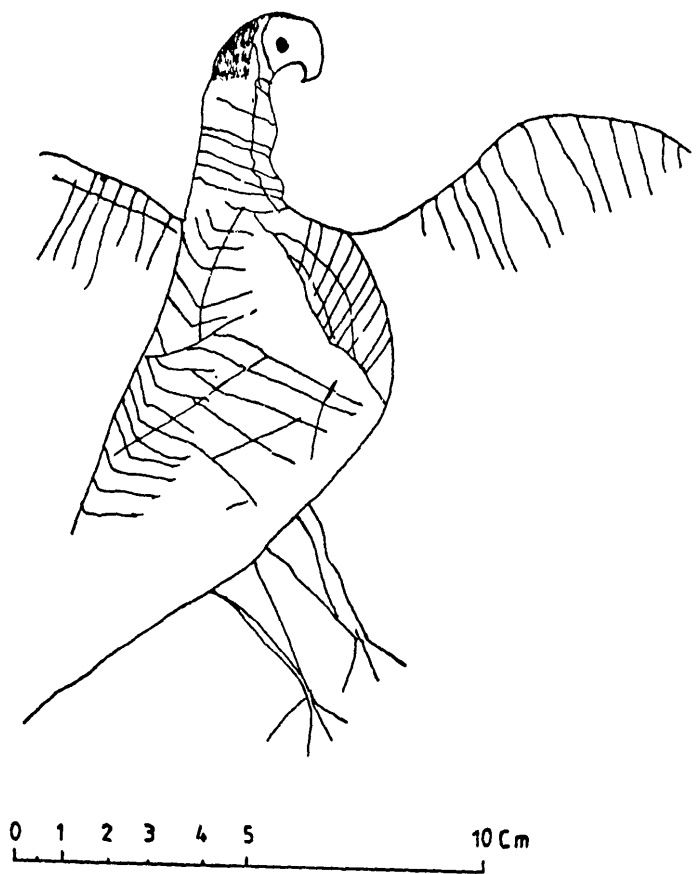
Graffito no. 19, Hatra



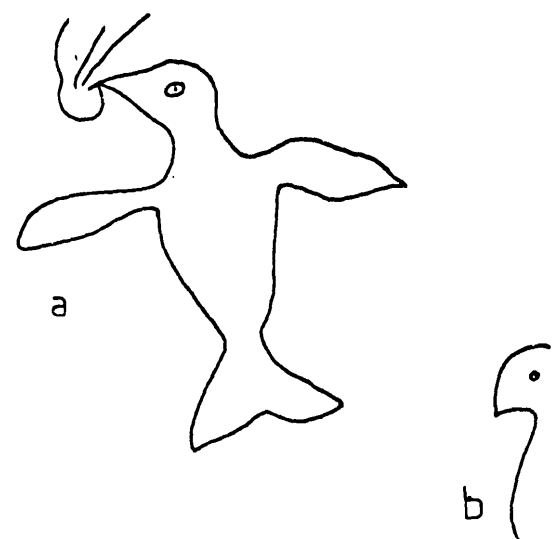
Graffito no. 20, Hatra



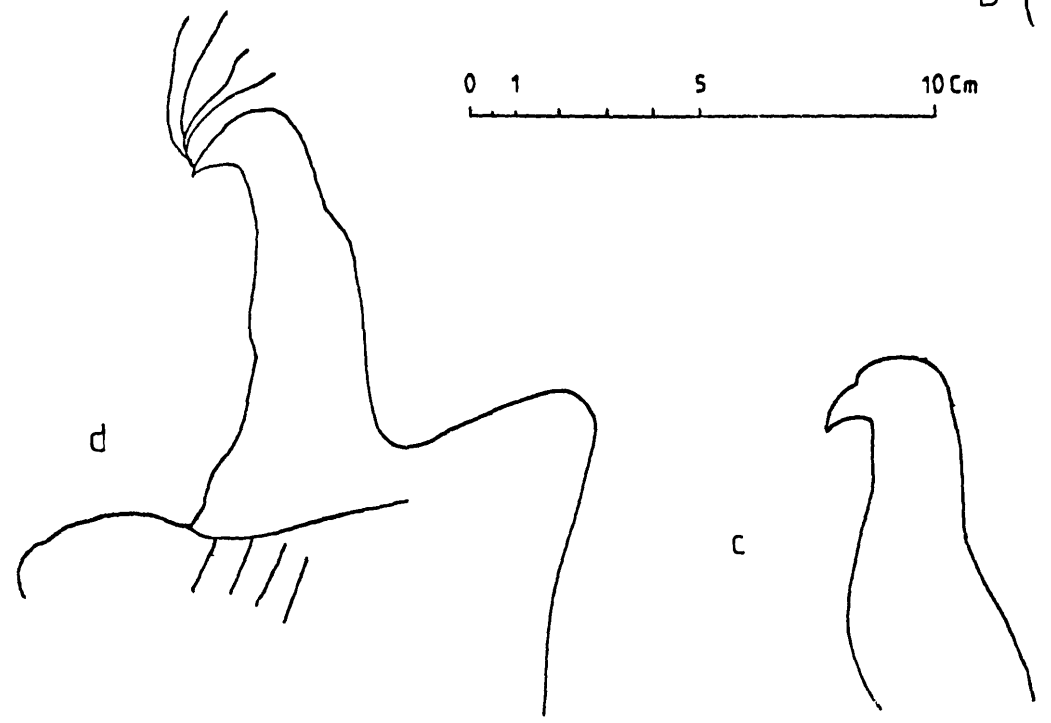
167 Graffito no. 21, Khirbet Jaddalah



(a) Graffito no. 21. Khirbet Jaddalah

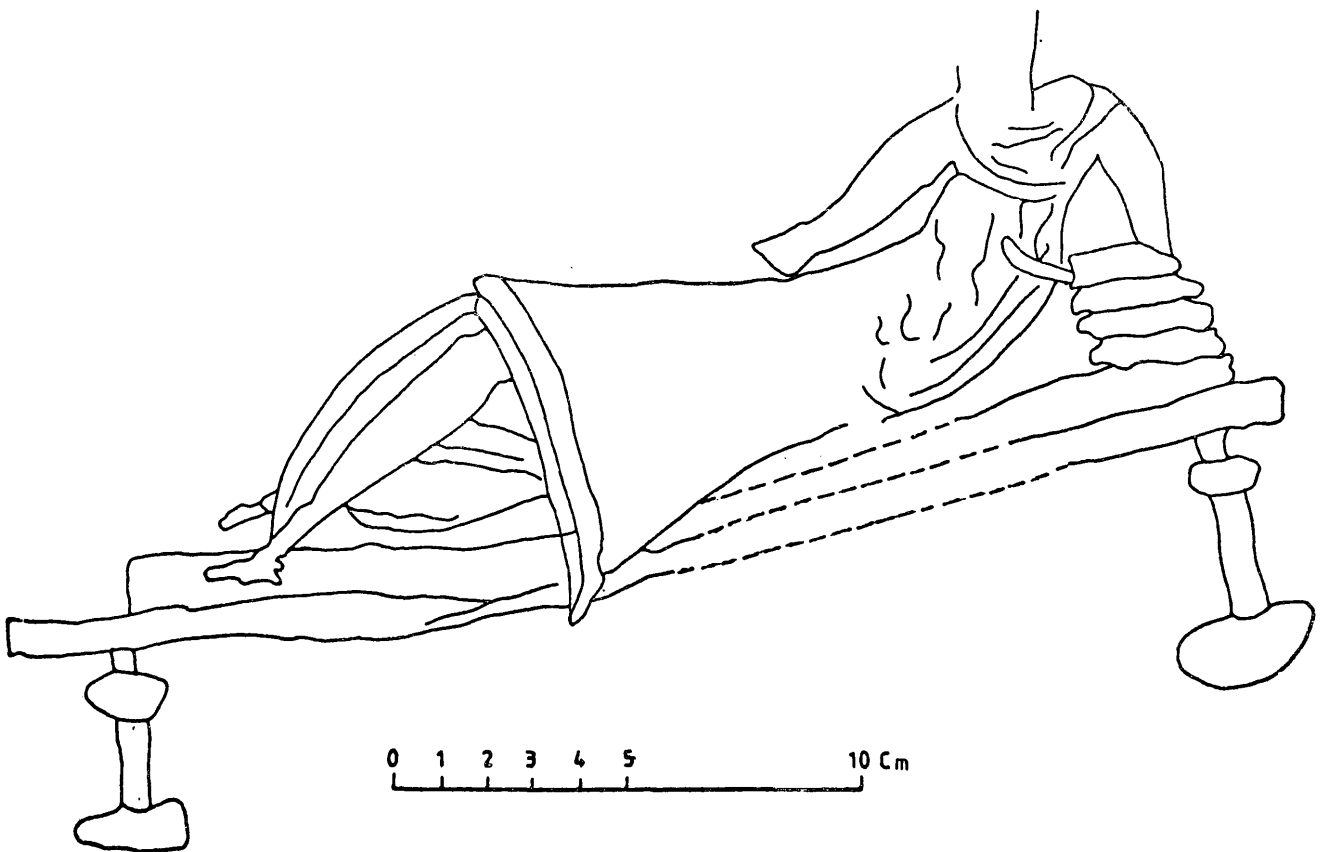


(b) Graffito no. 22, Khirbet Jaddalah





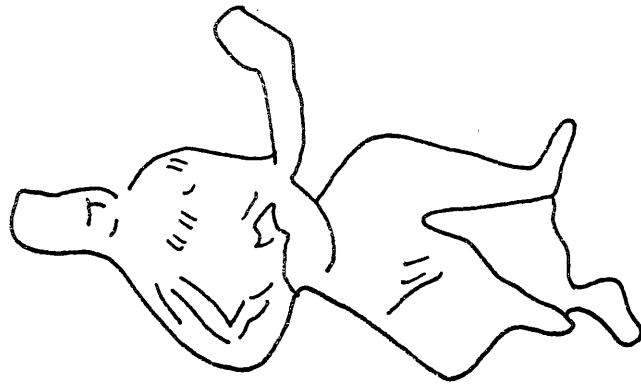
(a) Graffito no. 23, Hatra



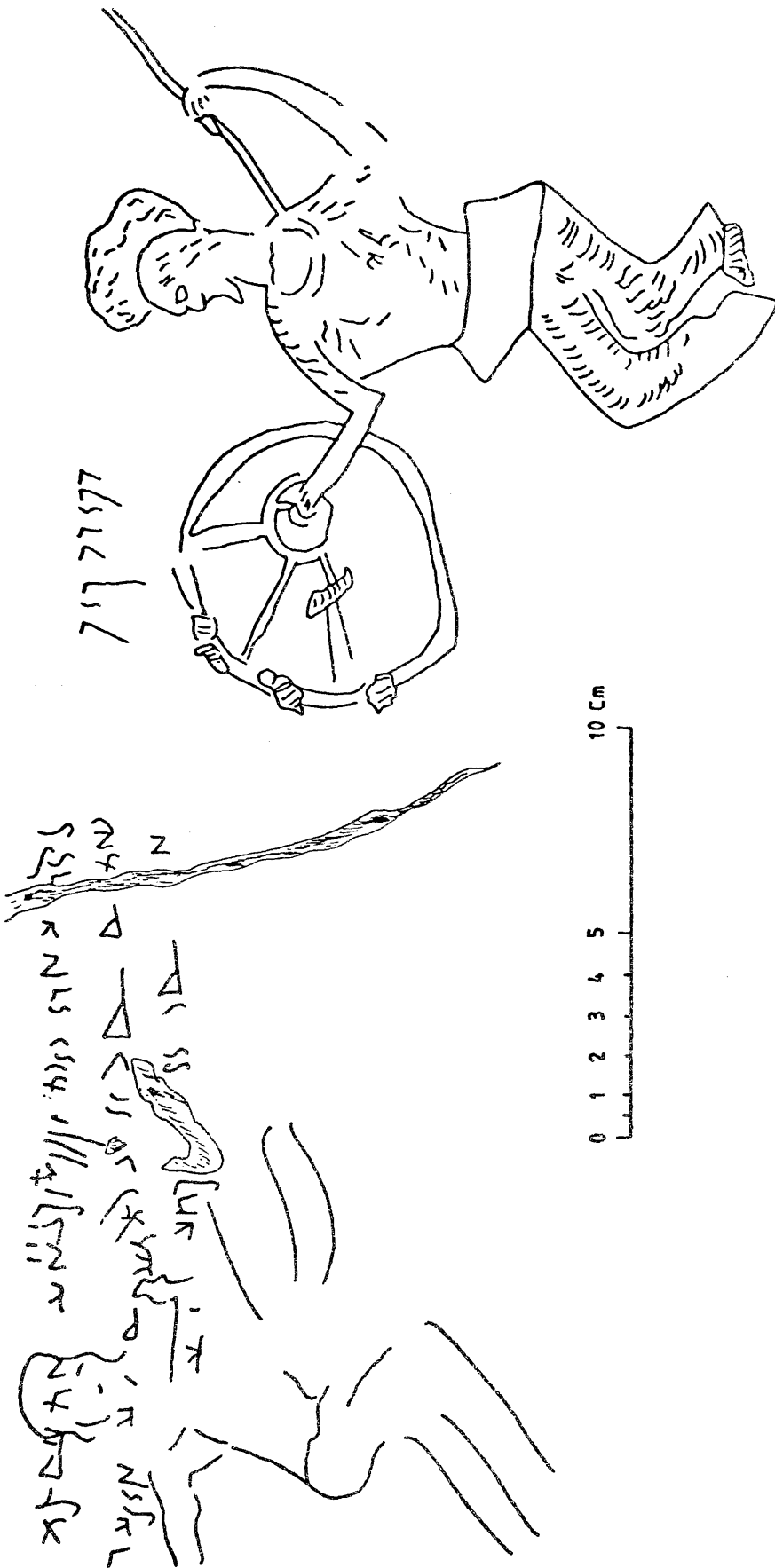
(b) Graffito no. 24, Hatra



(b) Graffito no. 26, Hatra



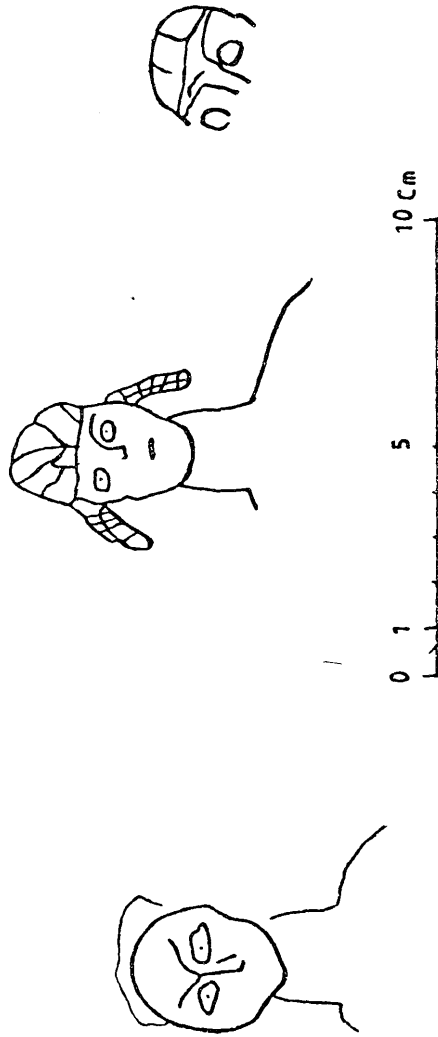
(a) Graffito no. 25, Hatra



171. Graffito no. 27, and inscription [XIII], Hatra



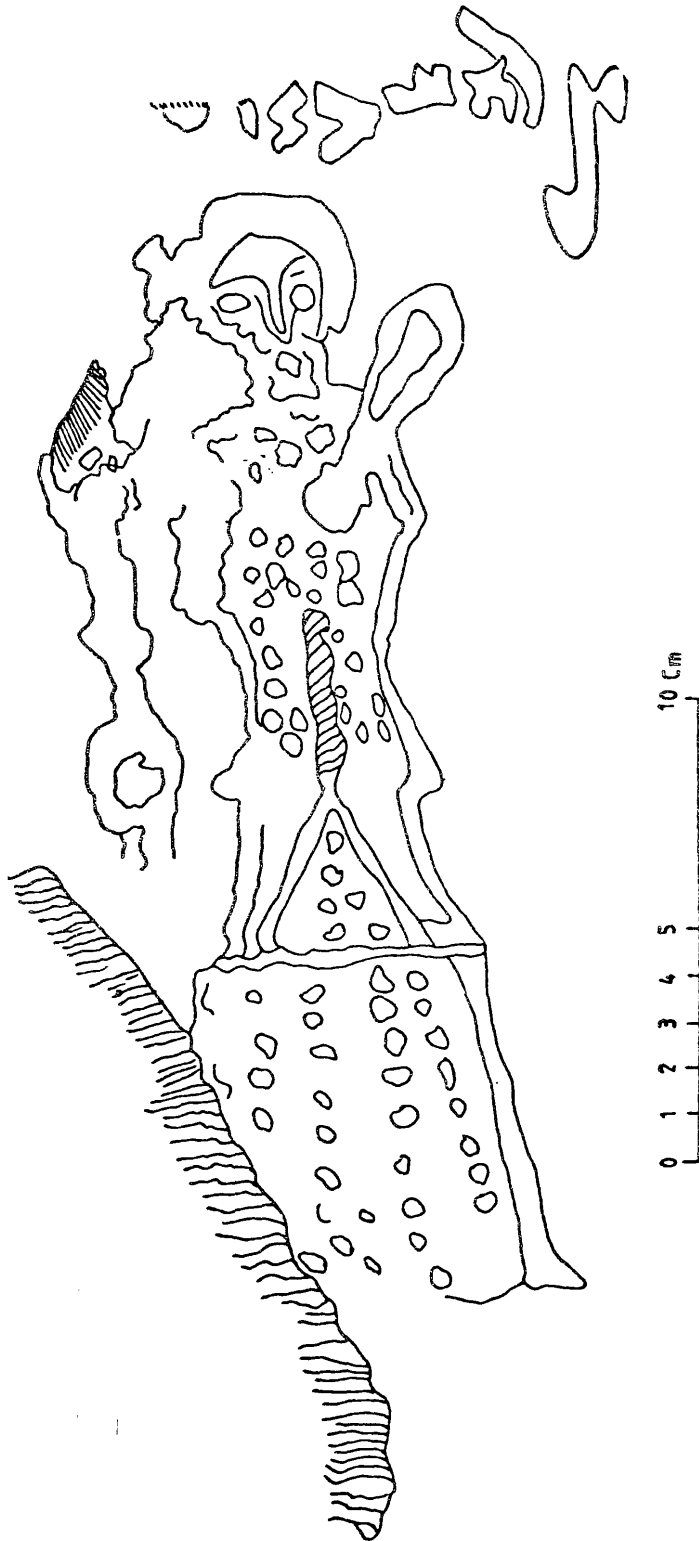
Graffito no. 28. Khirbet Jaddalah



Graffito no. 28, Khirbet Jaddalah



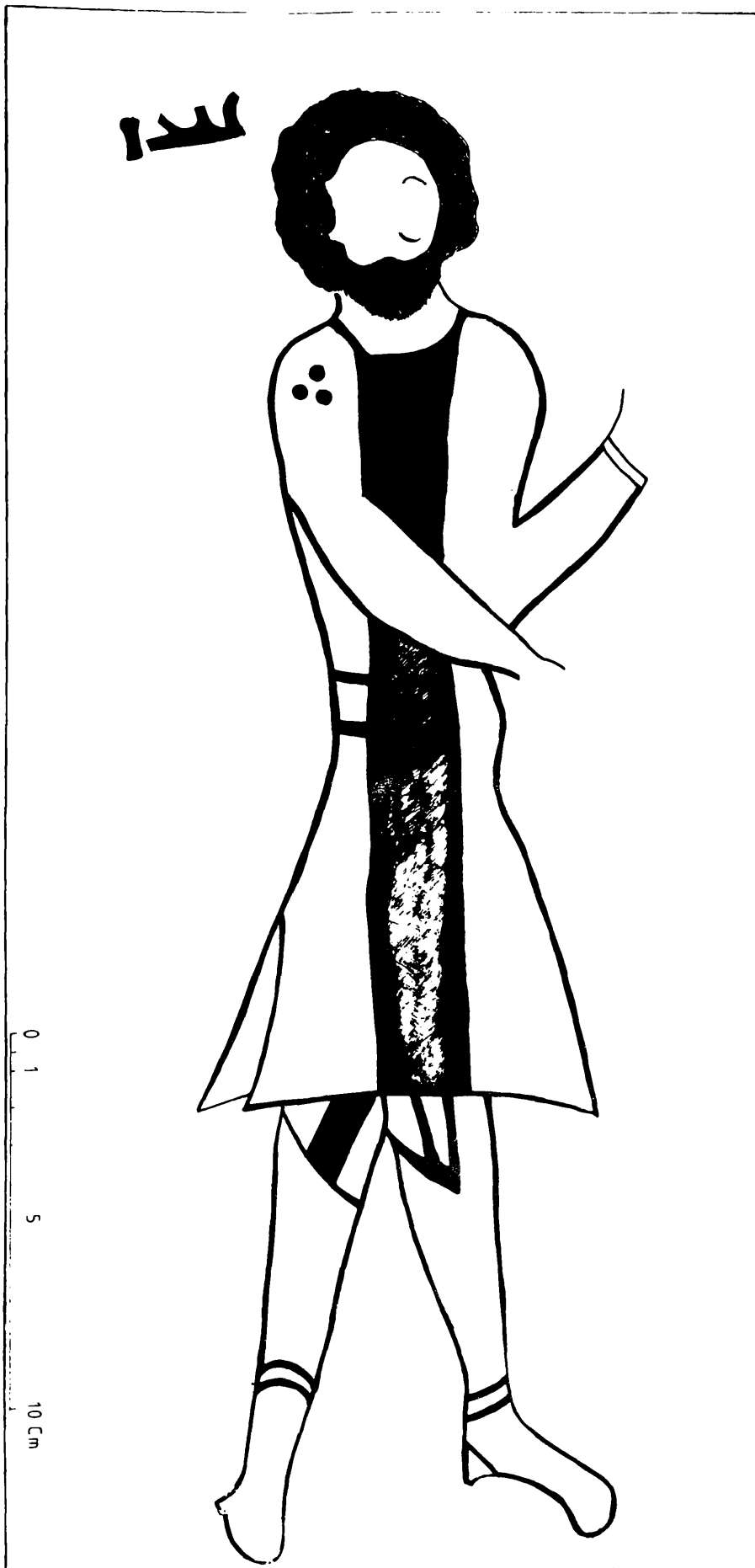
Painting no. 29, Hatra



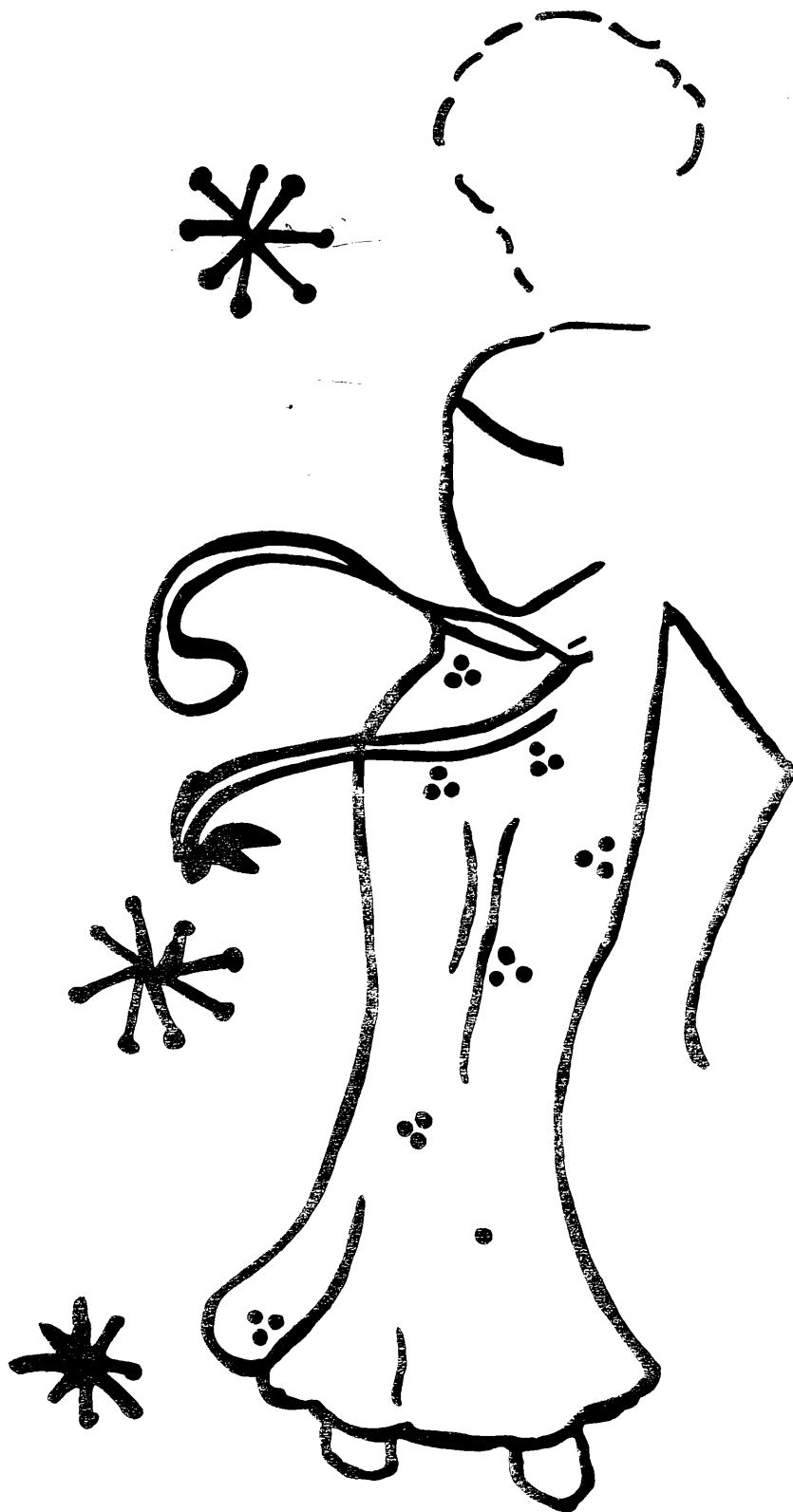
Painting no. 30, and inscription [XV], Hatra



**Painting no. 31, (lower part) and inscription [XXIII],
Khirbet Jaddalah**



Painting no. 31, (lower part) and inscription [XXIII], Khirbet Jaddalah

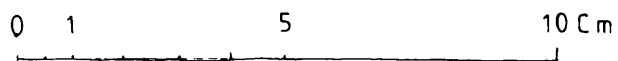


0 1 5 10 Cm.

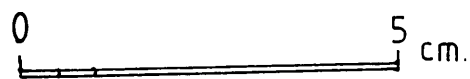
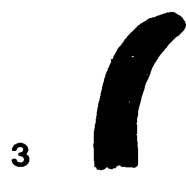
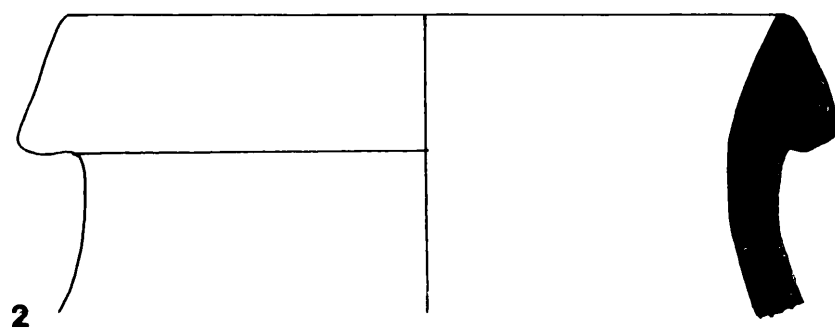
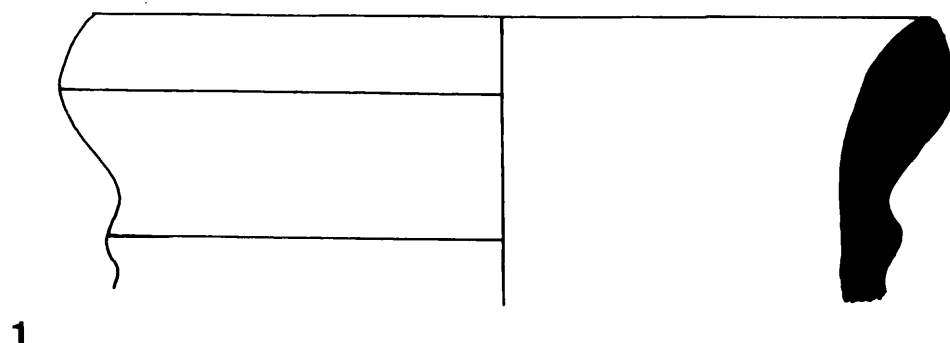
178. *Painting no. 31. (wasaq maU) Khirbat Jaddalah*



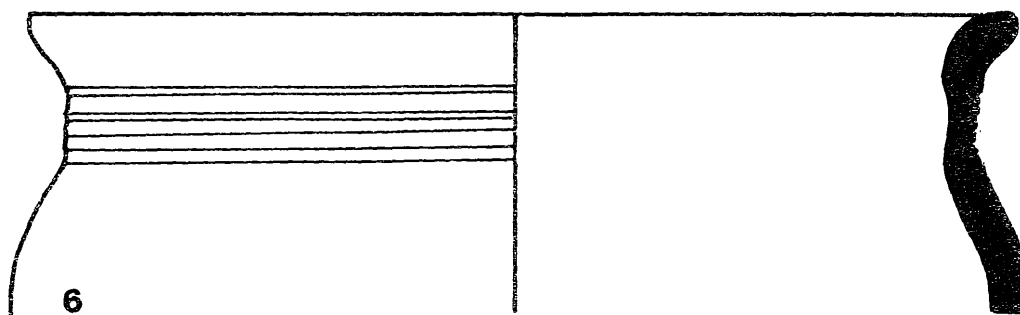
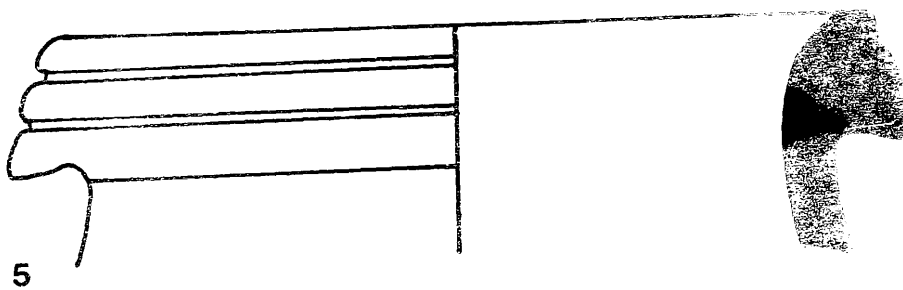
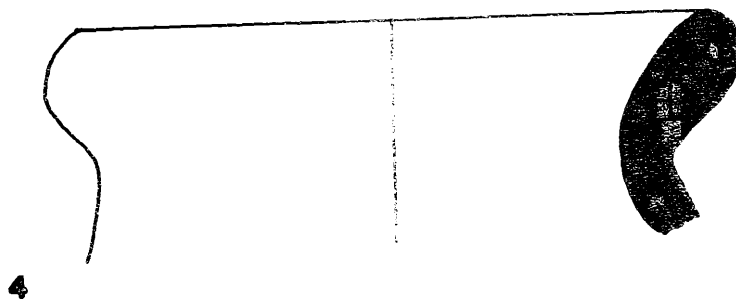
Painting no. 32, (upper part) and inscription [XXIV], Khirbat Jiddah



Painting no. 33, Khirbet Jaddalah



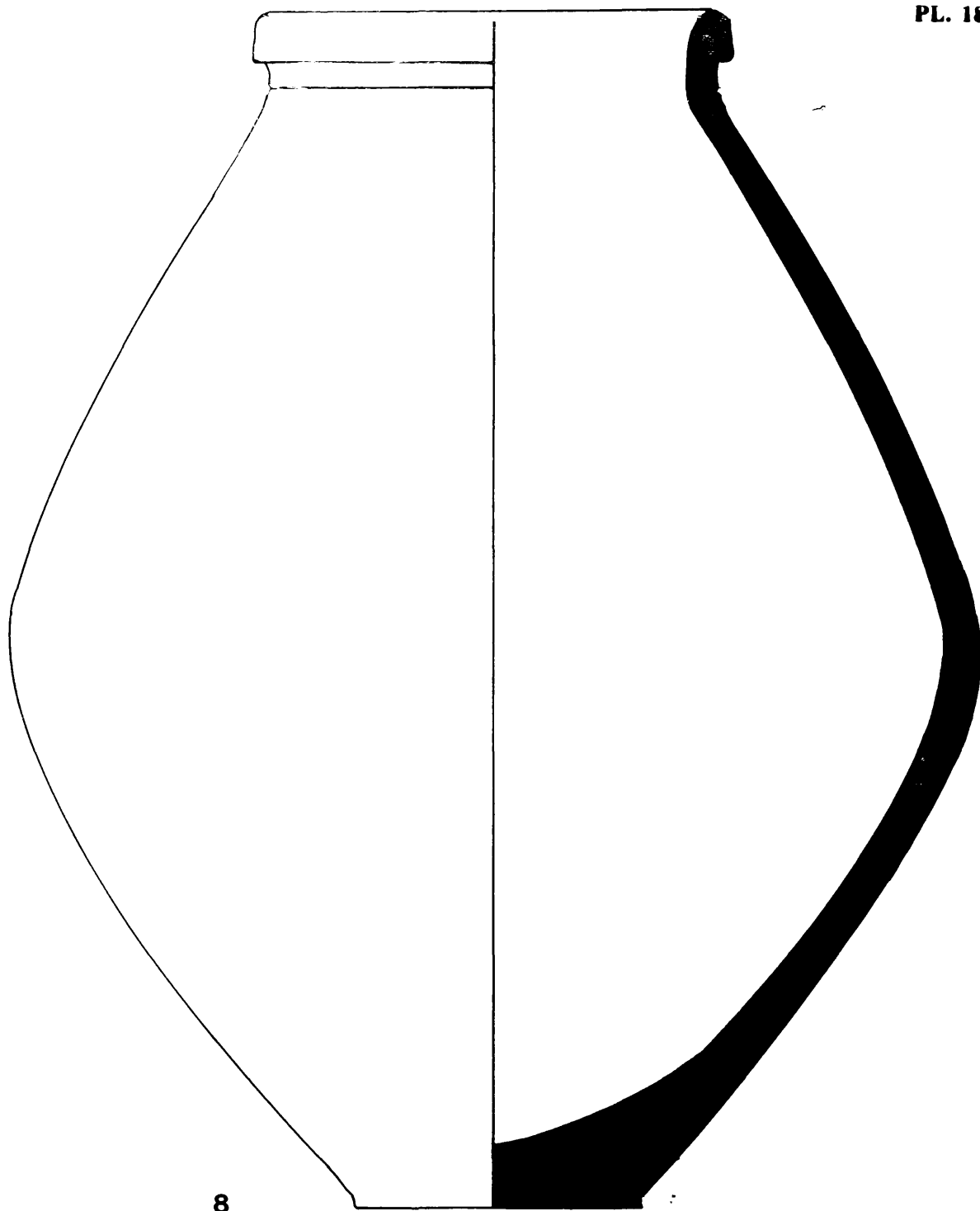
Pottery «1-3», Hatra



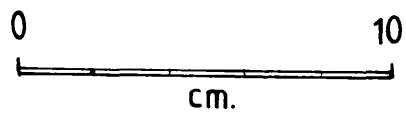
Pottery «4-7», Hatra



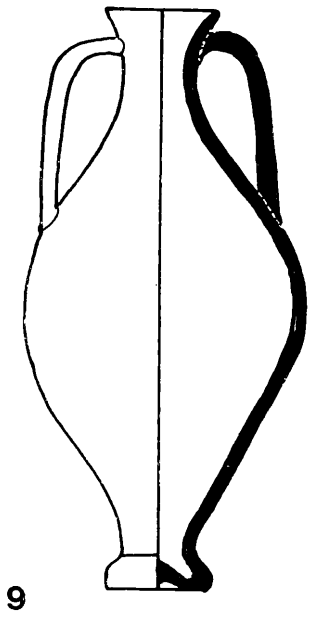
Jar of water



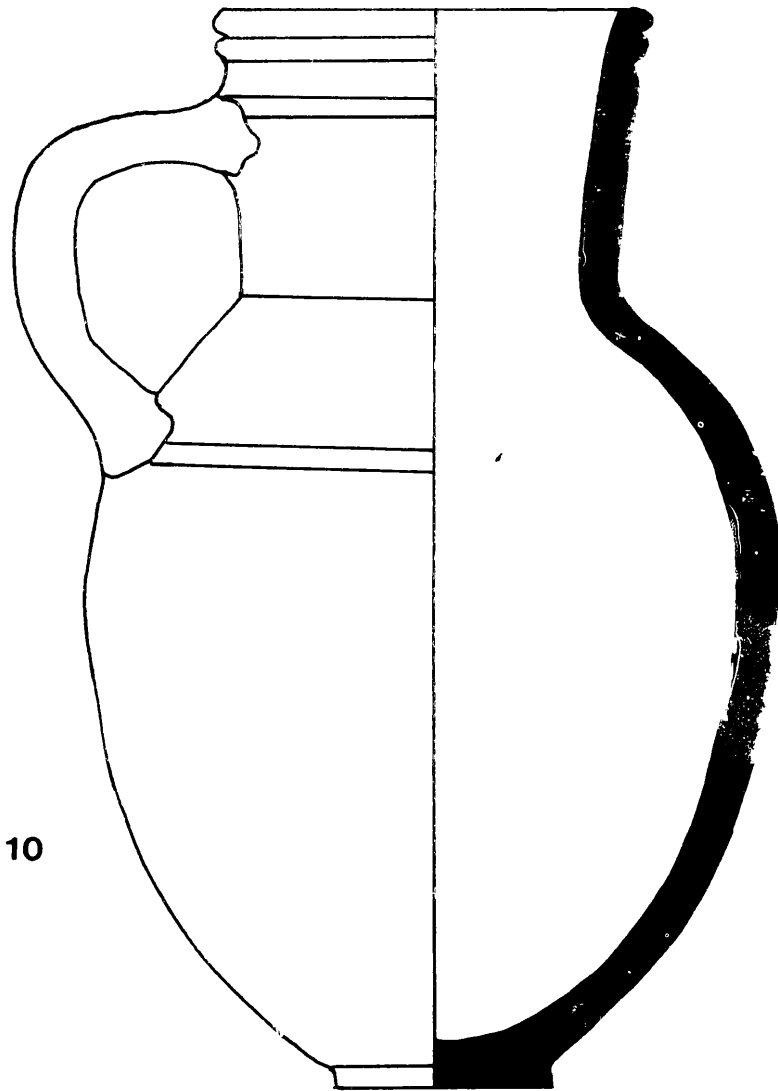
8



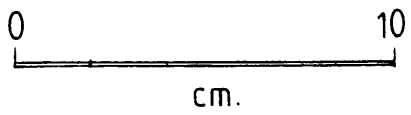
Jar «8», Motra



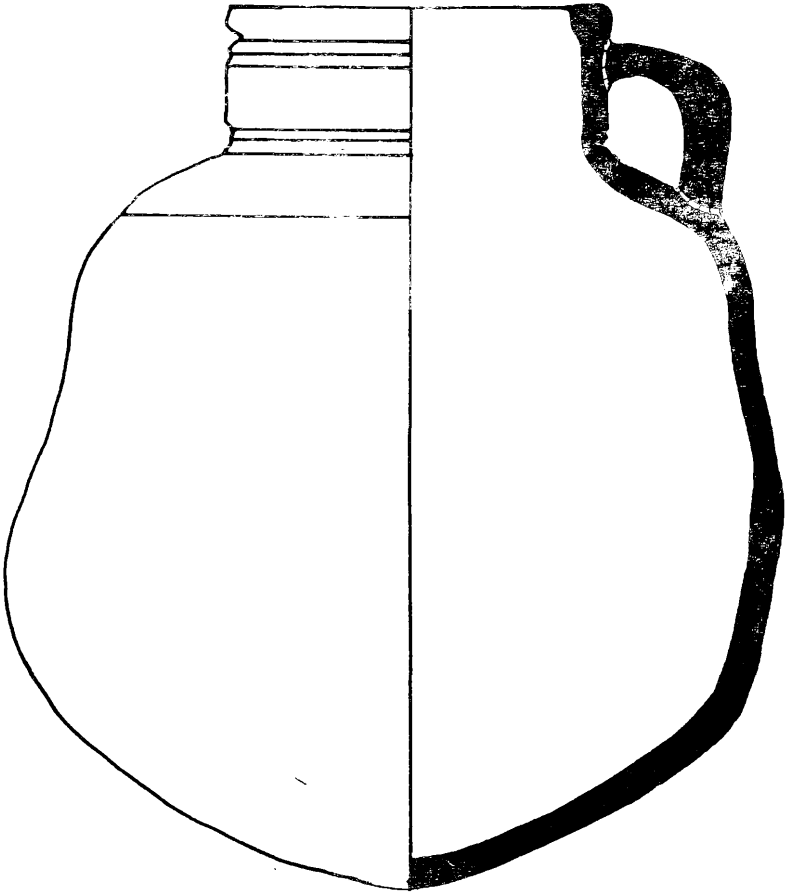
9



10

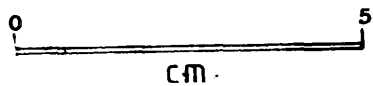
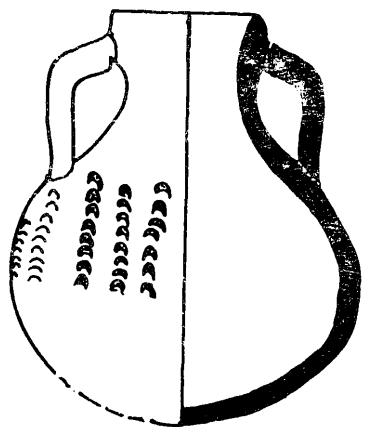


Amphora «9» and jug «10», Hatra

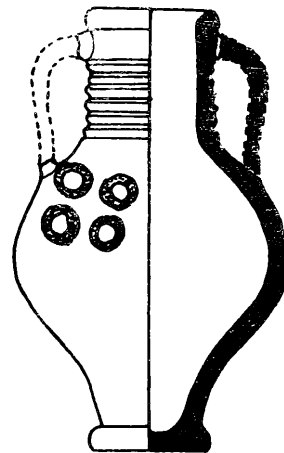


Jar «11», Hatra

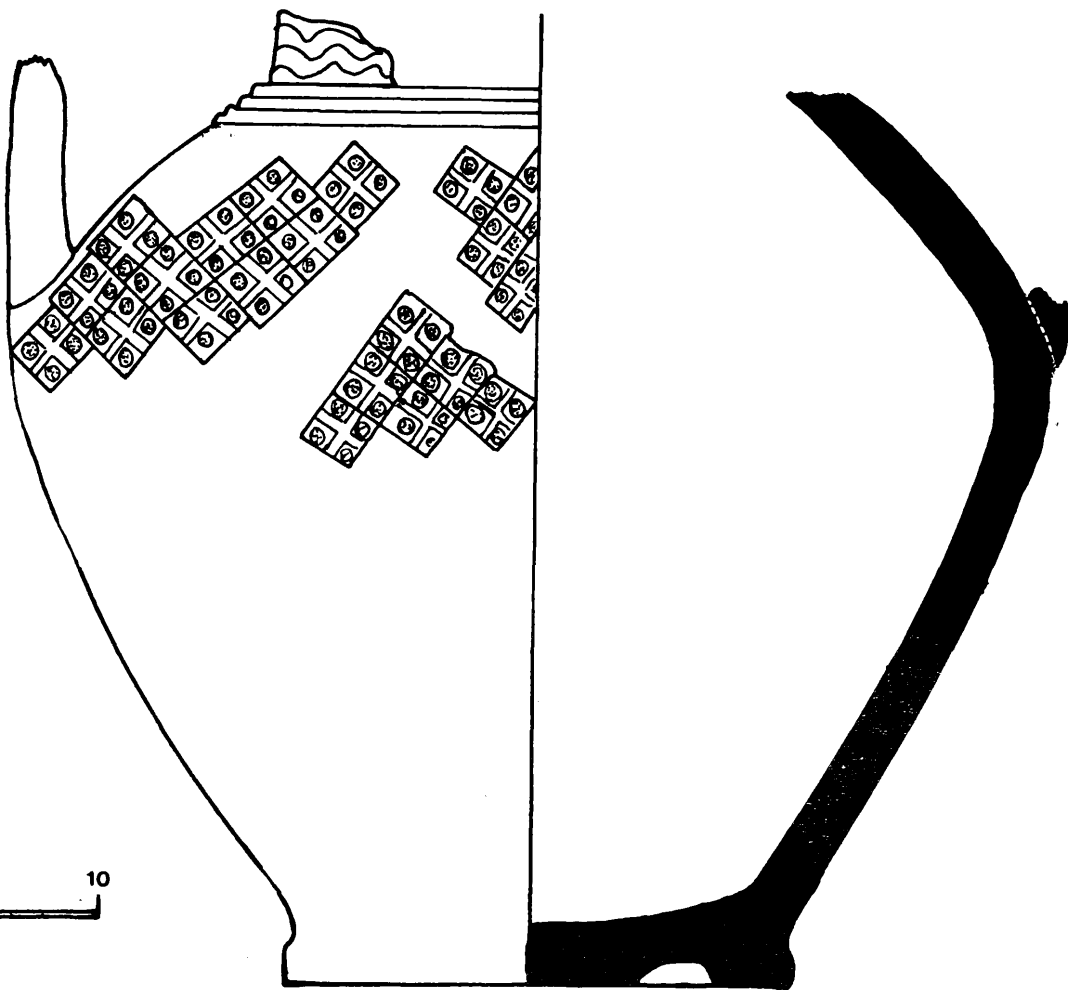
12

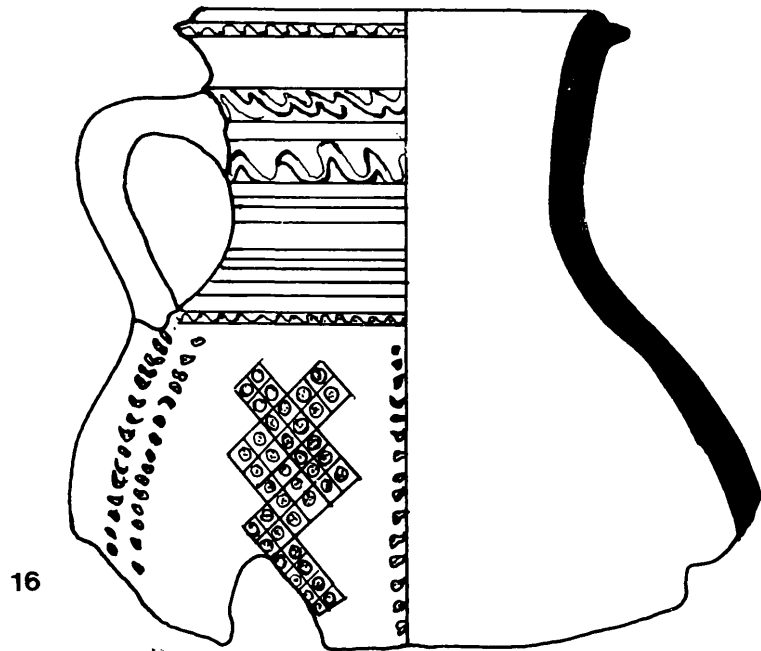
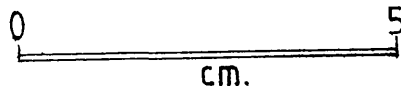
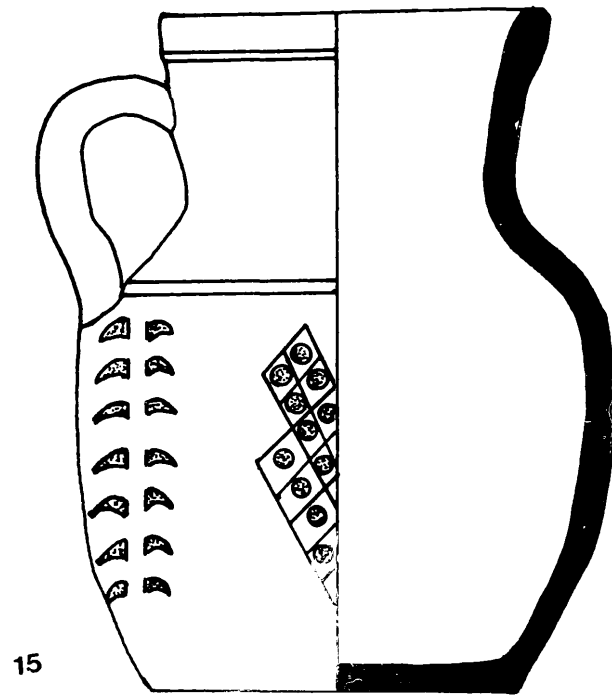


13

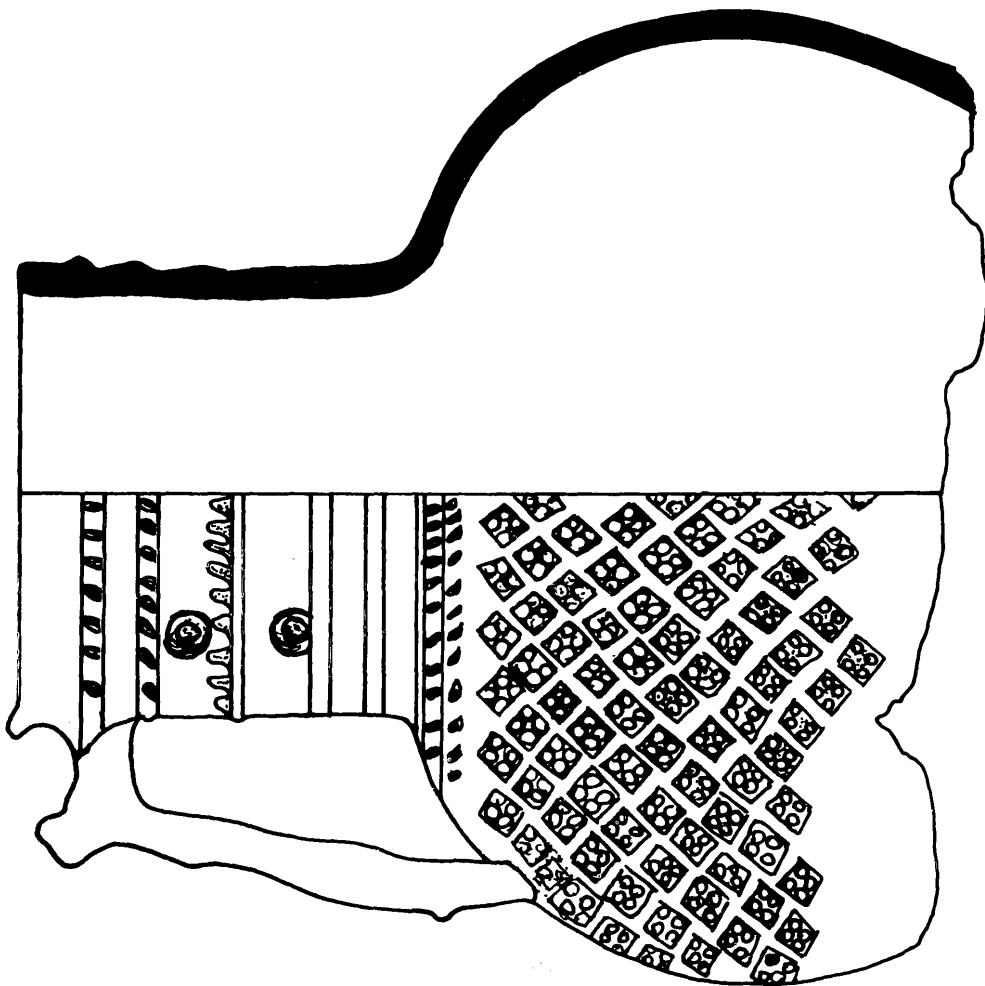


14



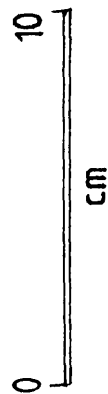
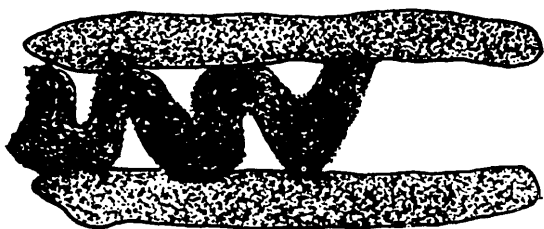


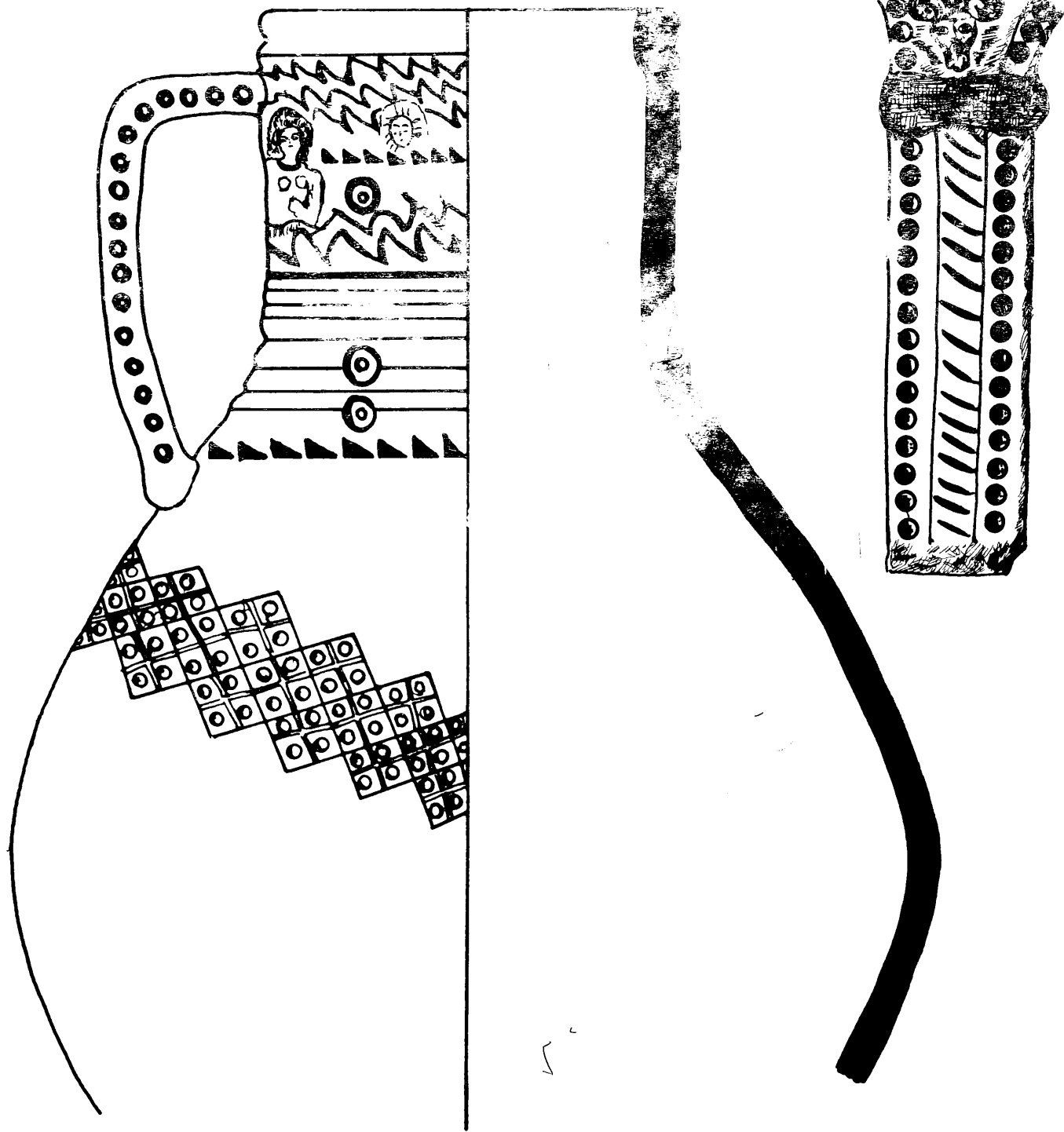
Jugs «15-16», Hatra



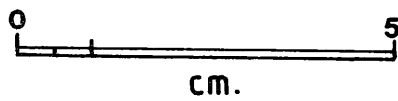
17

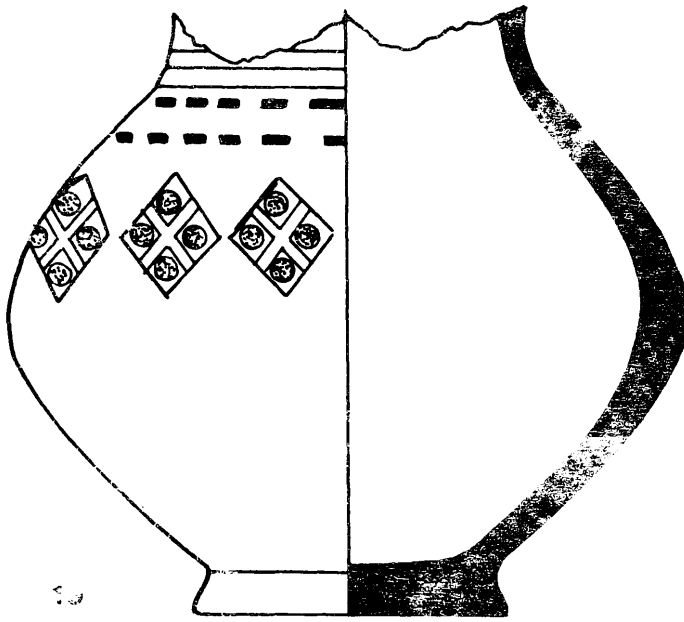
Jug «17», Hatra



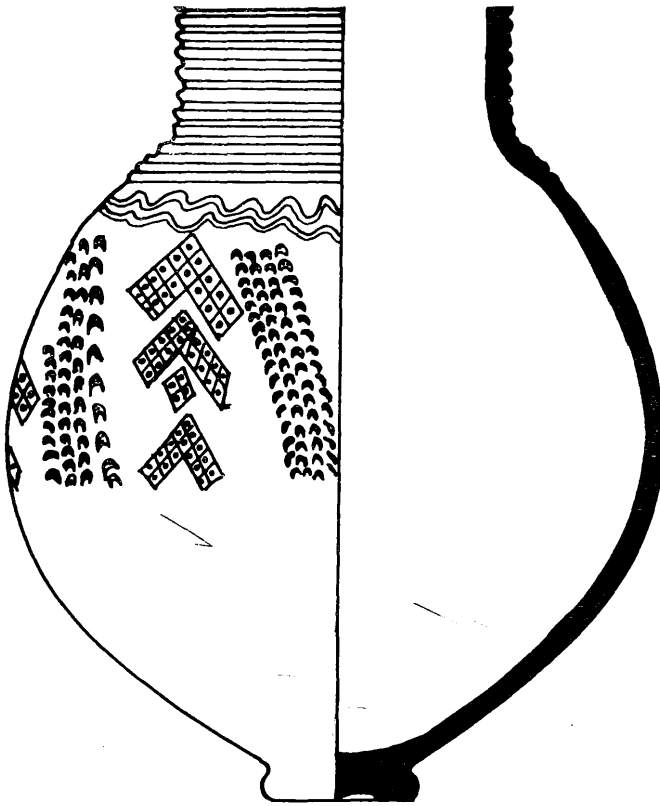
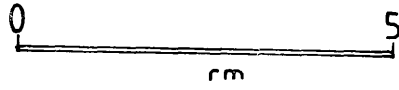


18

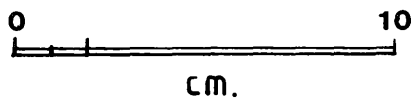


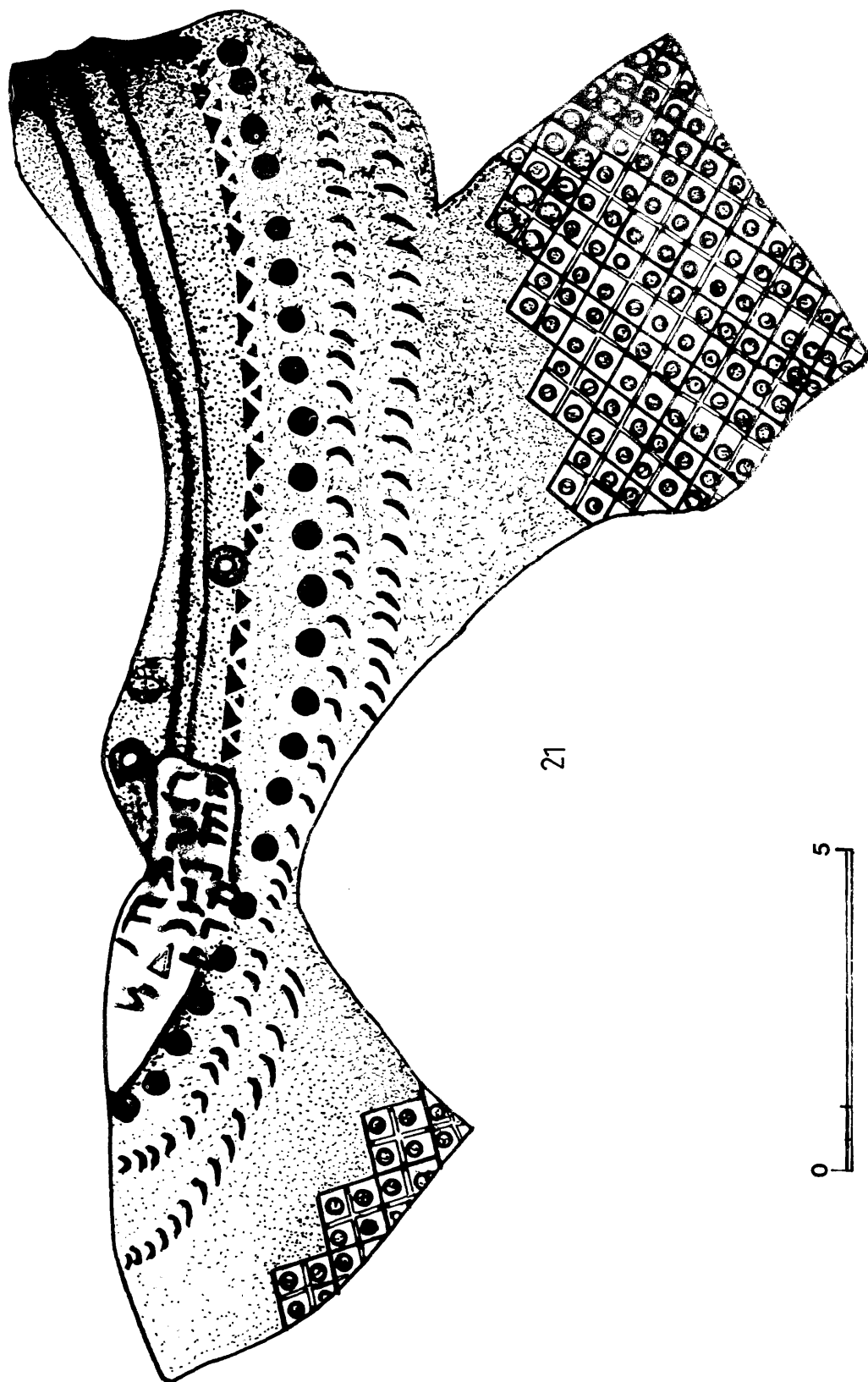


19



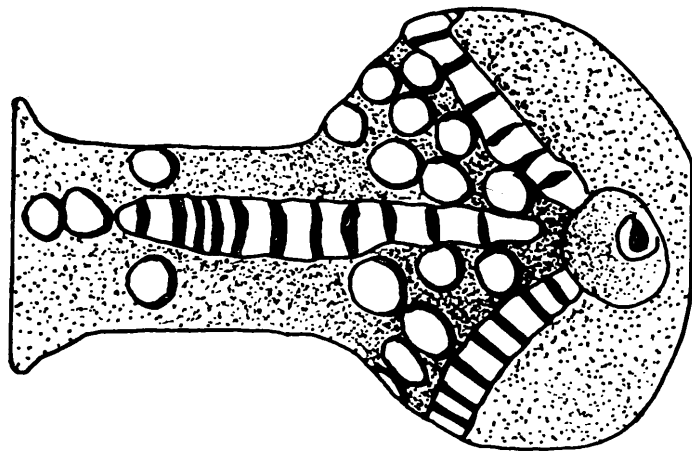
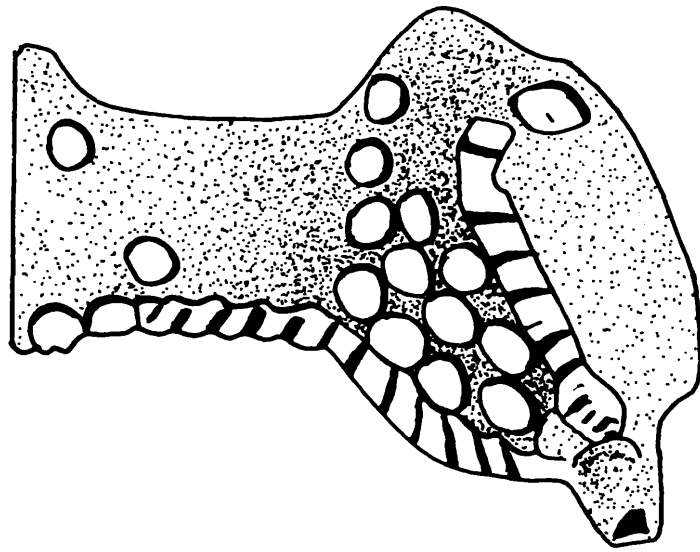
20





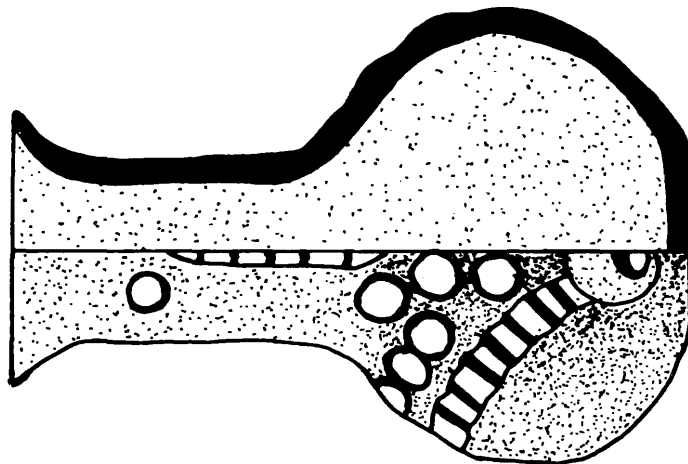
Pottery fragment «21» and inscription [X], Hatra

CM.



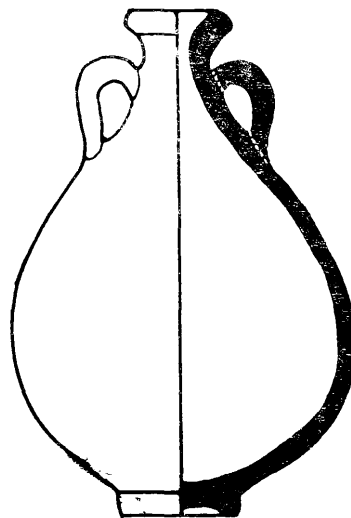
5 cm.
0

Rhyton «22». Hatra

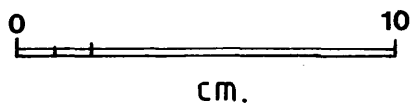
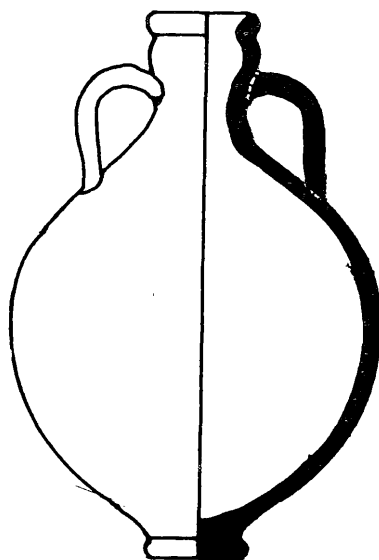


22

23

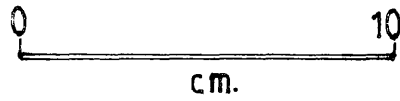
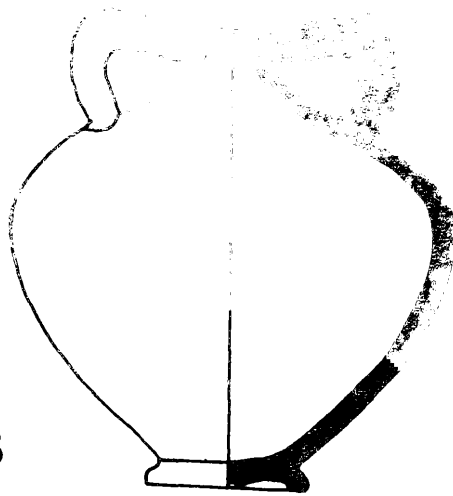


24

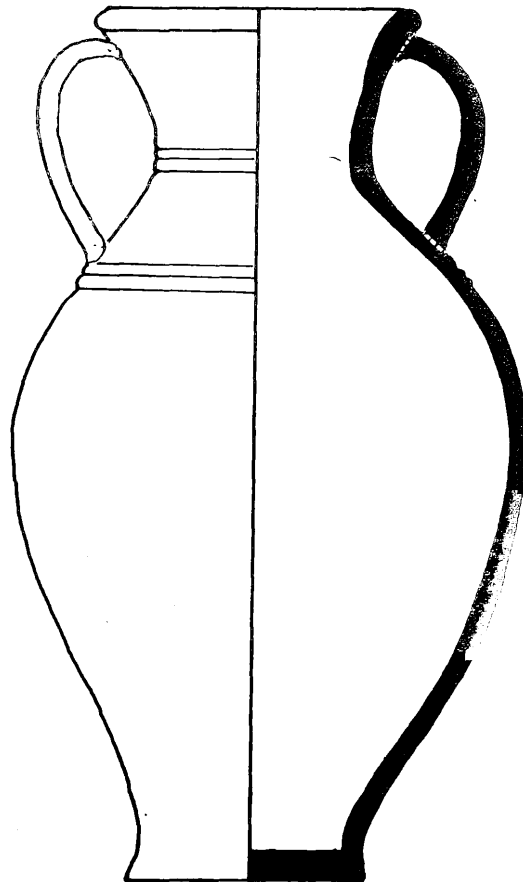


Amphora «23-24», Hatra

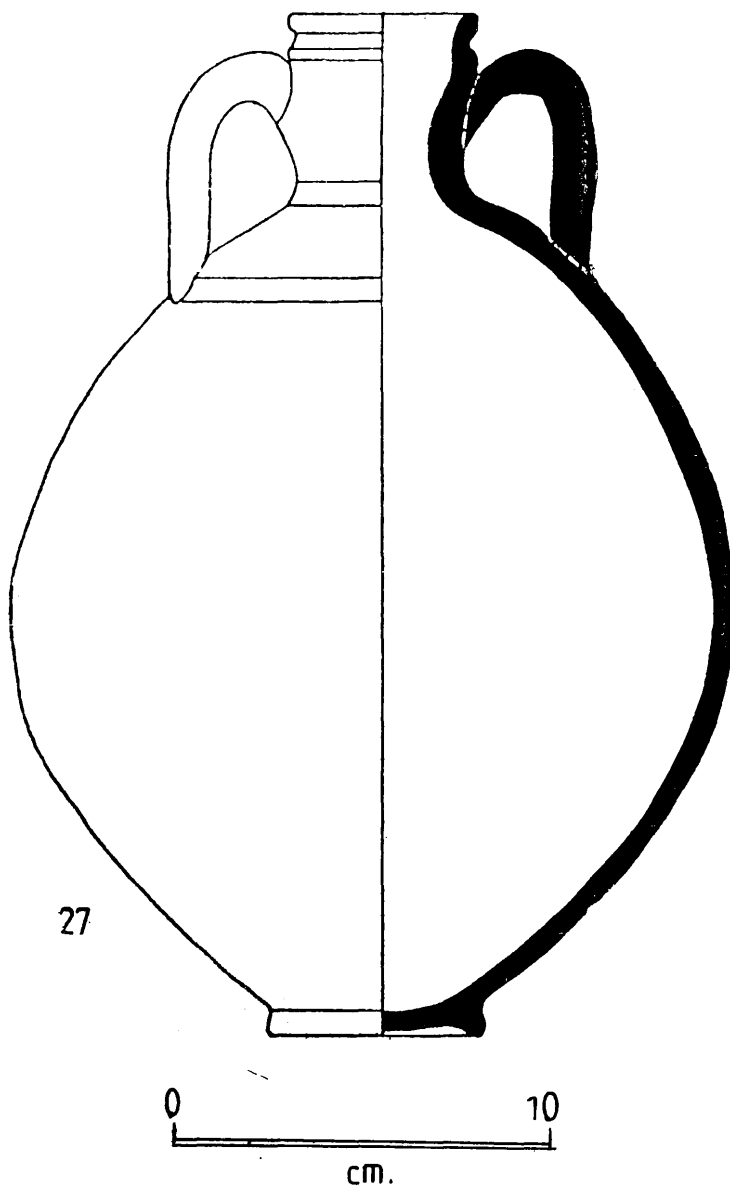
25



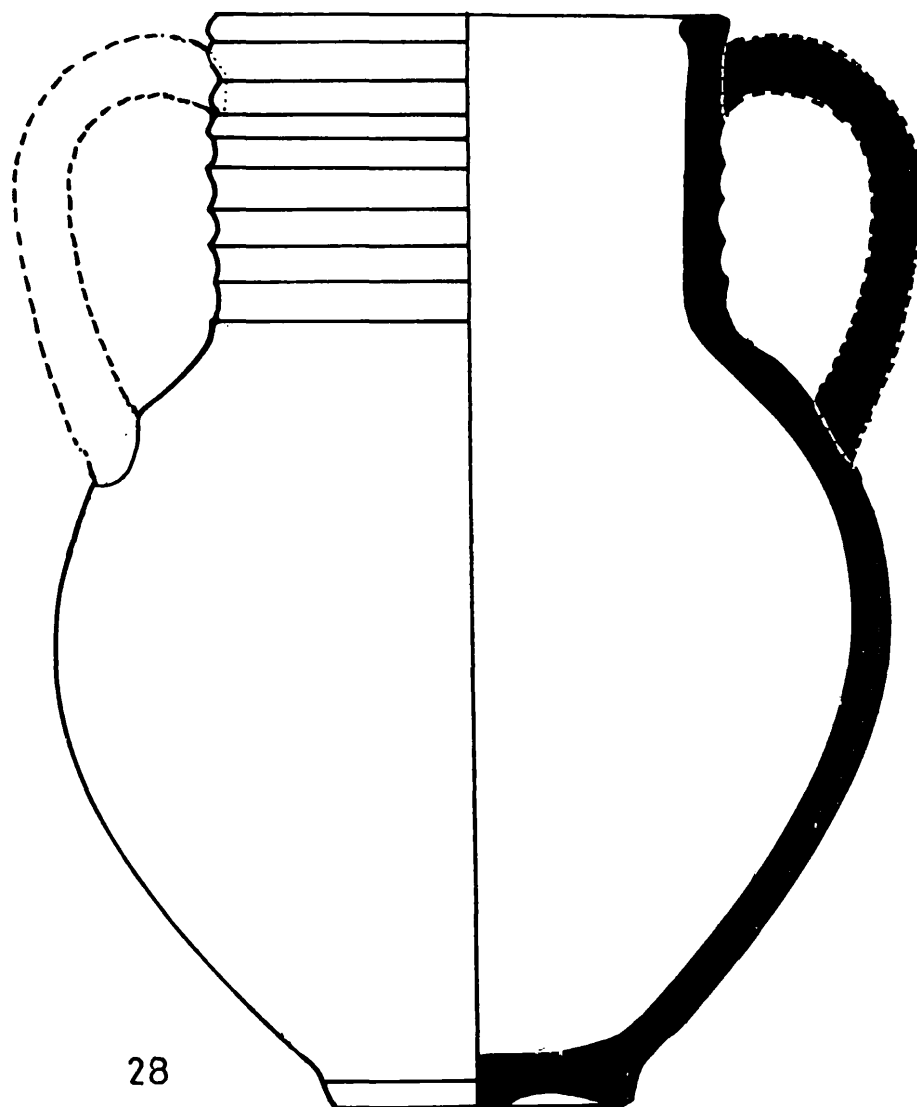
26



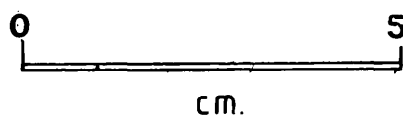
Amphora «25-26», Hatra



Amphora «27», Hatra

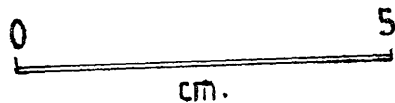
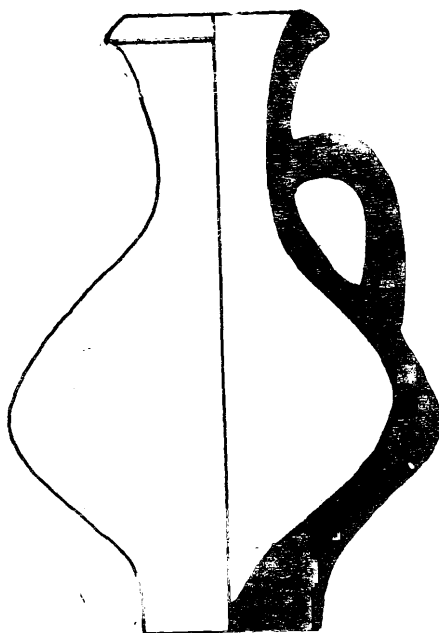


28

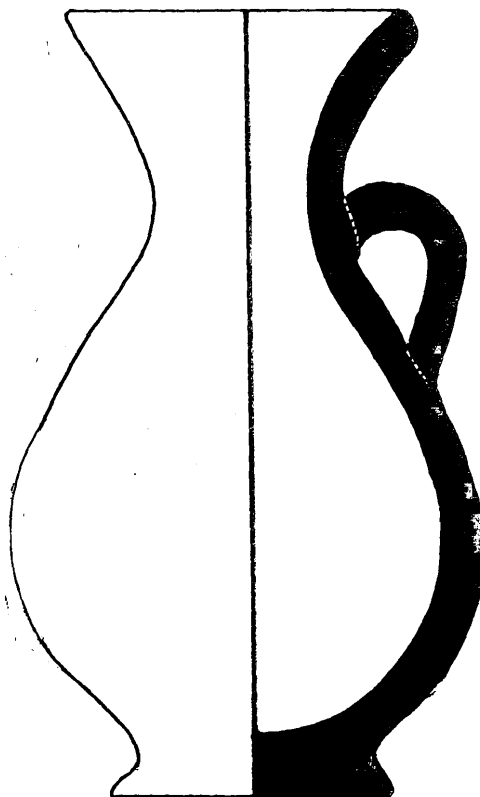


Amphora «28». Hatra

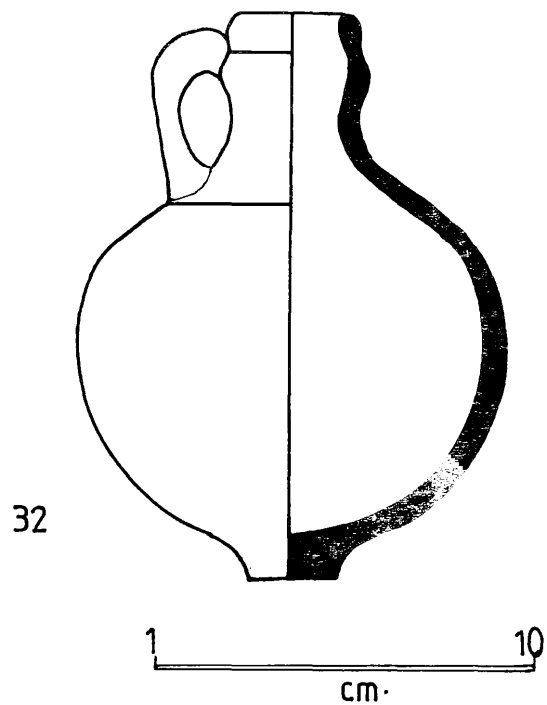
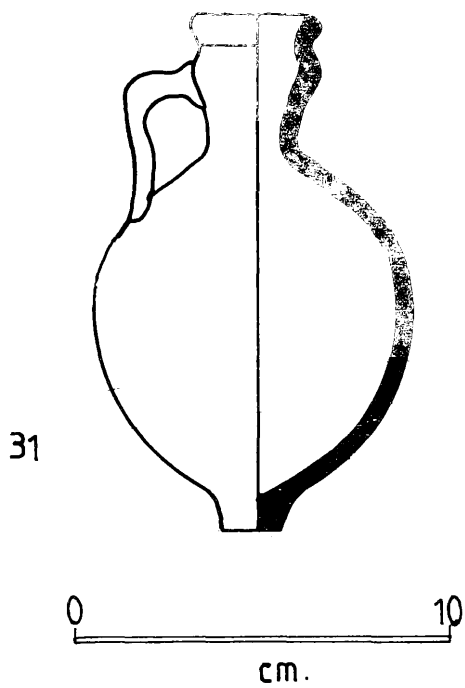
29



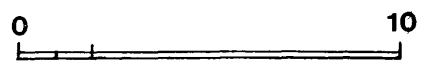
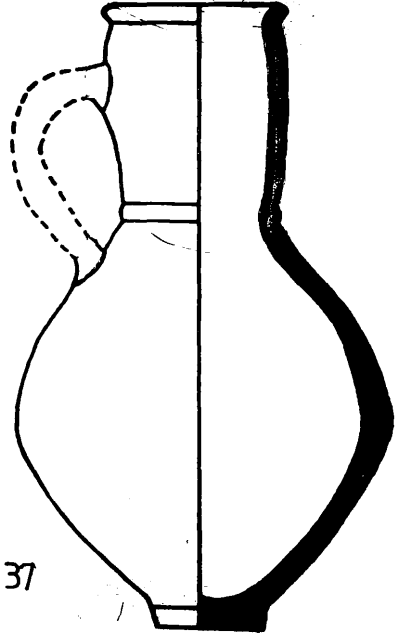
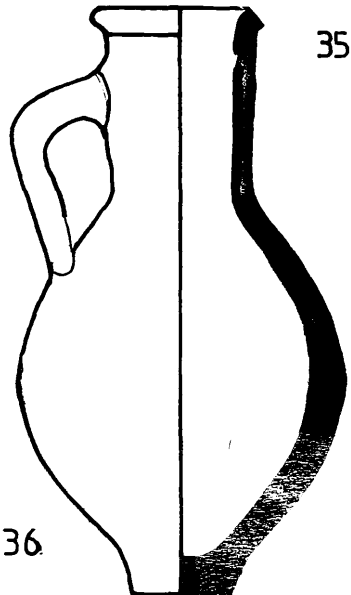
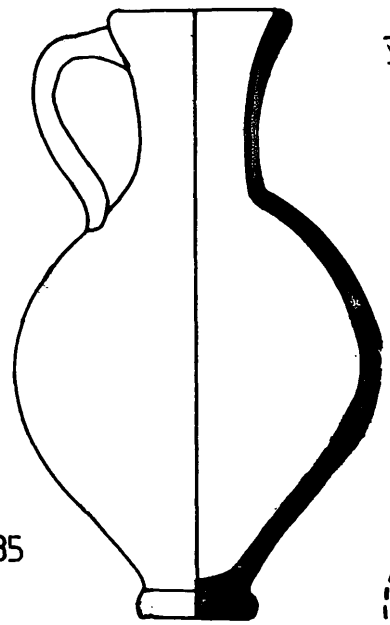
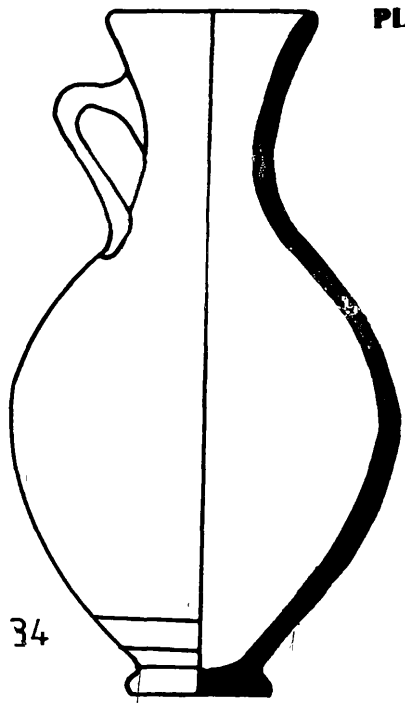
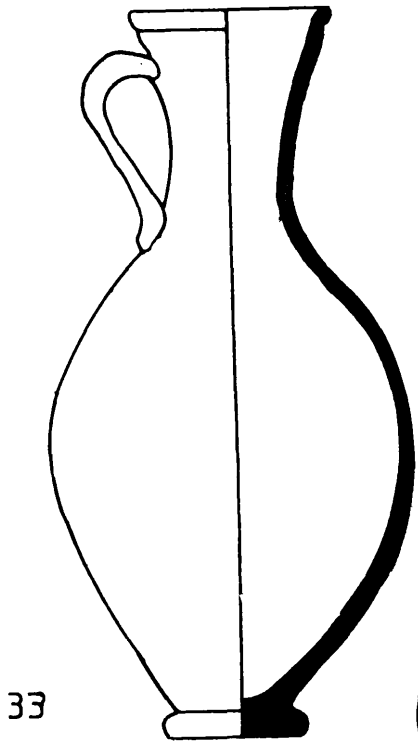
30



Jugs «29-30», Hatan



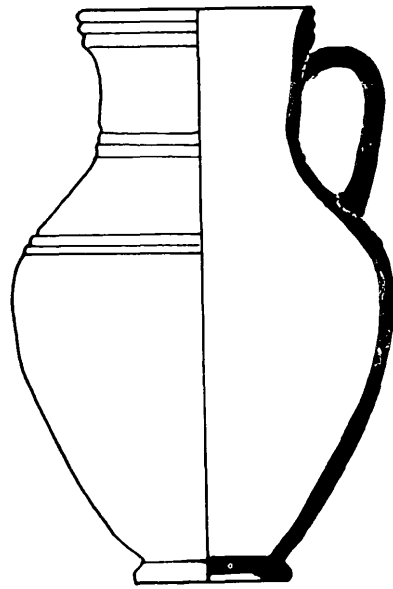
Jugs «31-32», Hatra



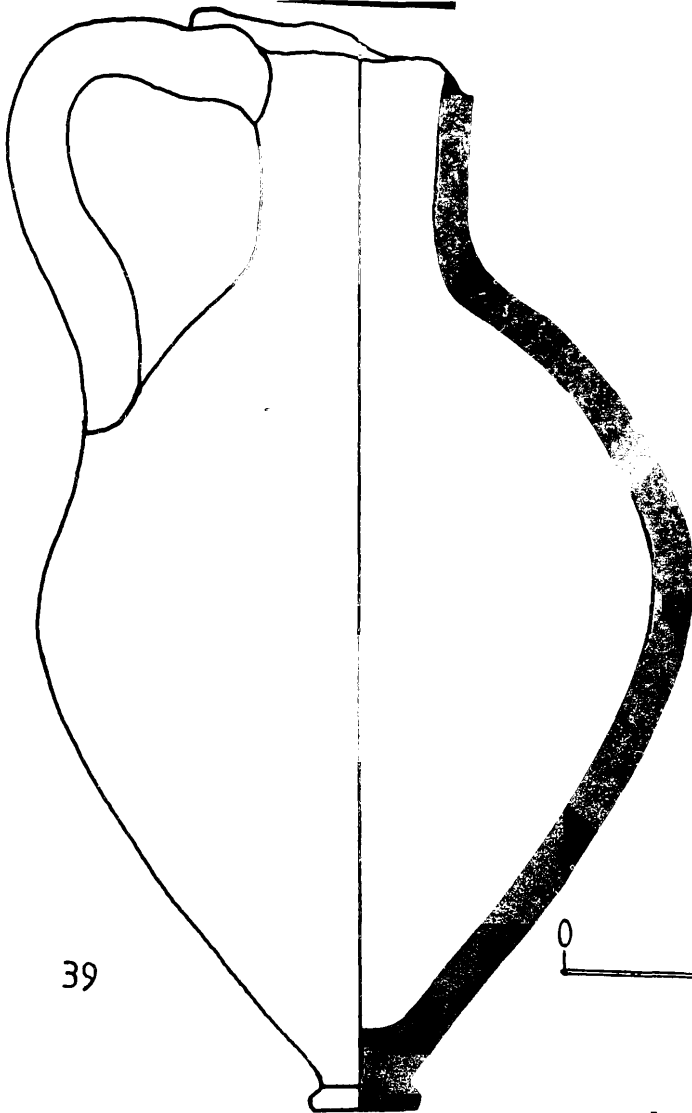
cm.

Jugs «33-37», Hatra

38

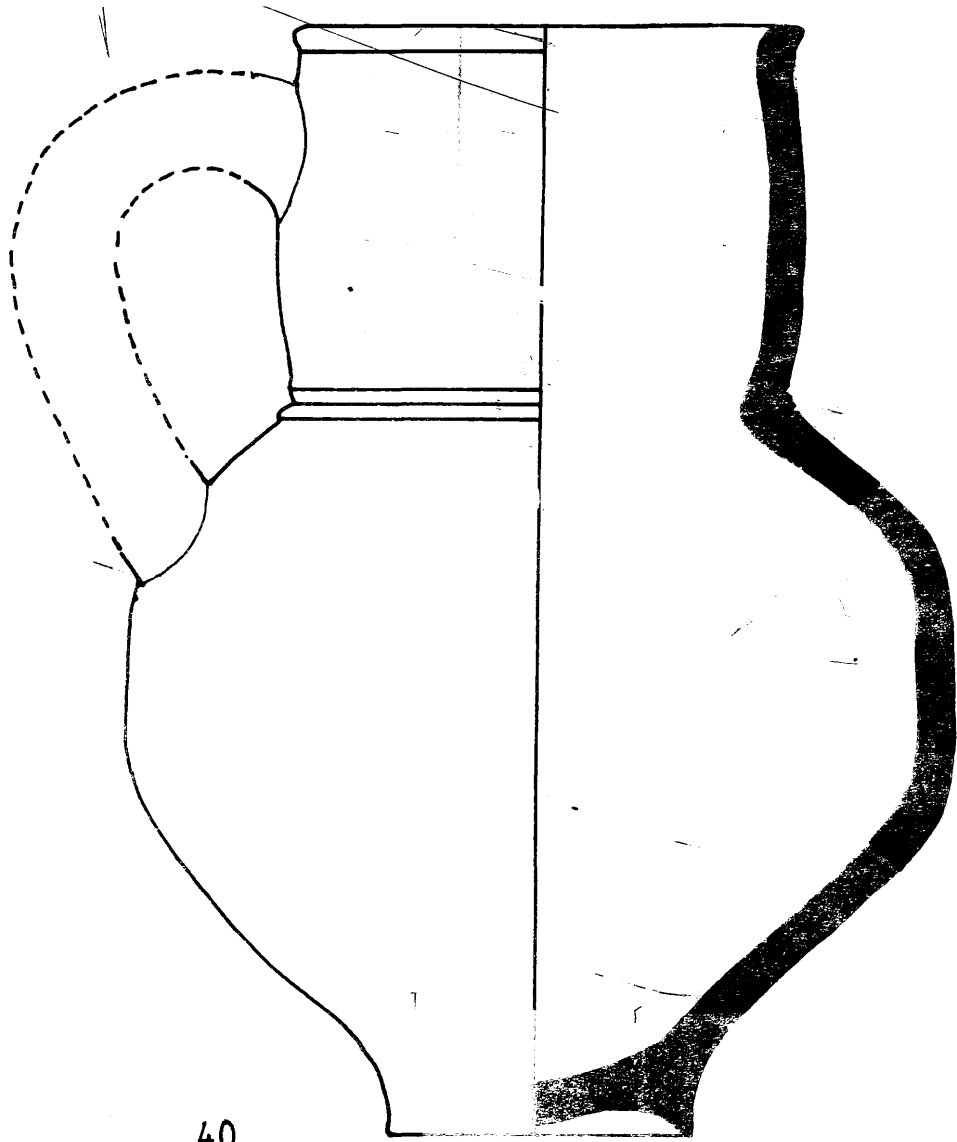


0 15 cm.



39

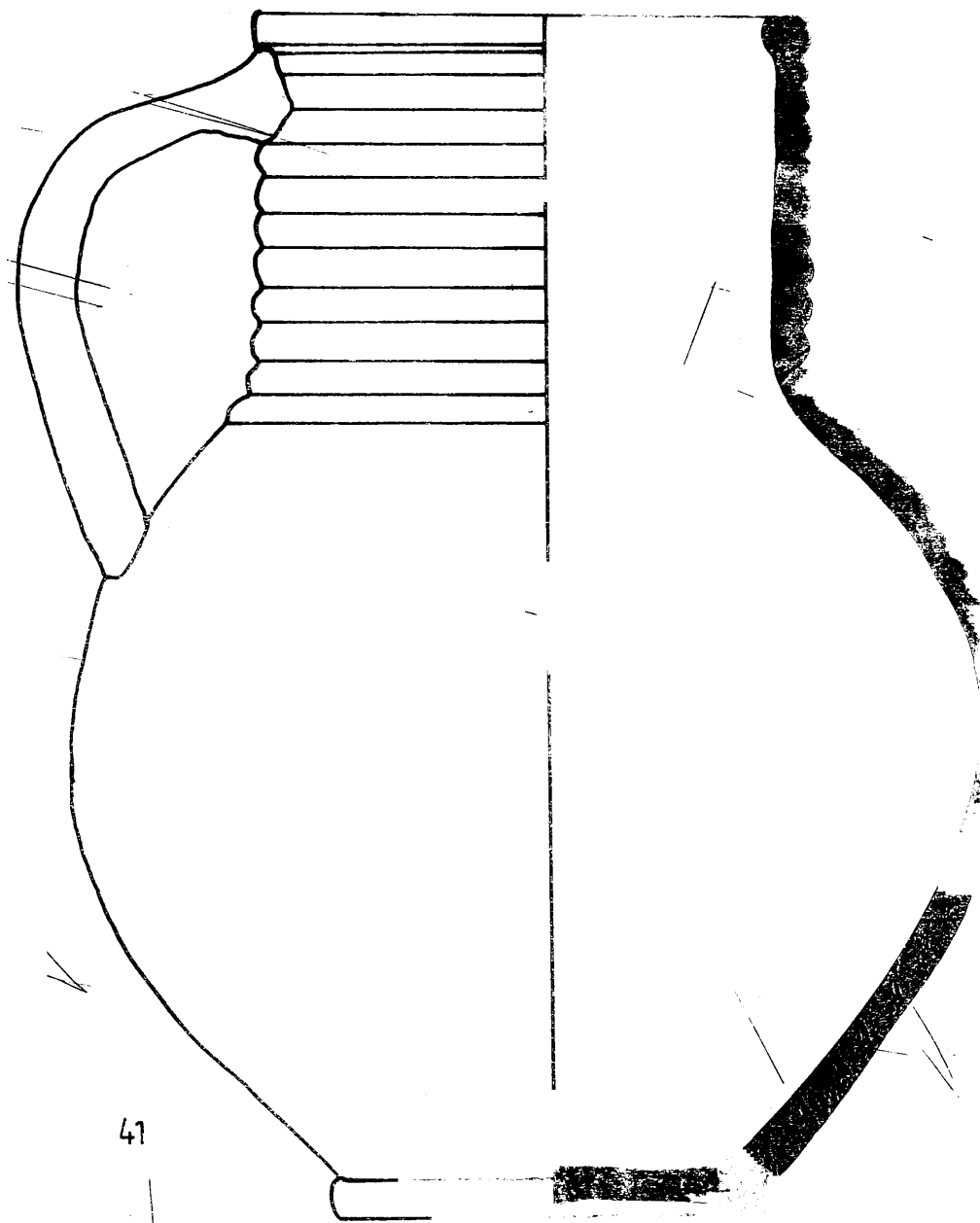
0 5 cm.



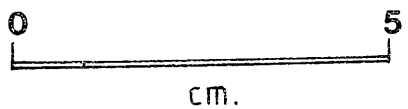
40

0 5
cm.

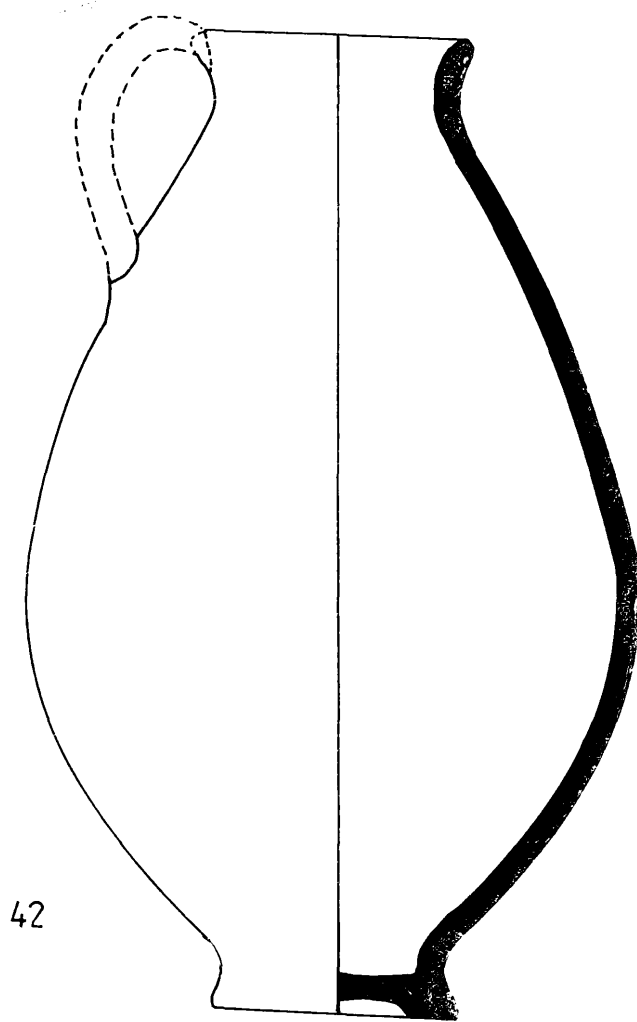
Jug «40», Hatra



41



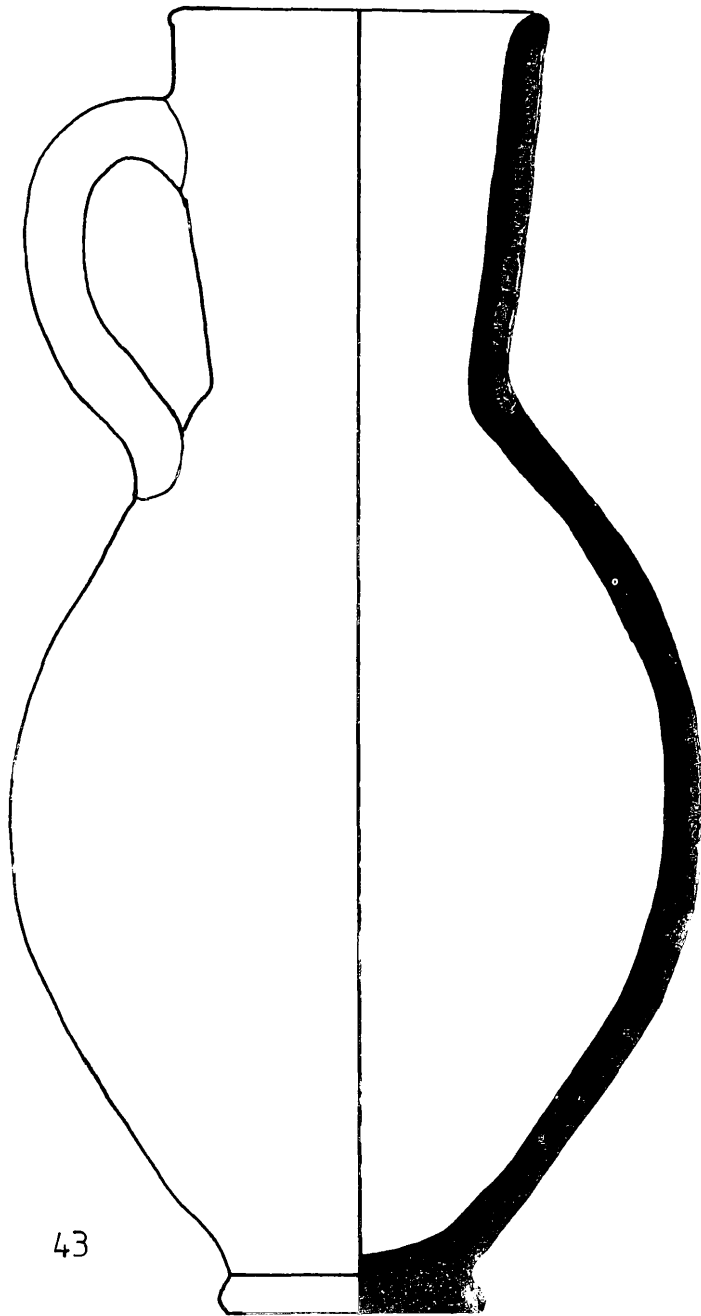
Jug «41», Hatra



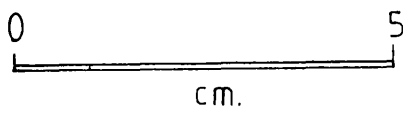
42

0 5
CM.

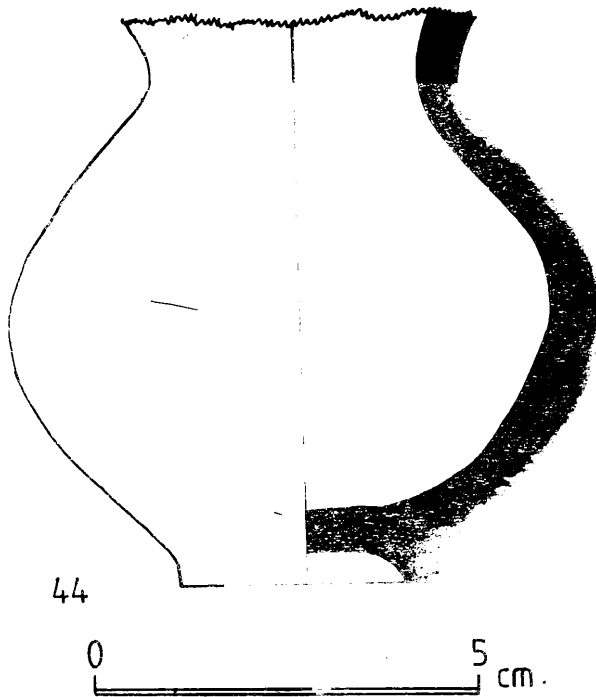
Jug «42», Hatra



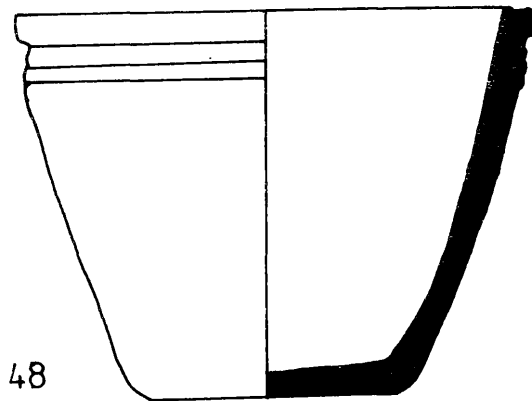
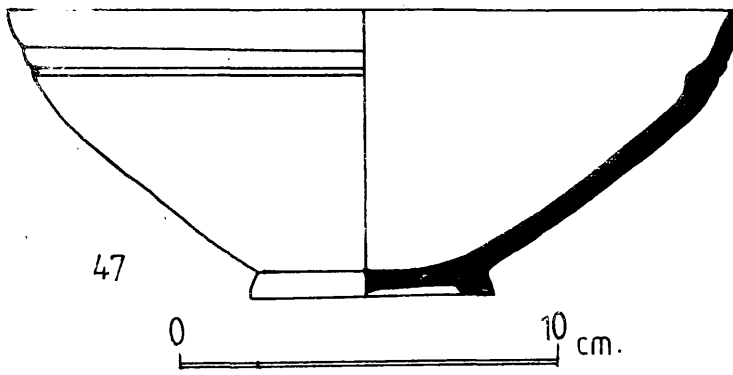
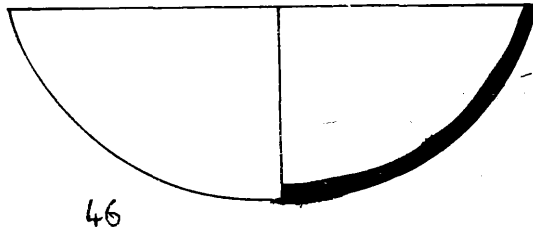
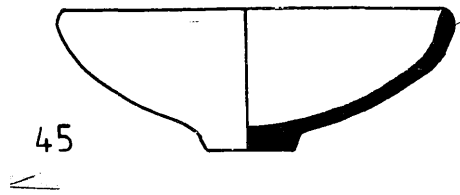
43



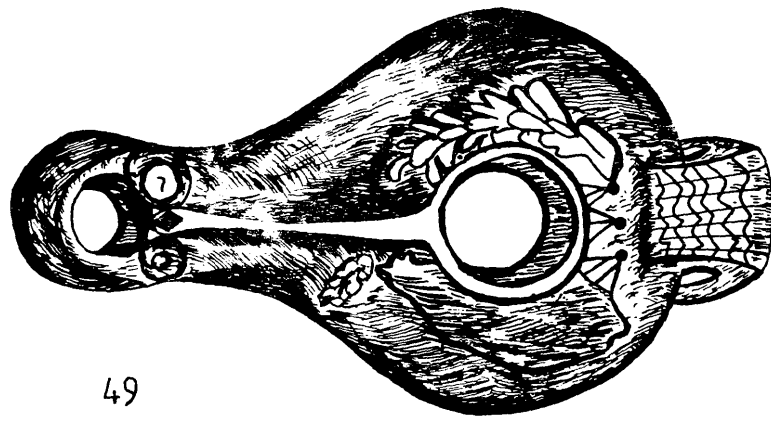
205. Jug «43», Hatra



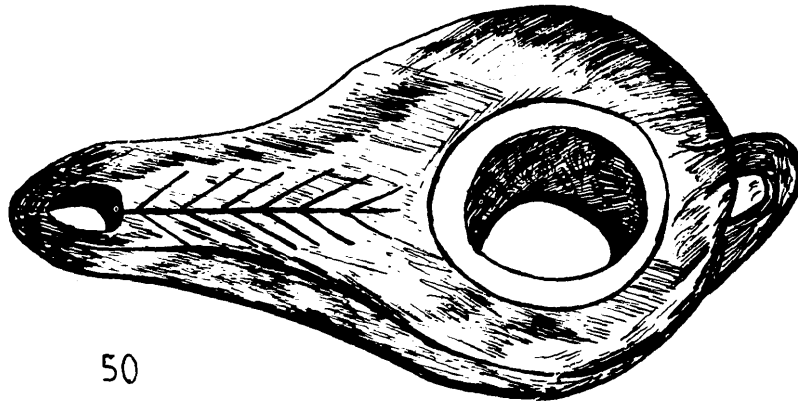
Jar 44a, Petra



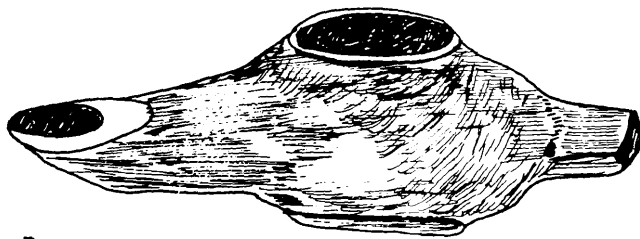
207. Bowls «45-48», Hatra



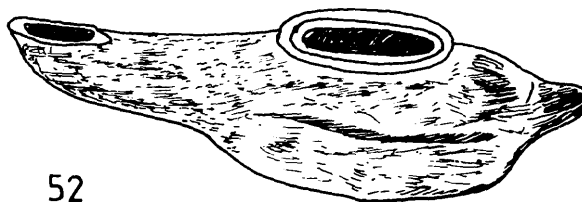
49



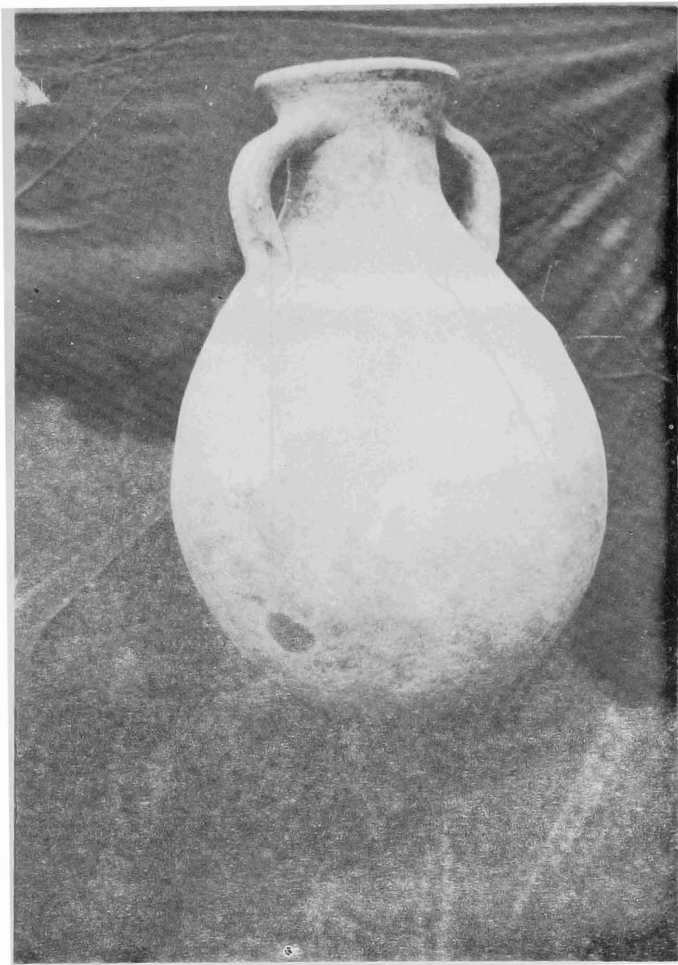
50



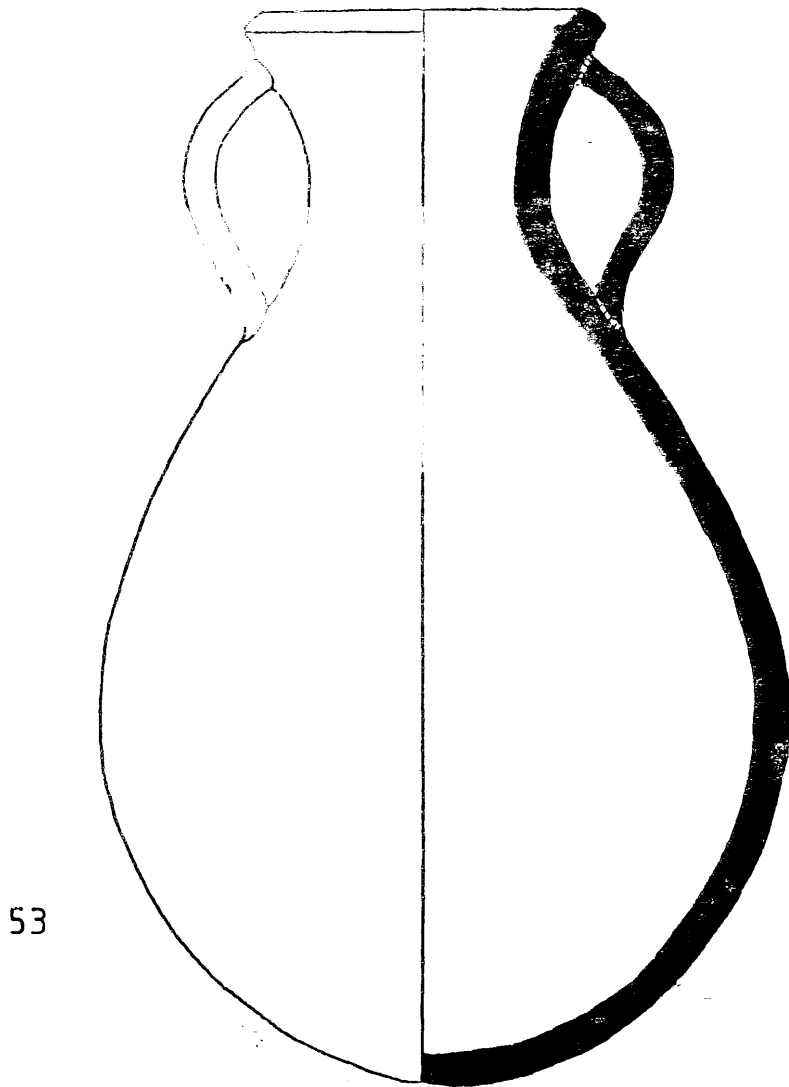
51



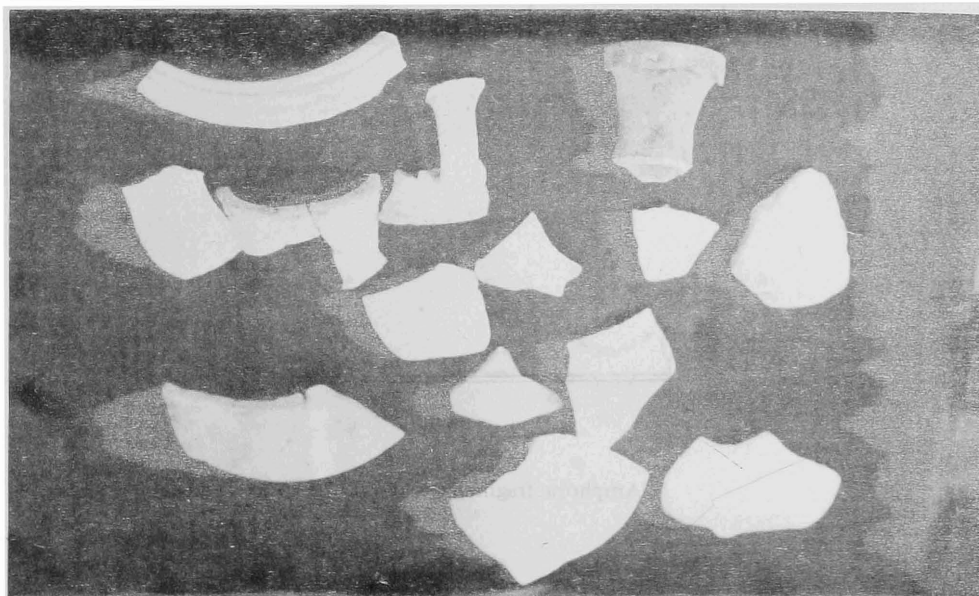
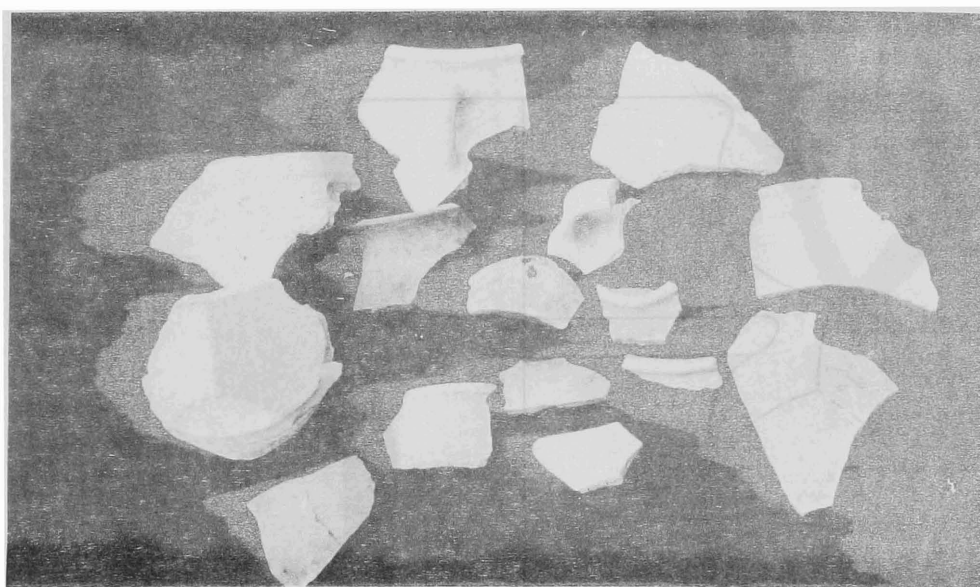
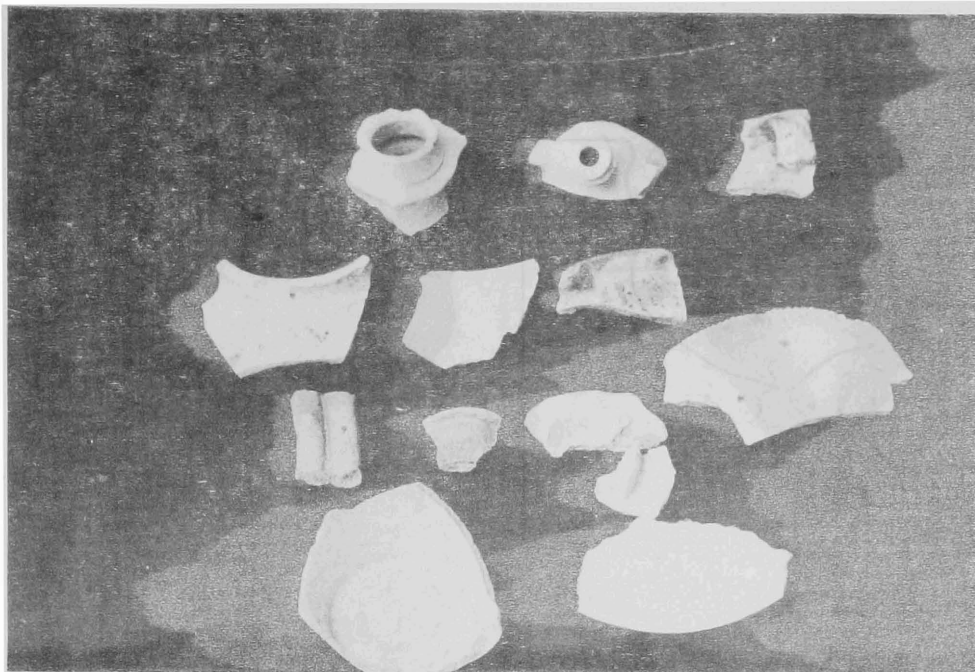
52

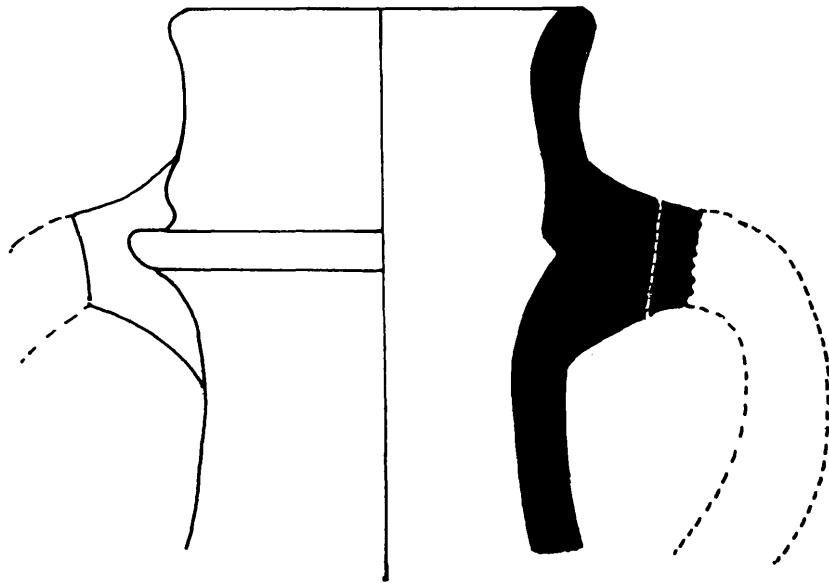
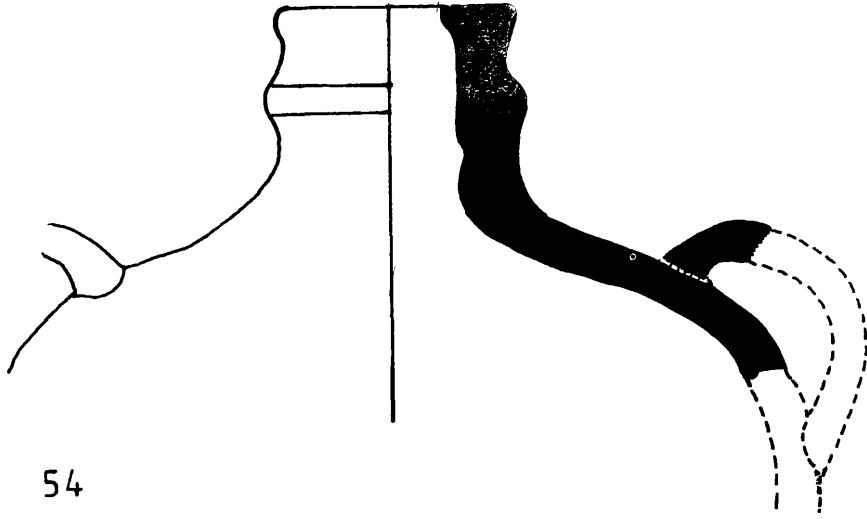


Amphora «53», Khirbet Jaddalah

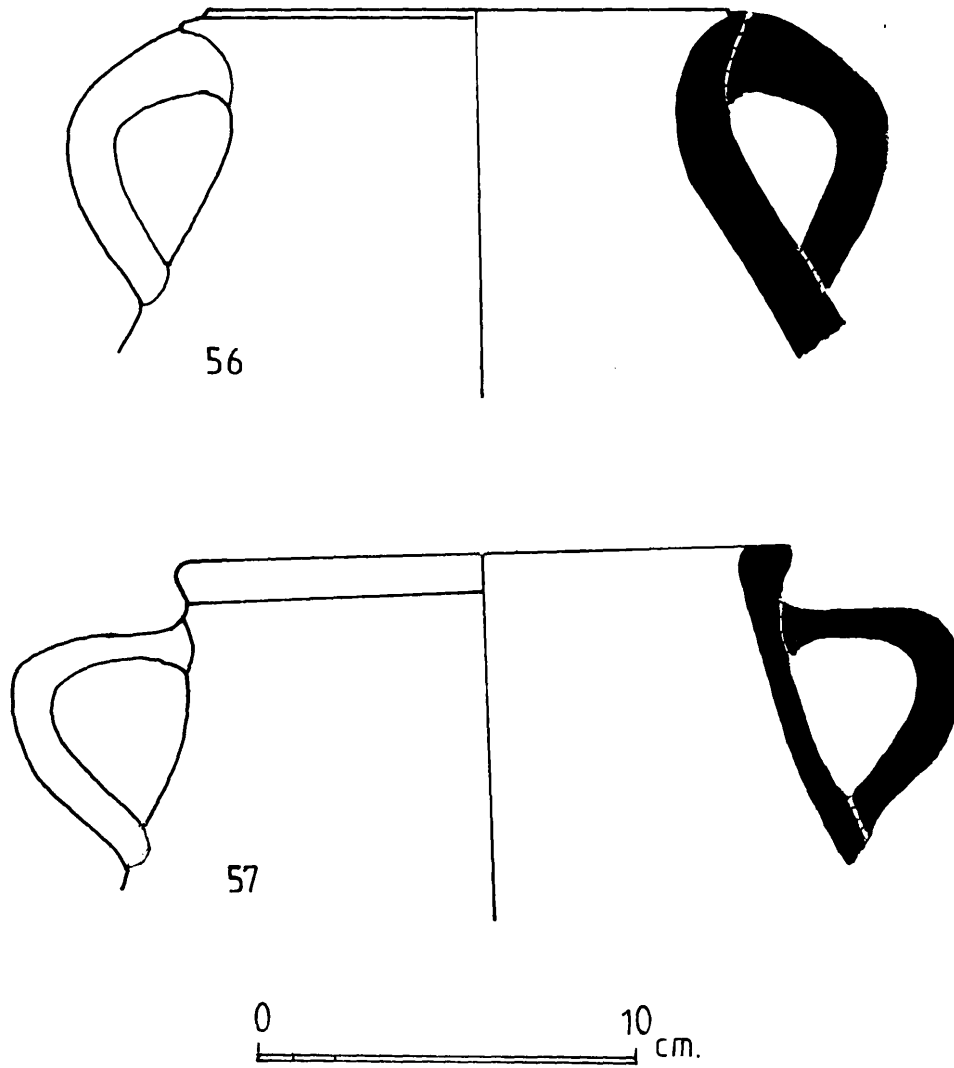


Amphora «53», Khirbet Jaddalah

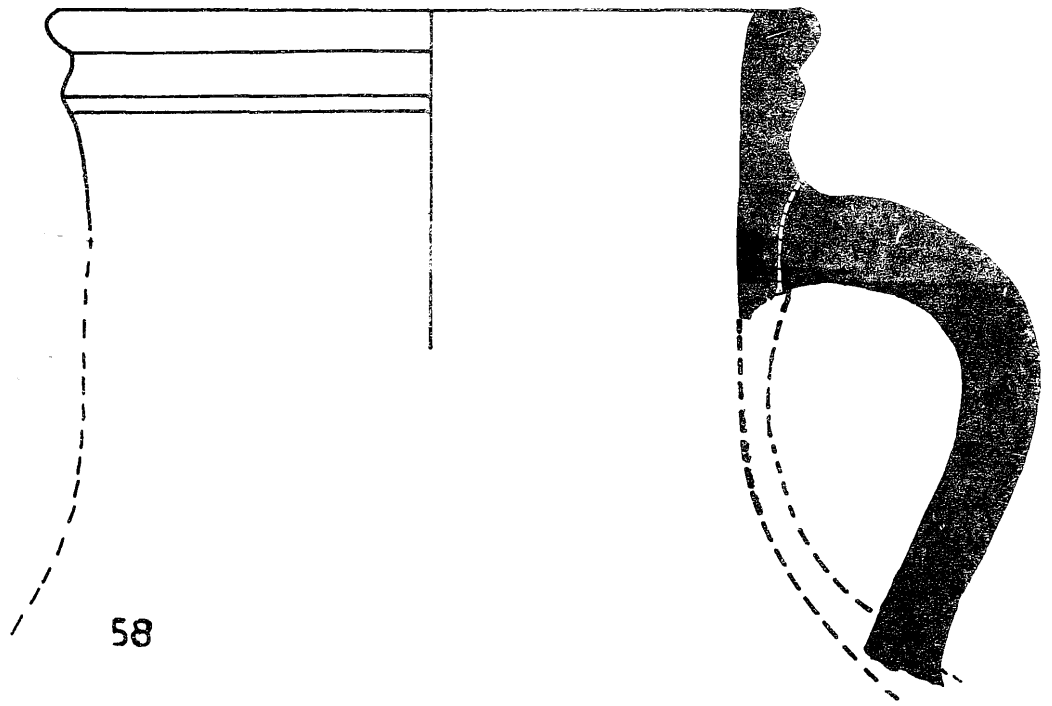




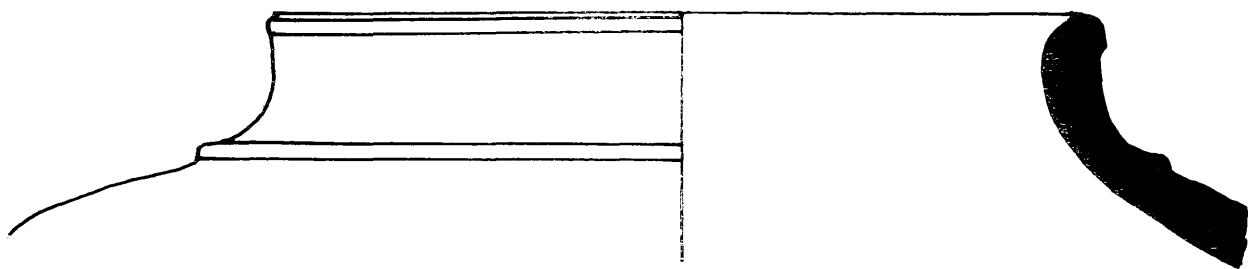
Amphora fragments «54-55», Khirbet Jaddalah



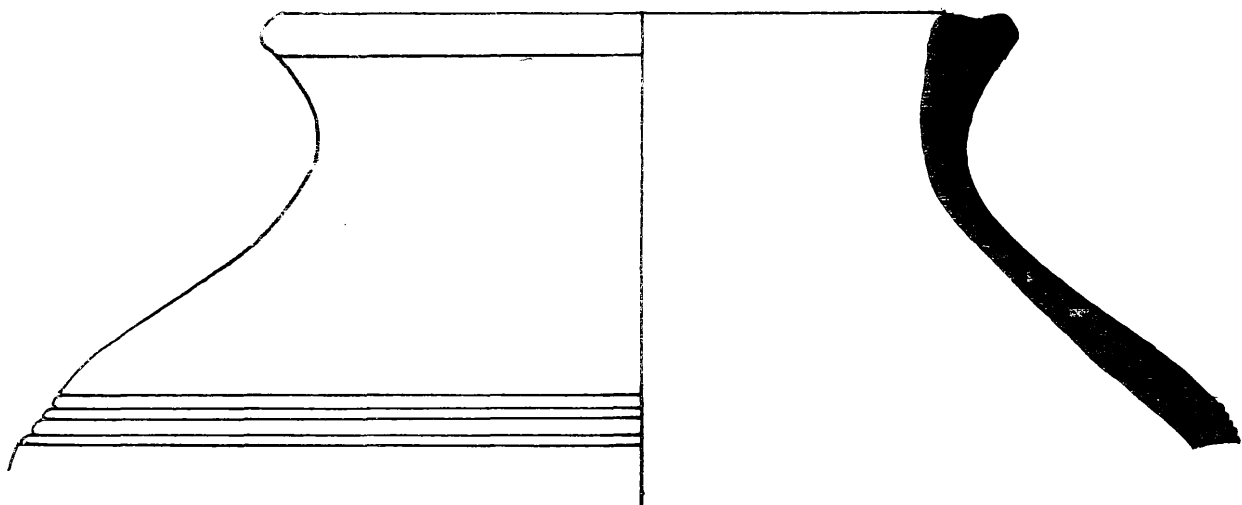
Amphora fragments «56-57», Khirbet Jaddalah



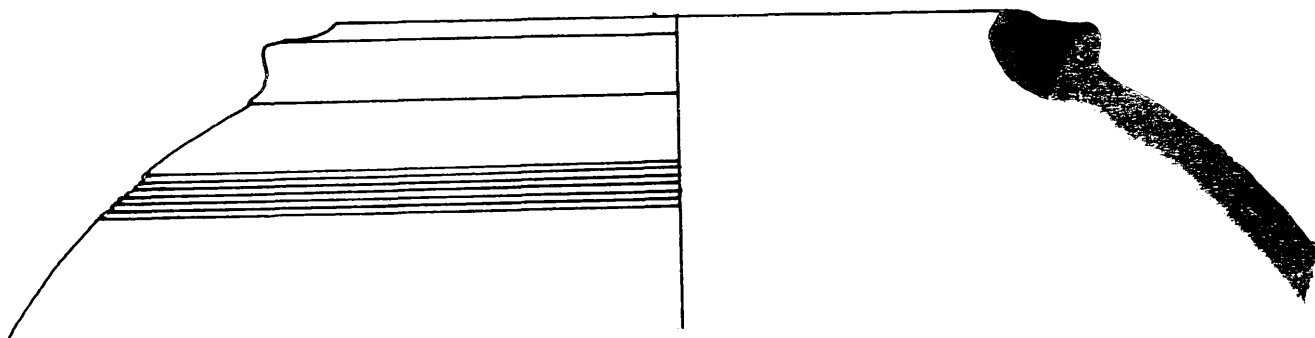
Jug fragment «58», Khirbat Jaddah



59



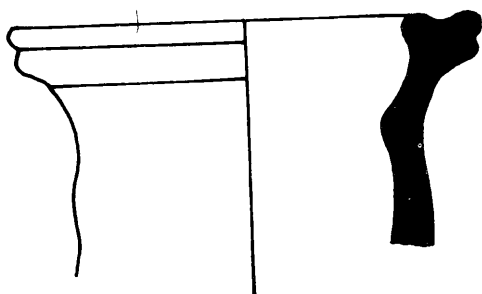
60



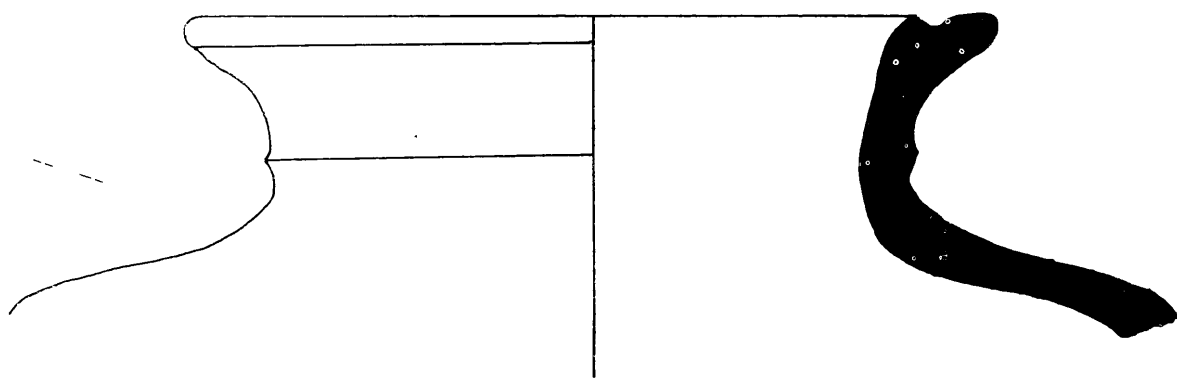
61



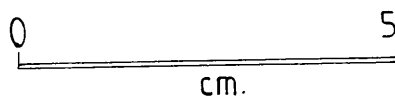
Jar fragments «59-61», Khirbet Jaddalah



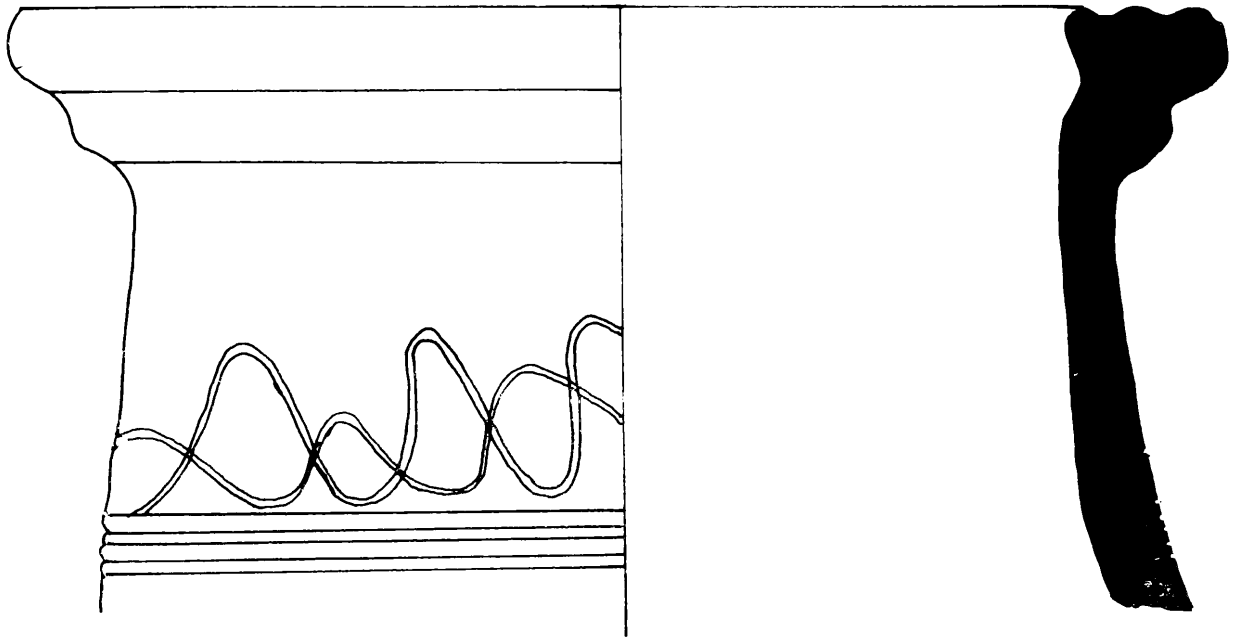
62



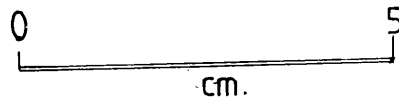
63



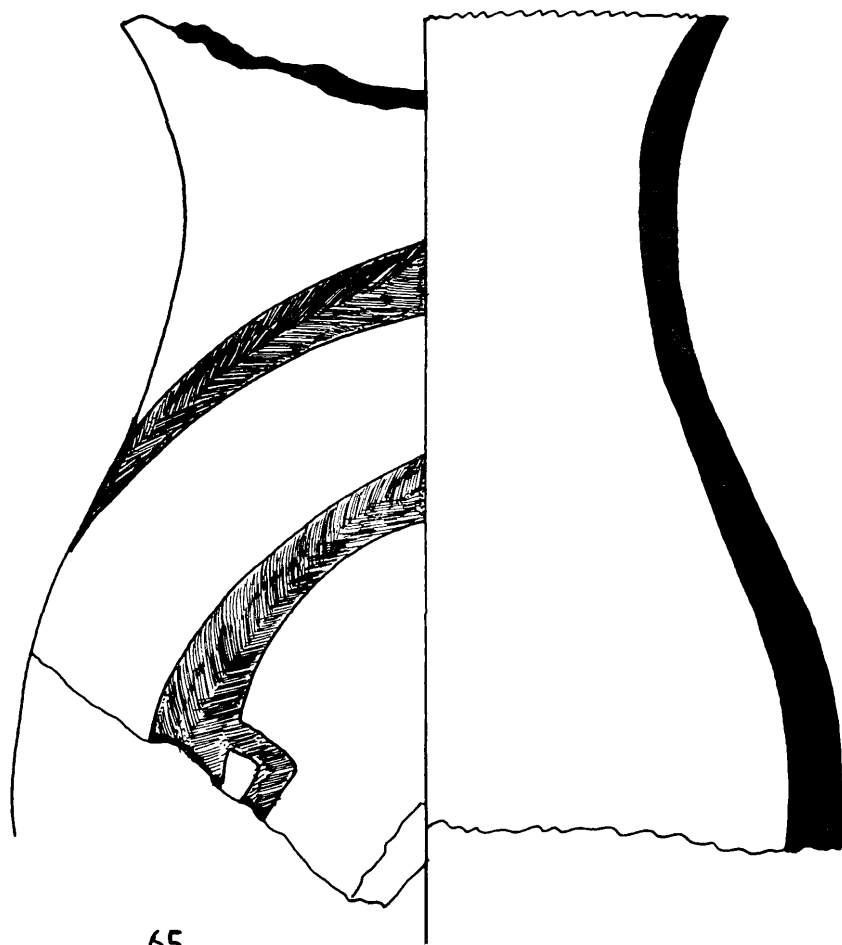
Jar fragments «62-63», Khirbet Jaddalah



64



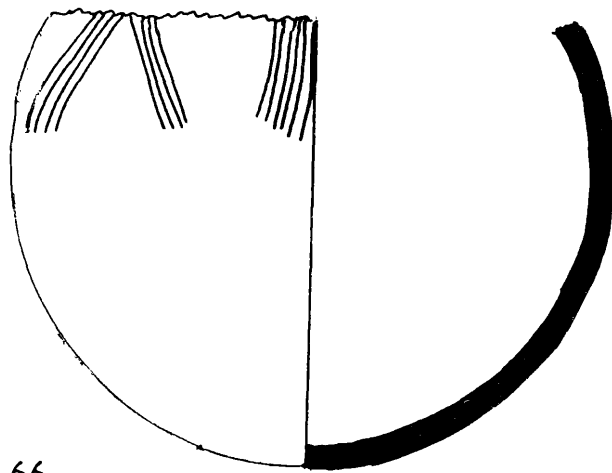
Jar fragment «64», Khirbet Jaddalah



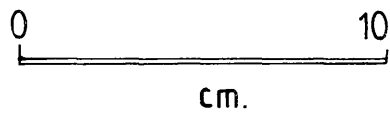
65



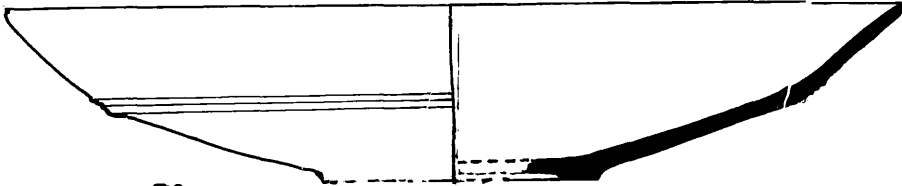
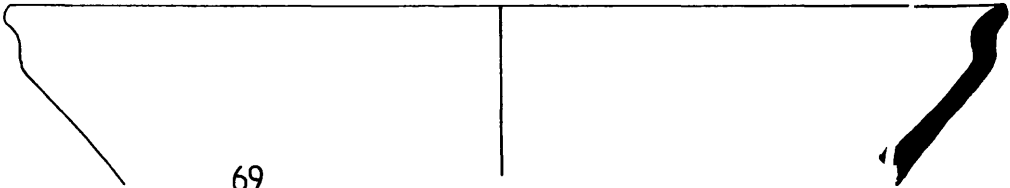
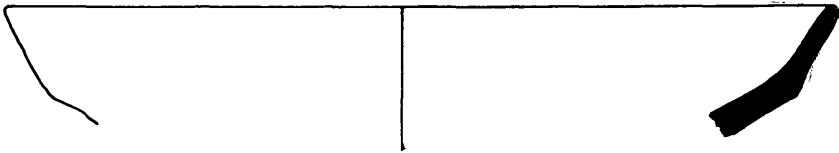
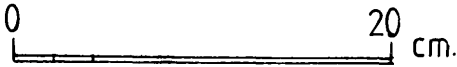
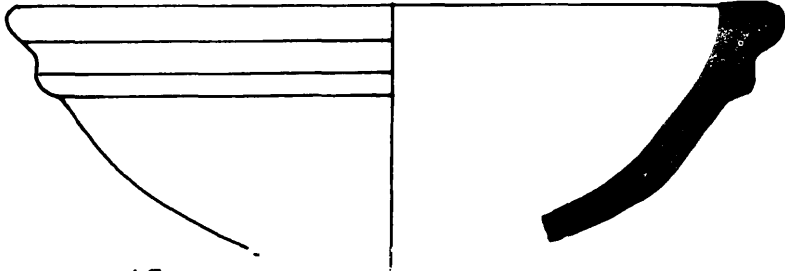
Jar fragment «65», Khirbet Jaddalah



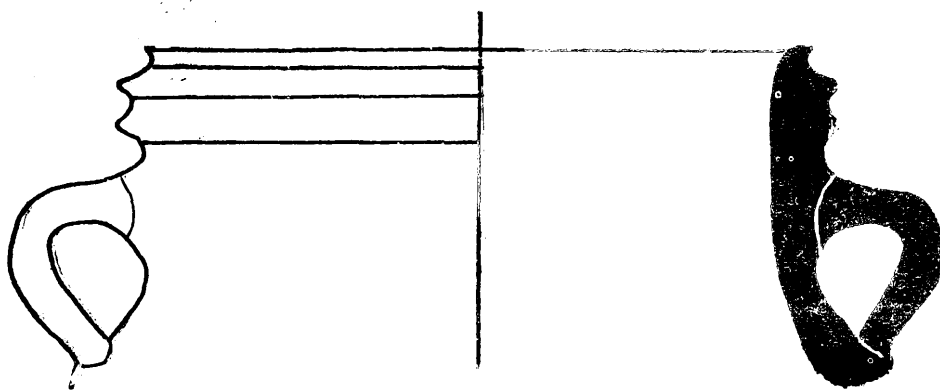
66



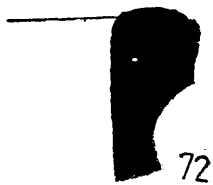
Jar «66», Khirbet Jaddalah



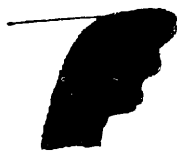
Bowls «67-70», Khirbet Jaddalah



71



72



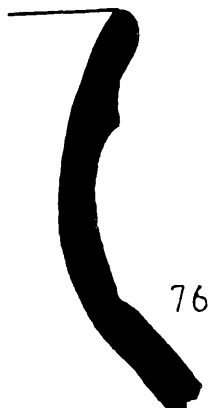
74



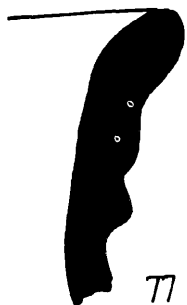
75



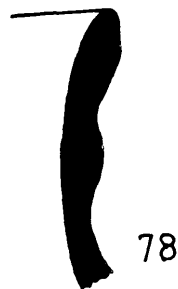
73



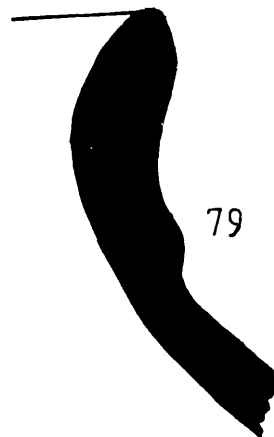
76



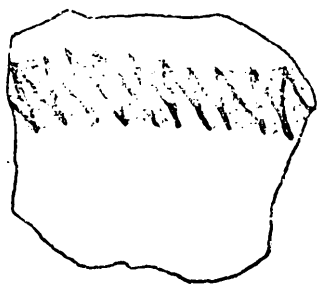
77



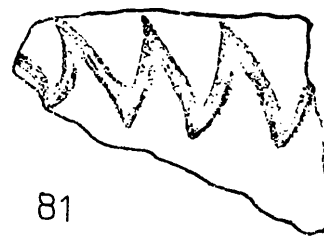
78



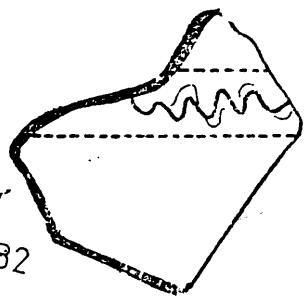
79



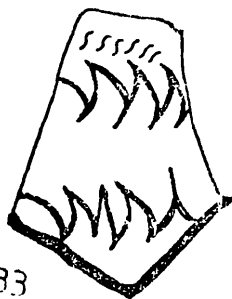
80



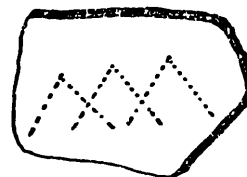
81



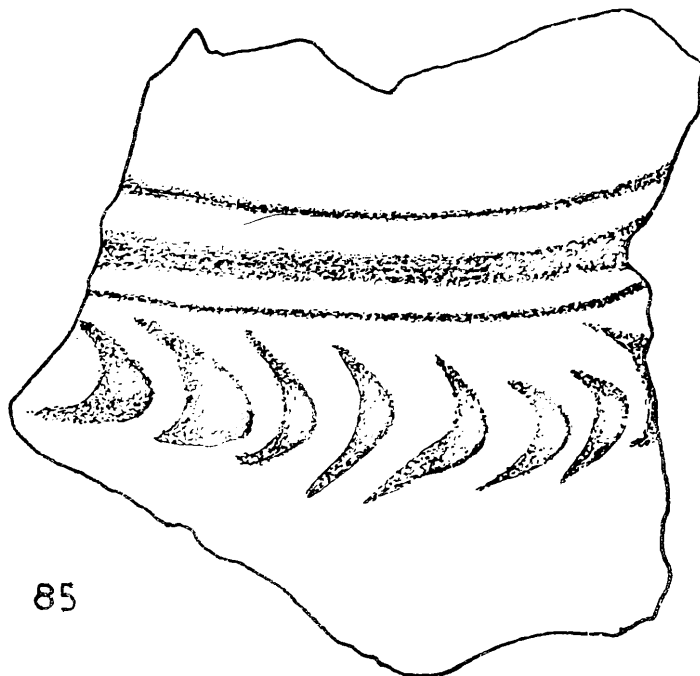
82



83



84



85

		Monumental	Cursive	Alphabet text [14]	Painted	
Letters	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	B	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	G	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	D	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	H	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	W	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	Z	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	H	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	T	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	Y	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	K	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	L	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	M	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	N	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
(final)	N	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	S	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	P	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	S	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	Q	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	R	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
(SH)	S	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	T	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
Numbers	1	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	5	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	10	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	20	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
	100	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅	⋅
						Letters

ערמב קן (וואס זאל מיר געזען
 באהאלטן די גאנצע שטאט
 זאלן די גאנצע שטאט זאלן
 די גאנצע שטאט זאלן די
 גאנצע שטאט זאלן די
 גאנצע שטאט זאלן די
 גאנצע שטאט זאלן די
 גאנצע שטאט זאלן די
 גאנצע שטאט זאלן די

Inscription III, Hieros



Inscription [II], Hatra

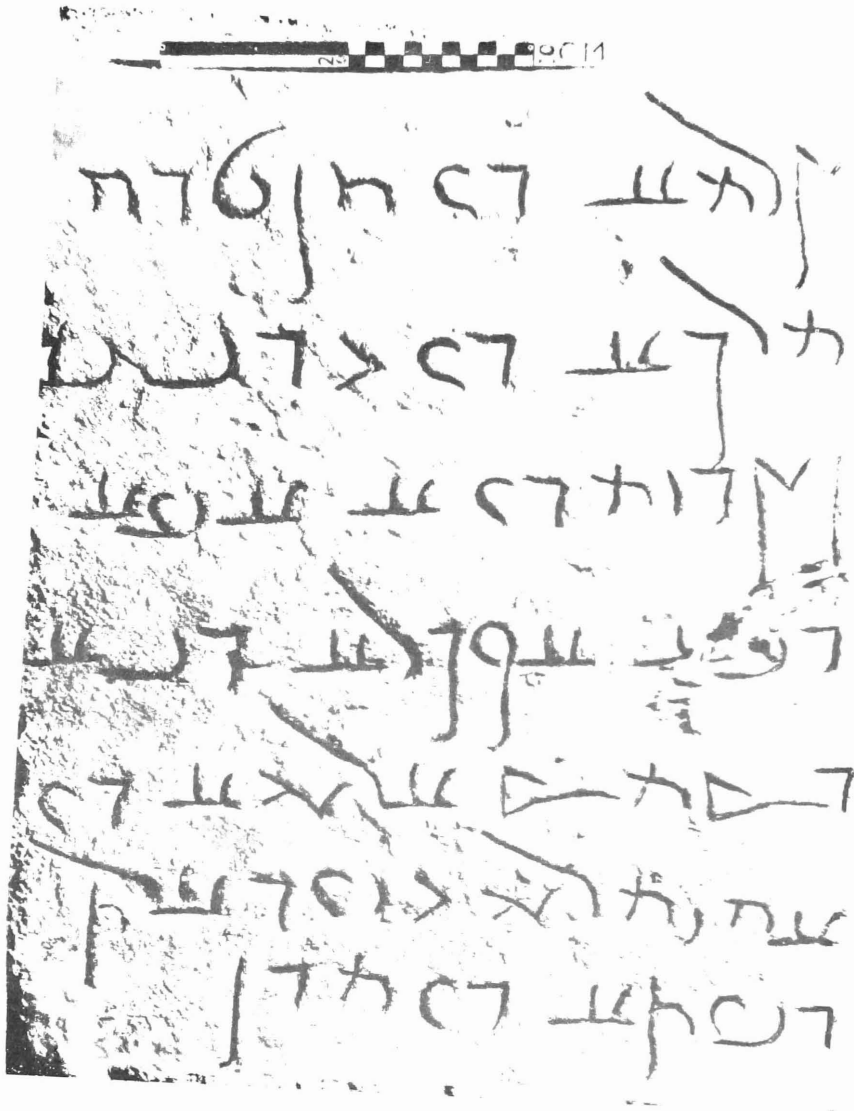
אלת חמדי
 ומקדשתם דנושא
 קדשיו לנאן קדו
 דולם עין דלשן
 יתקדע ולתעב און אד
 גילעדו סאת עילע
 אנ סילתו נחא טעט
 טקע עין און סאת עילע
 ועין קט און עין קרע
 שנתקדע ענא
 ענא עילע און און
 עילתה און און
 עילע

וְאִי־לְבָבִי
 אֶל־מַלְאָכָי
 אֲשֶׁר־אֵלֶיךָ
 וְלֹא־נִמְנָעָא
 וְיִמְנָעֵנִי אֶל־מַלְאָכָי
 אֲשֶׁר־אֵלֶיךָ
 וְלֹא־נִמְנָעָא
 וְיִמְנָעֵנִי אֶל־מַלְאָכָי
 אֲשֶׁר־אֵלֶיךָ

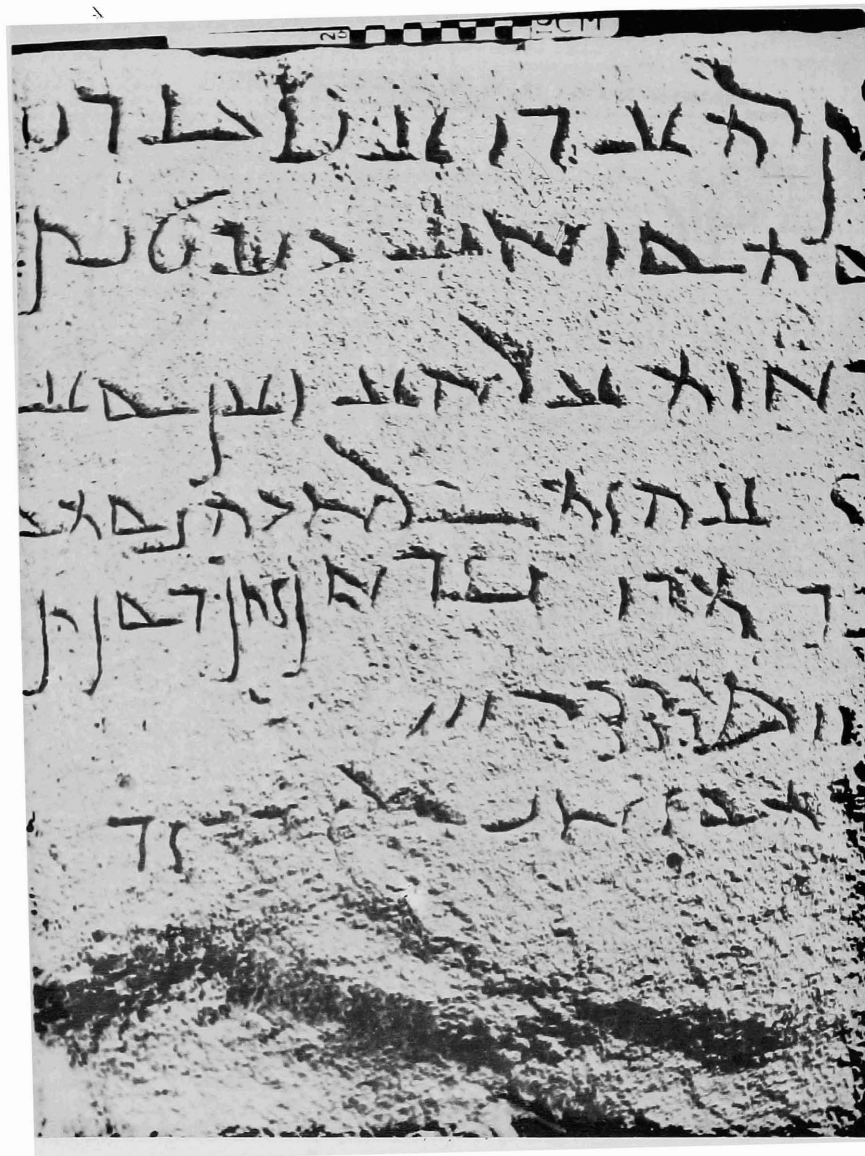


Inscription (M), Hatra

אהא דה חנקה
 אהא דה גדע ע
 מקדוהא א א א
 דה א א א א א
 דה א א א א א
 אהא דה חנקה
 אהא דה גדע ע



Inscription [IV], Hatra



Inscription IVL Hetra

וְהָאֵלֹהִים אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ
 אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ
 וְדָחוּ אֶת־עַלְמֵינוּ וְעַלְמֵנוּ
 דָּס אֶת־הַזֶּה אֶת־הַזֶּה
 נֶר אֶדוּ שֶׁל־אֶת־הַזֶּה
 אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ
 אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ

Inscription [V], Hatra



Inscription [VI], Hatra



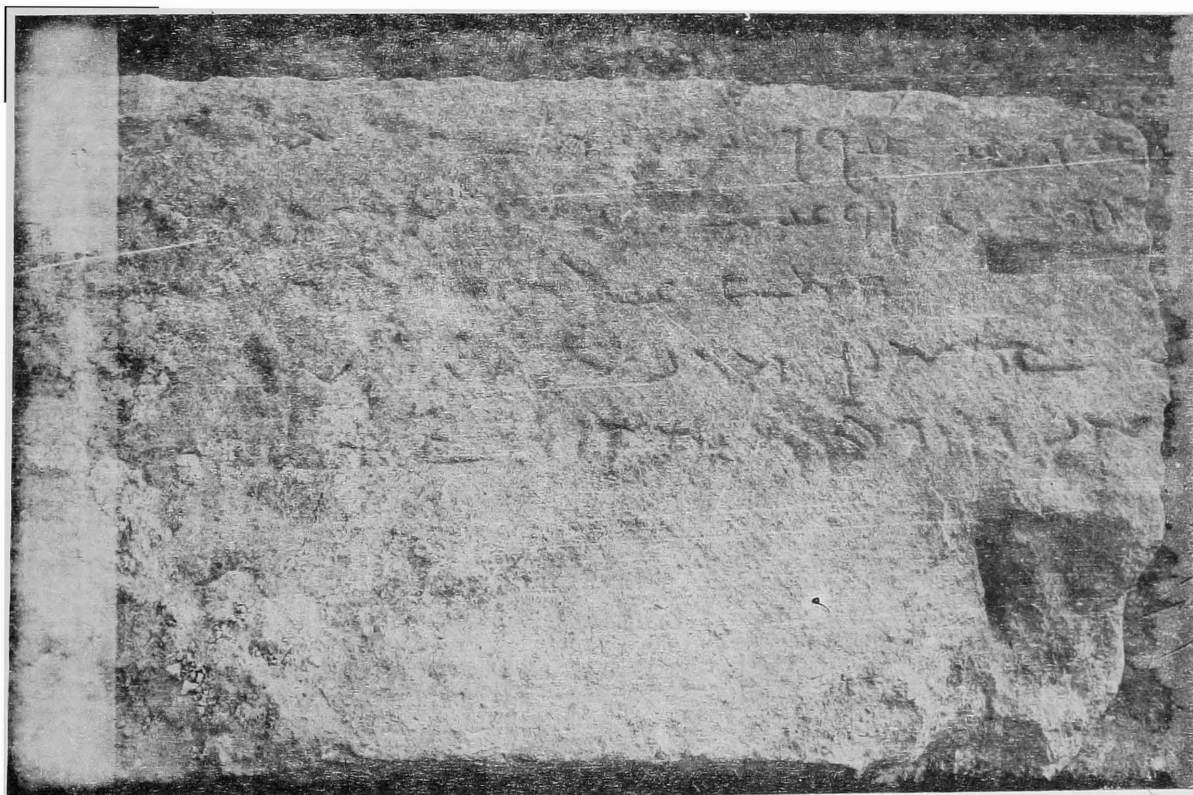
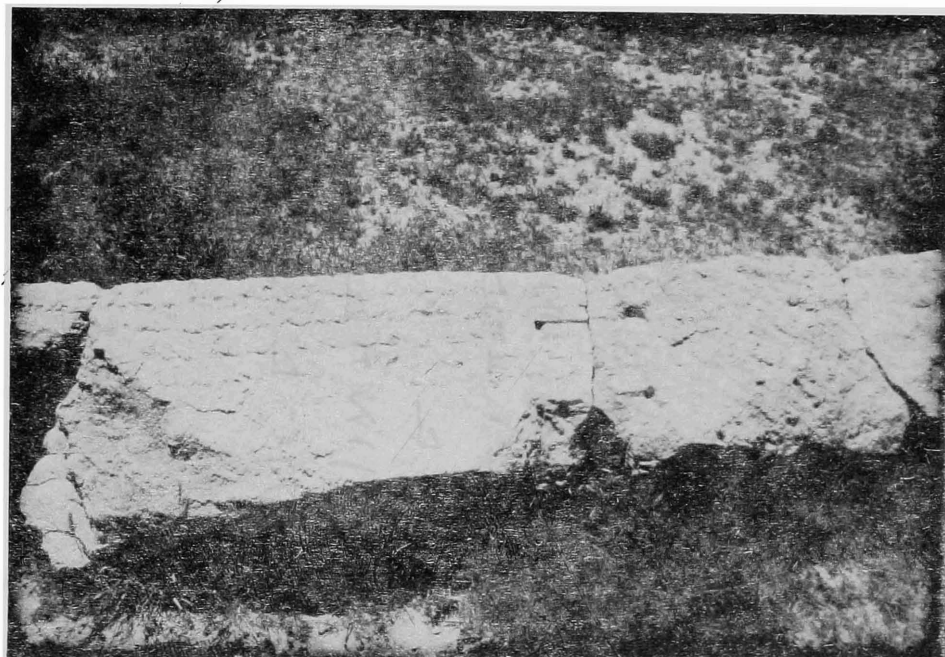
Inscription [VI], Hama

תלך תתקב תתקב תתקב תתקב
תתקב תתקב תתקב תתקב

Inscription [VII], Hatra

תתקב תתקב תתקב תתקב
תתקב תתקב תתקב תתקב

Inscription [VII, VIII], Hatra



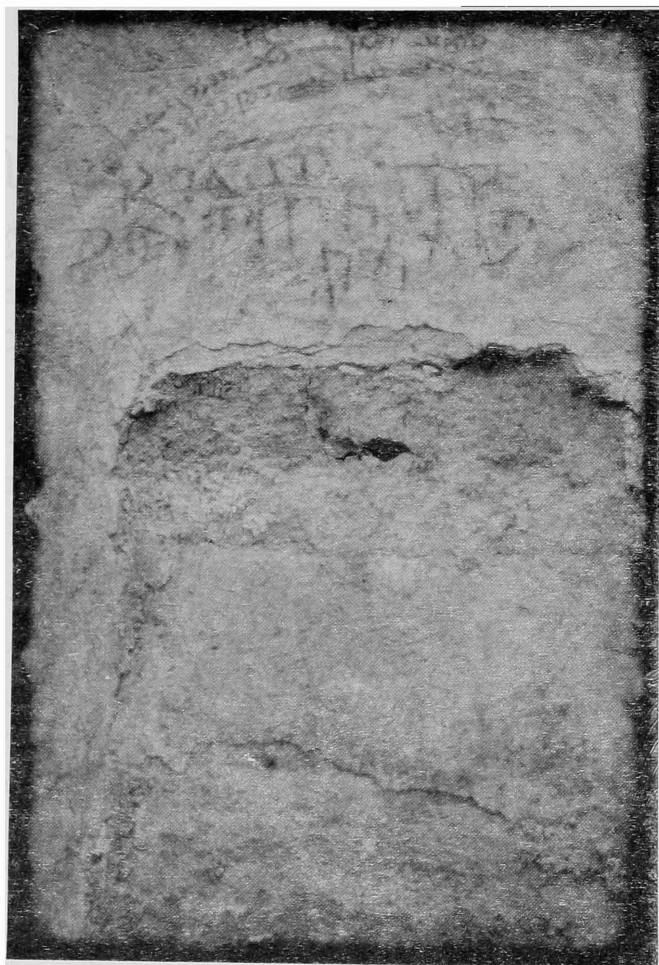
Inscription [IX], Hatra

...אבדגהוזחטכץעבגדו
אבדגהוזחטכץעבגדו
אבדגהוזחטכץעבגדו
אבדגהוזחטכץעבגדו
אבדגהוזחטכץעבגדו
אבדגהוזחטכץעבגדו
אבדגהוזחטכץעבגדו
אבדגהוזחטכץעבגדו
אבדגהוזחטכץעבגדו
אבדגהוזחטכץעבגדו

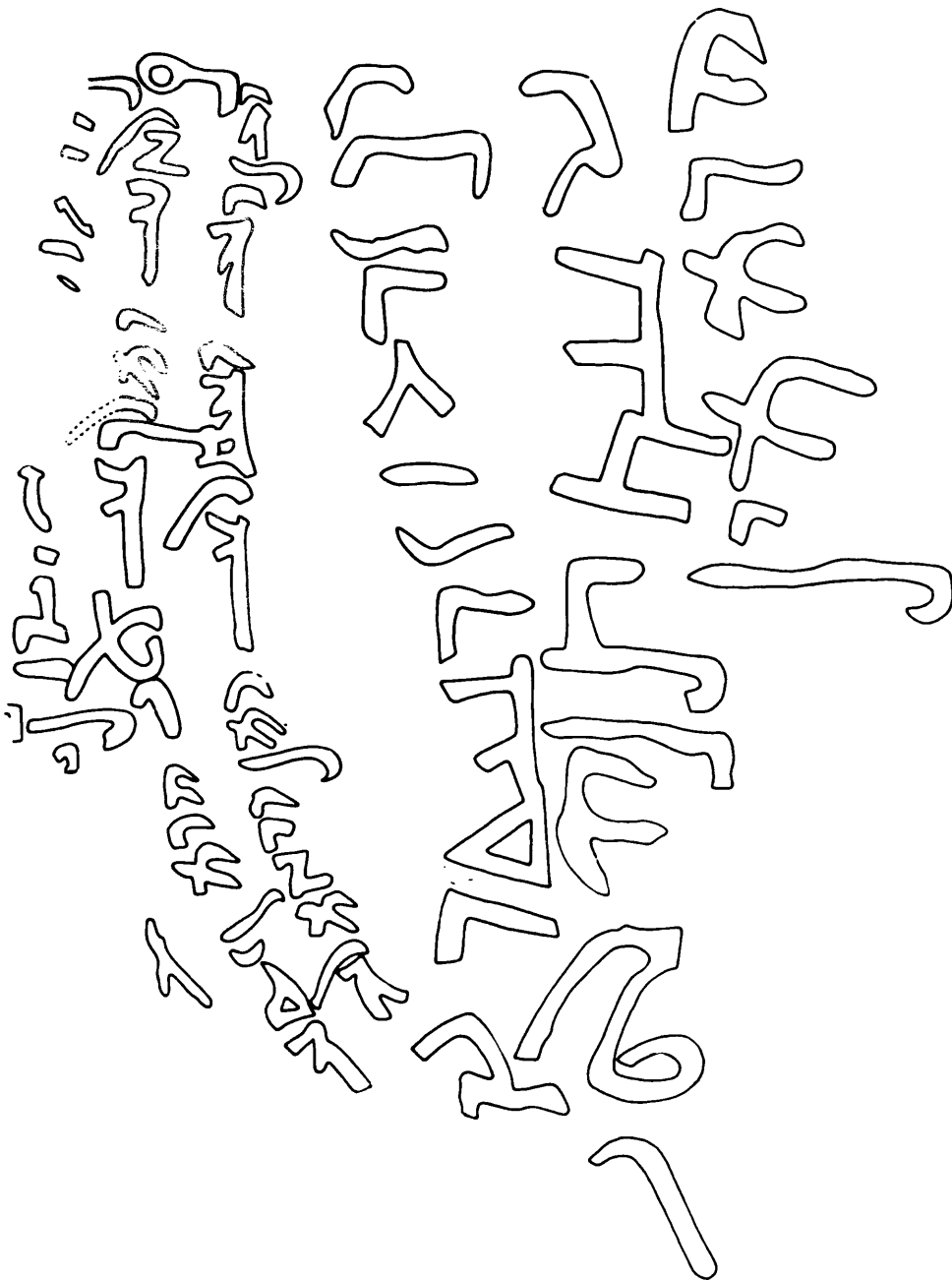
𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥 𐎦
 𐎧 𐎨 𐎩 𐎪 𐎫 𐎬

𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥 𐎦
 𐎧 𐎨 𐎩 𐎪 𐎫 𐎬

Inscriptions (X, XIII), Hama



inscription [XIV], Hatra



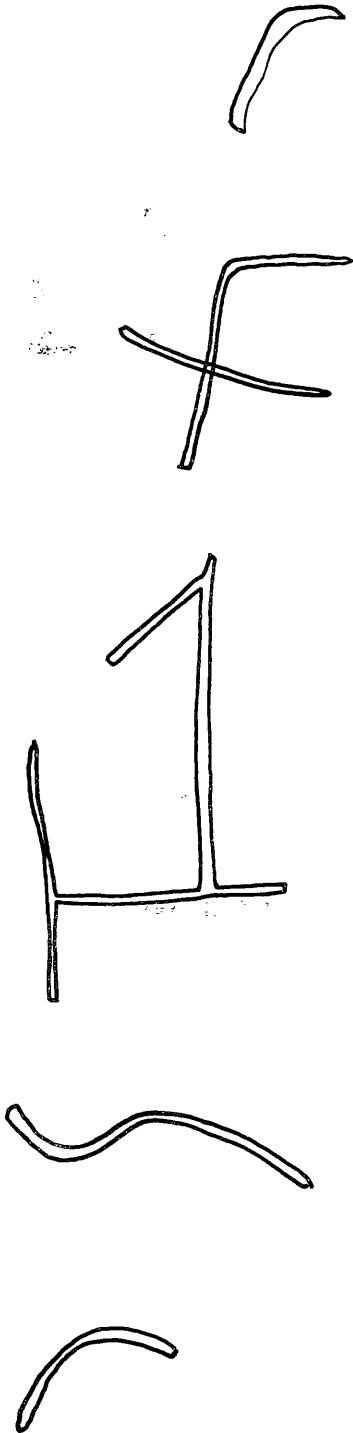
Inscription [XIV], Maara

אהיה אהיה אהיה אהיה אהיה
 אהיה אהיה אהיה אהיה אהיה

Inscription [XX], Khirbet Jaddalah


אהיה אהיה אהיה אהיה אהיה
 אהיה אהיה אהיה אהיה אהיה
 אהיה אהיה אהיה אהיה אהיה
 אהיה אהיה אהיה אהיה אהיה

Inscriptions [XX, XXI], Khirbet Jaddalah




Inscription [XXII], Khirbet Jaddalah

תניטחנמ
 ענדולא (טחמ)
 בקא



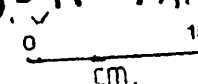
[1]

וךךסר
 ורדיוןקון חוהא אא ש



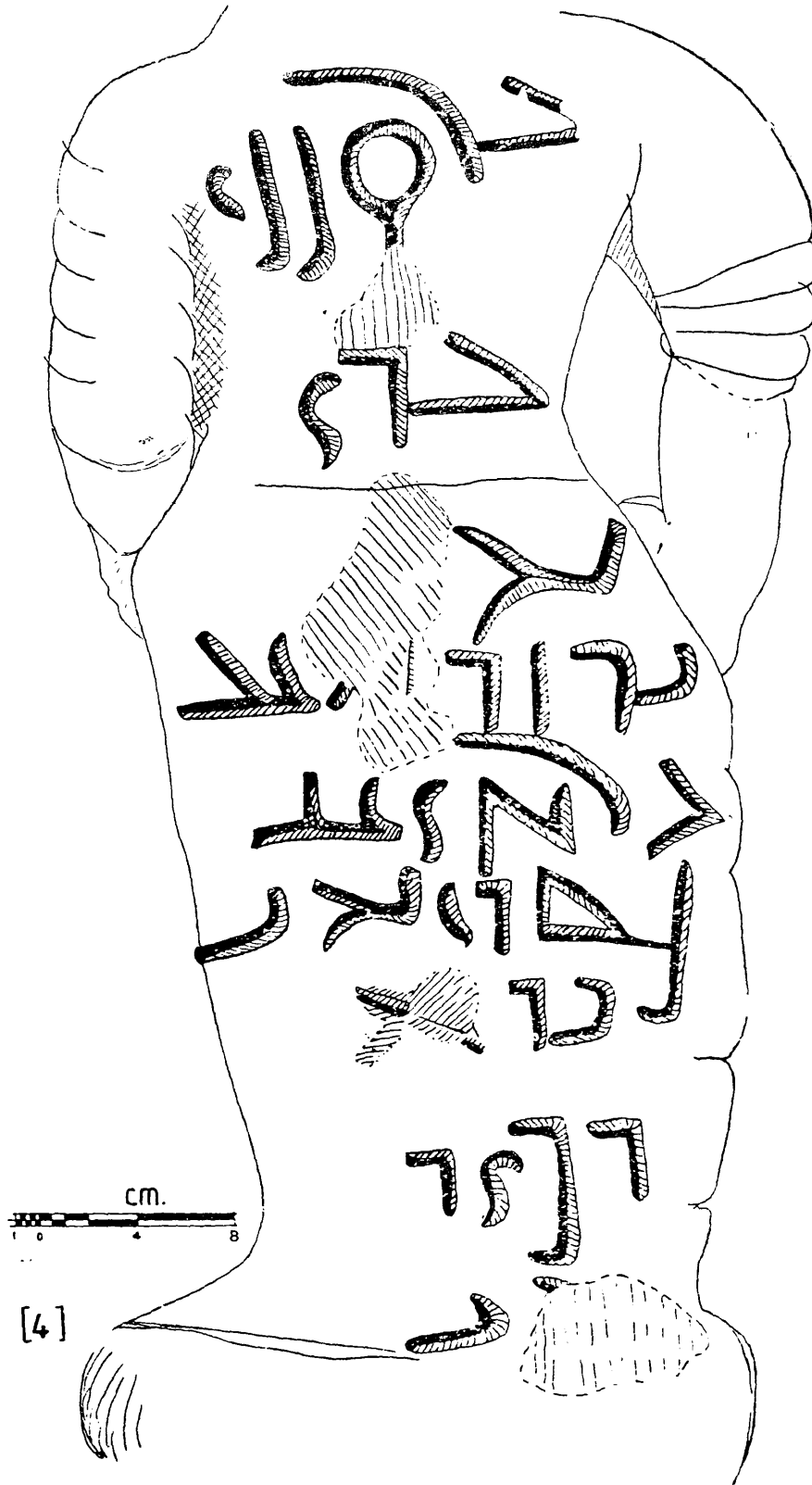
[2]

אא אדן אדן
 אא אדן אדן



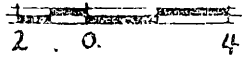
[3]

Inscriptions [1-3], Hatra

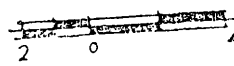


Inscription [4], Hatra

תלמידי ה' חאז' קרת' > עט' נדעט
 אלקסנדר חילון ה' אדמונד' > עט'
 ע'ל'ט' ע' אט' ק'א'ר'א' - ז'ע'ק'ו'ע'ת'
 א'ע'ט' נ'ע'ר'ט' א'ד'ו'ד'ע'

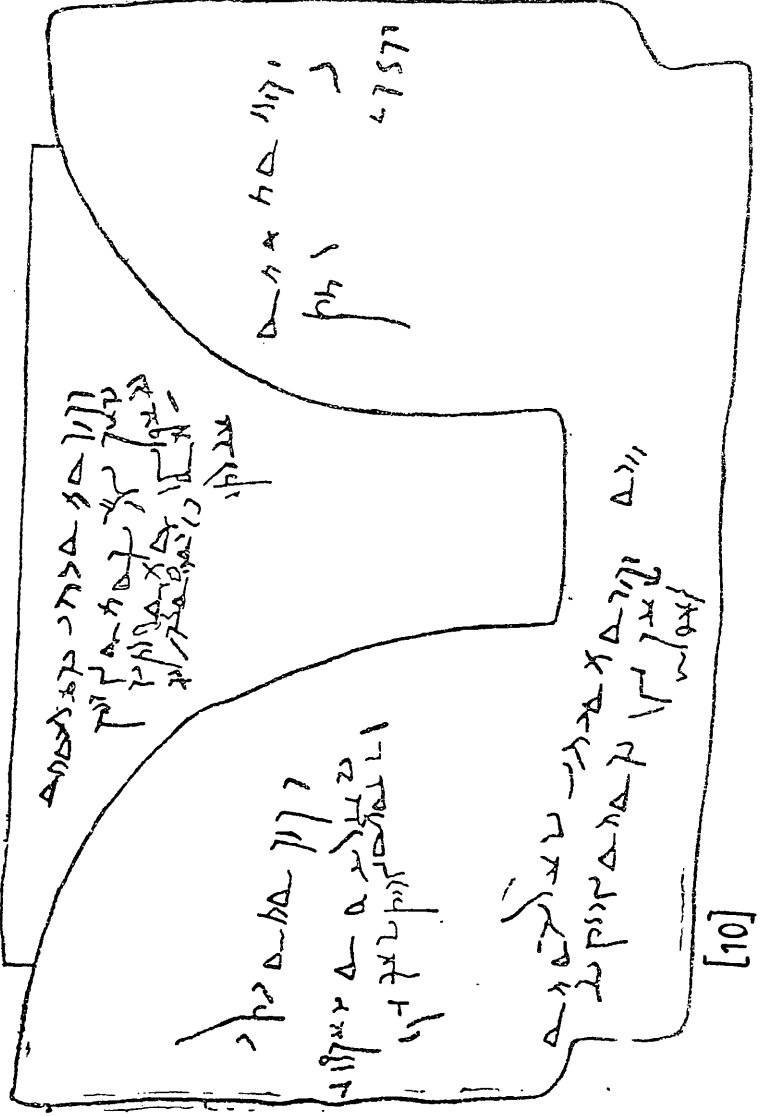
[5]  2 . 0 . 4 C.M.

א'ד' נ'ע'ן' נ'ו'ס'נ' ע'ב' א'ט'
 ע' נ'ו'ס'נ' ו'ר'כ'ס'ד' א'ט'

[6]  2 . 0 . 4 C.M.

ק'ר'ד' ד'ו'ו'ו' ע'כ'ר' א' ד'ה' א'ק'ע'

[8]  1 . 0 . 5 C.M.



[10]

ברוך אדוני

0 1 2 3 4 5 cm

[12]

אנחנו

אנחנו ברוך אדוני
אנחנו ברוך אדוני
אנחנו ברוך אדוני

0 2 4 8 cm

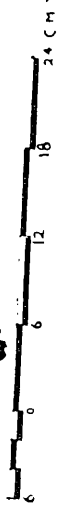
[13]

אנחנו ברוך אדוני

אנחנו ברוך אדוני

אנחנו ברוך אדוני

[16]



Inscriptions [10, 12, 13, 16]. Hatra






[17]

[21]

מרדכי ואלה שמעו
 ואלה שמעו

ואלה שמעו מרדכי ואלה שמעו
 מרדכי ואלה שמעו

מרדכי ואלה שמעו

מרדכי ואלה שמעו
 מרדכי ואלה שמעו
 מרדכי ואלה שמעו

[24]

מרדכי ואלה שמעו
 מרדכי ואלה שמעו
 מרדכי ואלה שמעו

[25]

חאזע אגע
די חלוצע פאנדע
חוסררה אקע

די אקע
חוסררה
ענע עארטע

[28]

אקע דענע
די דענע
עסע אגע
עאל דענע
אקע דענע
יארן יארן
ענע אגע
די דענע
יארן יארן

די דענע
אקע דענע

[30]

מלך ארדן ויהודה
מלך ארדן ויהודה

אשר נתתי לך
ביום הזה
אשר נתתי לך
ביום הזה
אשר נתתי לך
ביום הזה

[34]

אשר נתתי לך ביום הזה
אשר נתתי לך ביום הזה
אשר נתתי לך ביום הזה
אשר נתתי לך ביום הזה
אשר נתתי לך ביום הזה
אשר נתתי לך ביום הזה
אשר נתתי לך ביום הזה
אשר נתתי לך ביום הזה

[35]

אשר נתתי לך ביום הזה
אשר נתתי לך ביום הזה
אשר נתתי לך ביום הזה
אשר נתתי לך ביום הזה
אשר נתתי לך ביום הזה
אשר נתתי לך ביום הזה
אשר נתתי לך ביום הזה
אשר נתתי לך ביום הזה

גמחא דגמחא דגמחא
גמחא דגמחא דגמחא
גמחא דגמחא דגמחא
גמחא דגמחא דגמחא
גמחא דגמחא דגמחא
גמחא דגמחא דגמחא

[36]

גמחא דגמחא דגמחא
גמחא דגמחא דגמחא
גמחא דגמחא דגמחא
גמחא דגמחא דגמחא

[37]

גמחא דגמחא דגמחא
גמחא דגמחא דגמחא
גמחא דגמחא דגמחא
גמחא דגמחא דגמחא
גמחא דגמחא דגמחא
גמחא דגמחא דגמחא

[43]

Inscriptions [36, 37, 43], Hatra

וְהַיְהוּדִים הָיָה לָהֶם
[46]

וְהַיְהוּדִים הָיָה לָהֶם
וְהַיְהוּדִים הָיָה לָהֶם

[48]

וְהַיְהוּדִים הָיָה לָהֶם
וְהַיְהוּדִים הָיָה לָהֶם
וְהַיְהוּדִים הָיָה לָהֶם

וְהַיְהוּדִים הָיָה לָהֶם
[49]

וְהַיְהוּדִים הָיָה לָהֶם
[51]

Inscriptions [46, 48, 49, 51], Hatra

𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠
𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠
𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠

[56]

𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠
𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠
𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠

[58]

𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠
𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠

[59]

Inscriptions [56, 58, 59], Hatra

7171 עזר עבד אלהים עזר

עזר עבד אלהים עזר עזר עזר

[60]

עזר עבד אלהים עזר

[61]

עזר עבד אלהים עזר עזר עזר

[62]

Inscriptions [60, 61, 62], Hatra

עב (י) ו (א) א
 עב א
 א
 א

[63]

עב (א) א

[64]

עדרה ונתן אלתו ונתן
 בן יצחק ונתן אלתו
 אלתו ונתן אלתו
 אלתו ונתן אלתו

(הדרקן ברזא
 דזלואו אלתו

> ודו

[65]

יתת תתני

[66]



ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲉ

ⲛⲥⲣⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ

ⲛⲥⲣⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ

[67]

Inscription [67], Hiata

75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100
 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130
 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200

[68]

201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300

[77]

Inscriptions [68, 77], Hatra

Handwritten text in a large, bold, stylized script, possibly a specific dialect of Aramaic or Hebrew. The characters are thick and angular, with some decorative flourishes. The text is arranged in a single line across the top of the page.

[78]

A block of handwritten text in a smaller, more cursive script. The text is arranged in approximately 12 lines, with some lines being shorter than others. The script is dense and appears to be a form of Aramaic or Hebrew. The text is oriented vertically on the page.

[79]

Inscriptions [78-79], Hatra

תהאצ דז טעג
עדע קנדע אסטן

נתב
מז... אצמח
... ארדן
... אה
... אה
... אה
... אה
[80]

... אה
... אה
... אה
[82]

... אה
[85]

ו זרבי / מושרי לטוב עבד אצל אט

[92] הודן ור זוכ לטבר [אדרג נח
[93]

חלק עשמה ע חלק ע עמא מתיקדע חז

[94]

וכרז לטט טנד כמא א ל

[96]

והודן טנת ע אגל ו יע נתד א ל ט נ ו

[98]

ד נזרנסו
א י א

[100]

יקרנסו טד טד אלקי וט ודא הוא און אט מן זב טה
גמא און כל אן זו לה רדז לכהן קטע איע לארוק נז
[101]

אדרן ווור ט כ ח ד ט א
[102]

[103] טדין יר דא יר ע ט א א ל ו נ פ ל

ל קווי ד א א זע כו ט יו ע ז קו

[104]

טדו וזאטסו
טנו שדקע
ט זאטסו שדקע
דזעלע טאט
אקען

[106]

טע
ב'ט טע טע טע טע
אן טע דקע טע טע טע
טע טע טע טע טע
טע טע טע טע טע
טע טע טע טע טע
טע טע טע טע טע
טע טע טע טע טע

[107]

טדו וזאטסו
טנו שדקע
[108]

טע
טע טע טע טע
טע טע טע טע
טע טע טע טע
טע טע טע טע
טע טע טע טע
טע טע טע טע
טע טע טע טע
[112]

טע דקע טע טע
[109]

טע טע טע טע
[110]

טע טע טע טע
[113]

טע טע טע טע
טע טע טע טע
טע טע טע טע
[116]

כריתר עטלעט אפן:

לרנודעסן אפוד אהע
[123]

[122]

דניד עקאזע טמ פאט.

ע קניד ויקרמ אע חוד יראין

[126]

[127]

ע קניד אדוהלעג

טעט טענן

ויקזד אום אטעווע

[129]

[131]

[134]

איהאע ראן אדאג טא ארע
ע חן אדוה חרע אע חאר
א אדאג א אדאג א אדאג
א אדוה חרע א אדאג א אדאג

[139]



חדא קפאע



ולב אדאע

אחזא רב אע

ידניד קפאע טעטאק
א אדאג א אדאג

[141]

דנ דא אדאג

א אדאג א אדאג

[140]

א אדאג א אדאג
א אדאג א אדאג
א אדאג א אדאג

א אדאג א אדאג

[143]

[145]

וּנְסוּחֵי עַל מַדְיָא נְעִיזָן חוּדָא מְחַזְרָן
רַבִּינָן אֵלֵינוּ עֵי דַע וְנִרְזָן חוּדָא מְחַזְרָן
[146]

אַל רִדוּר חוּדָא יִכְ בְּעַמְלֵהָ וְאֵל
[150]

דְּקוּדְרֵס־מַע טַעֲבֵטֵר חוּדָא חֲדָן וְ
אַחוּרָן כִּלְאֵן רִנָּה יִחִיקָן
[153]

רַבִּי מַרְזֵי עֵבֶר מֵאֵי חַתָּה אַל
[156]

עֵדְקוּדְרֵס וְאֵל עַמְלֵהָ חוּדָא חֲדָן
וְאֵל חֲדָן וְדוּן יִסָּן
[160]

עֵלְרֵךְ לְרַעֲסוּפְטָה אֵל חַתָּה חוּדָא חֲדָן
וְרִגְעֵי אֵלְרֵךְ
[161]

יך סרונונו עחא חו
וננוצ רחיק א ע
[164]

רסנ דקורח לך נרד מואנס
[166]

דור גטו סוד ע כק בטלולאל חודא חלקן
[167]

אנ דקורח לך נרד מאנס
[170]

יך נרבע ע
[176]

זאזע עטמרה
[177]

אדוקיזכו דעמר טרע ח חנה
[181]

דד דמני סי ע/סחמנ
[183]

אדוקיזכו לך טמחוש טחוד
פיהט (לוד חר' א קלמיון
זר ורס/קז
[184]

זרד מר, דינב סחמח
[187]

מיל ע קטע גט עט
[188] דע היזא מון
גמ' מג' גע

...דלני
...
...
[189]

...
[190]

...
[192]

...
[193]

...
[194]

...
[195]

...
[196]

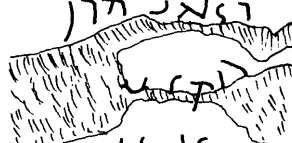
...
[197]

...
[198]

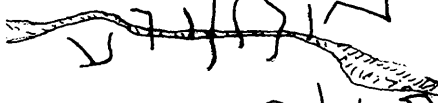
כרע ט ון קרו חר

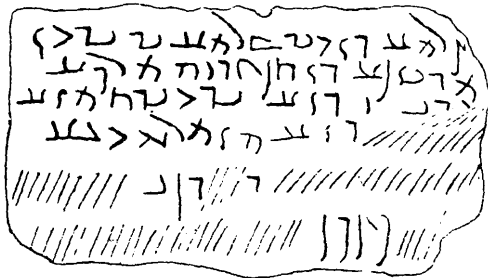
טא חן סרוח חר

[199]

ונחטנע חליא
 דזאנ ארן

 יתאנא
 יעקא נחא
 נחא אר
 נדזאג
 דחט עלא
 [200]

טונו וקרע ריאו


 חן סרוח
 חן סרוח
 חן סרוח
 [202]


 [203]

סאגא
 טונו אר
 [204]

→ דר תיא
דרסר
[207]

דרסרן כו תשא
[211]

שן
שן
[212]

שן ו... אדוא אדוא קדל כן : קזאו נקז לעה
על מ... אדוא אדוא אן קזאגון
[214]

קר דע אן חק דע
אנהדא ע דון
[215]

ורקיון נכר שזעדרן
[216]

ורקיון סאט אדרד
[217]

ורקיון סאט אדרד
[218]

חחד ע קעאן ורה
והרע

[219]

קנורטאענ רעקע
(אעקע חקדע

עקאעסענע ומוי

[221]

תאע דס אקדאט

רעקע דס ער
אחזאלג עהנע
רעקע רעאדיונע
אעסאדעקע יו
אע עהאלע
חיקע אראונרמאע
טאע

[223]

קוואעקע
דנעטעקע
רעקע רעחזא
אע עהנע
רעקע רעאדיונע

[224]

נחמ ענצ צו . . . לן עור אהלן

עין יהו ענצ . נמן יג

[225]

נ ו ז א ע ד

ד ה ט י כ

[227]

ע ה ח ט ד ו ה
נ ז ע א ט נ א ע ט ל ט ח
א י ד ע ר ז ע ז ח ז ח י

[229 a]

ד ר י

נ נ

ח ר א

ד ו י
ט י

ז

[229 b]

אדנן דין חדאזן אדאזן
 בא אדדן לוב ש אדנן
 אדאזן שנוזדא אד
 דדדן אטא אלא [230]

ע רטע דכו
 יאוסדנה אילנע רכדי
 ע קרו אדווע

[231]

בדרע
 אדר נלע
 נע
 כפאע
 ראלן

אדאזאכס
 אלא קחוסרוח
 חדווע

פנוי ורע
 אדנ אדא
 אדאזא
 אדנא
 לאנא אדא

נבא ודדע
 בע נע אדנע
 נכר אדנע לאא
 נאפאזאדא

אדא
 אדא
 א
 אדא

אדא
 אדא

[232]

ד ר , עזיז זא ט דתזלע
תזזירלעבעד, חאלעלמזמז

[244]

עזיזע טרן טדונע עטע
עלכווון חון קודא מדע דעמנדזח לטבעדא חילעל
מסמס וכל מסע מ זא ז

[245]

קאדע בעמאגא
נזח

מגיד סן זיילדין זיין עידע בעניע רז קא טיך אלגע זמן חרזע
כלמזע א דז לארזע נמא מ קא טיך סא אעלגע נגע רז
לגע זיחוד א קא נעמלע ט קפונא זי מן זיין זיילע אדז ילמזע

[272]

מזרו
קדסעו
כזא
קדסע

חזע זי קימליתע רזעאון ט סא אעלע

[280]

[274]

עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)

[281]

עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)
 עבדך (חדרן)

[283]

מלכא דרובא סאר

[285]

תלמידי דזמא -

קאדע טחא

דודנא

אנא

אליקא

טעא

[286]

דמא

אנא

דודנא

קאדע טחא

אליקא

טעא

דמא

[287]

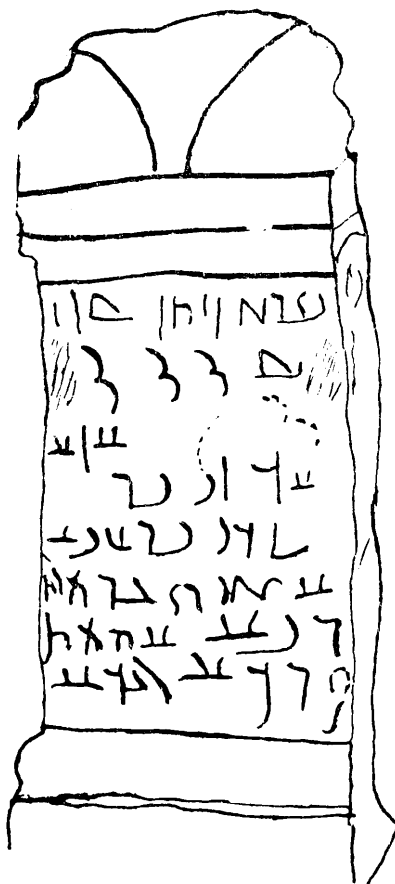
אנא



(a)



[288] (b)



(c)



(d)

Inscriptions [288], Hatra

יהודה יונין

באנעת
היה נע תתאצדו
יהאנע ליהארוין
אורהאן איהארה
וואזן איהארה

[292]

שדא חוורן פאן זאט
טאנאן אט איהארוין
לעהא טאן איהארוין
איהארוין

[293]

לדהא איהארוין
וואזן איהארוין
טאנאן איהארוין

יהארוין איהארוין
טאנאן איהארוין

[294]

רן צרדע | ער | י
 עבד אצול
 חרצן רעלוקסאס

[295]

אין דור דור וט סכוחוח
 חרן וברעה עבונעללל

[297]

דן וילטוואם סהם צדוקלע

[305]

עב חנסרניחנורה ע כטחזע חיקע ט ח/ס

[333]

חוט רוח אדה נוע
 ומנאם אים צדוקלע
 עמיו

[334]

א ד ט
 ח ז טו
 פ אבגדו
 קרוונהאבדא
 עבאבאבאבא

[335]

נודא קוין דא...
 גא...
 אב...
 ח...
 ד...
 א...
 ו...
 א...
 א...
 א...

[336]

ס דוחוודה ע עמלע אלקע
ולעב ארנ לעוקוילע דעא נואס
ורילע דז לחנא

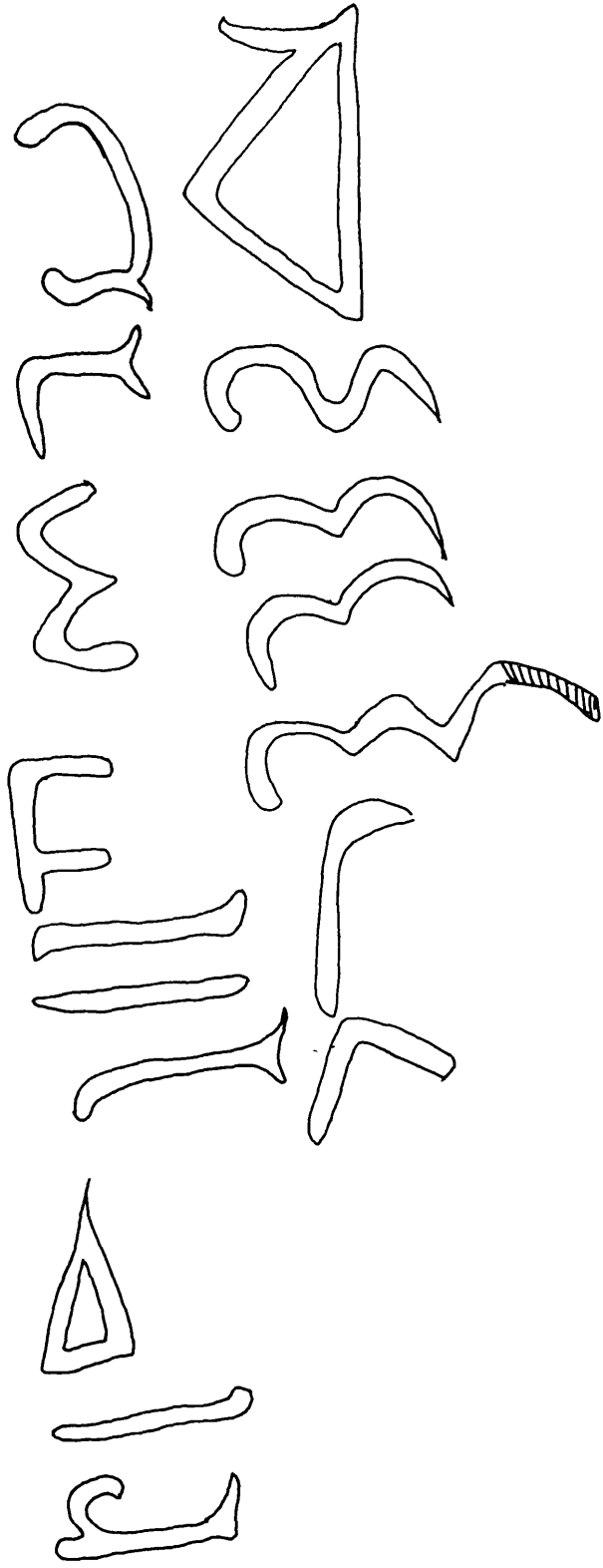
Inscription [341], Hatra

עזחנ דוויו
צדיו דרנע
וקדנע דאלע
דהיה סודענאס
דלס ונע ענדאנז
דחתע נחא גונס
תוט דרנע דרבו
דעספ ע נאדע
נאלע ע לעזענע
נעזיע וקוילע וואנד
ענדלע סלעוויו

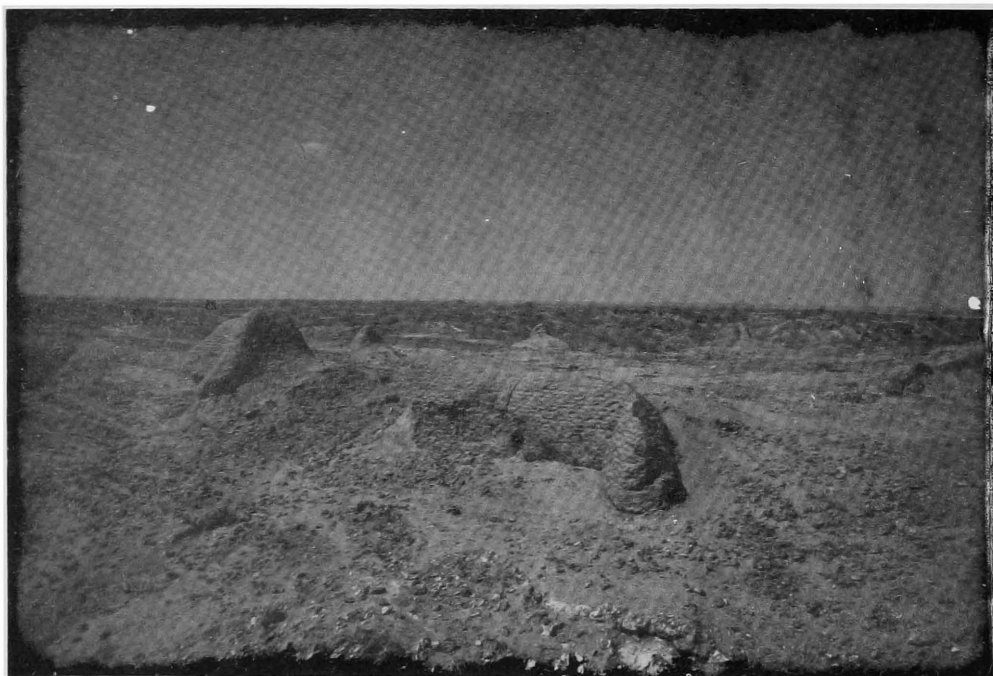
Inscription from site no.35 (Sa'adiya)

שרמנס סון
וואמ צצאוו לעדל
וטדנט דעסא דז
קאמאנע
קאמאנע
קאמאנע

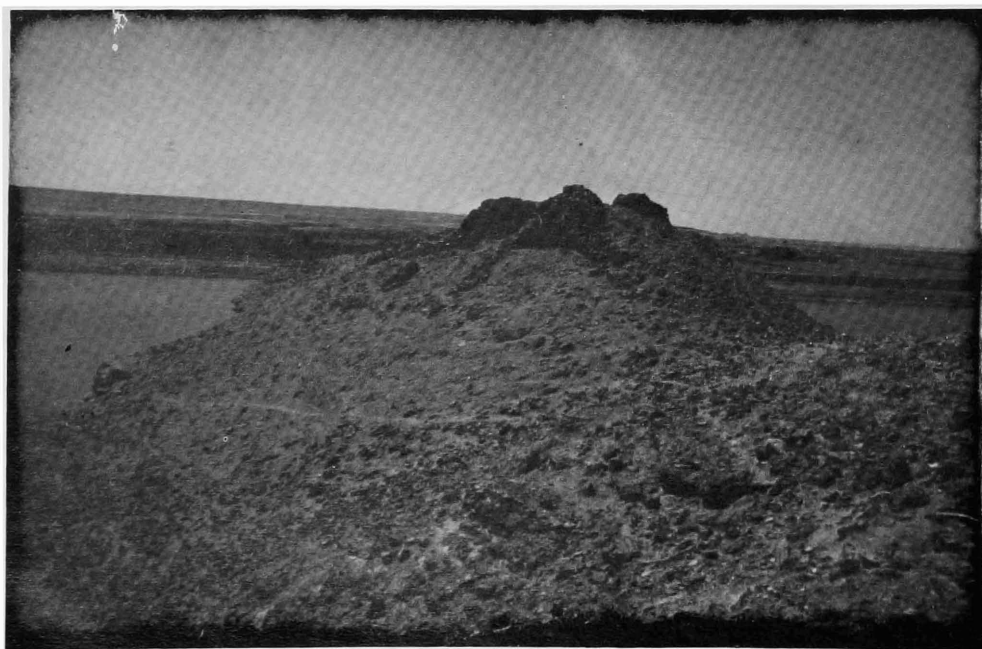
Inscriptions [341] from Hatra, and from site no. 35, (Sa'adiya) and site no. 71, (Qbr Ibn Naif)



Inscription from site no. 209, ('Ibra Al-Seghiyra)



Site no. 257 (a)



(b) Site no. 257 (b).

مطبعة دار الكتب للطباعة والنشر
جامعة الموصل



الجمهورية العراقية
وزارة الثقافة والأعلام
المؤسسة العامة للإثار والتراث
شروع إنقاذ آثار حوض نهر دجله

الاستيطان في الجزيرة قبل الإسلام

على ضوء الحفريات في الحضرة وجدالة

الدكتور جابر خليل إبراهيم

